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GESENIUS,

HEBREW GRAMMAR.

Hebräische Grammatik.

SECOND AMERICAN EDITION.

REVISED AND ENLARGED

ON THE BASIS OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH GERMAN EDITION

OF

By. PROF. E. KAUTZSCH, D.D.

BY

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UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

With full Subject, Scripture and Hebrew Indexes.

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1895.

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P R E F A C E.

THE Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius first appeared in 1813. In Germany, for nearly seventy years it has held a foremost rank as the grammar for schools. In England and America also, for the last half-century, it has maintained its position through the versions of Stuart, Conant, and Davies, keeping pace with the progress of Semitic learning in successive editions, since the death of Gesenius, through the scholarly editorial labors of Prof. Rödiger of Berlin.

Its pre-eminence has been largely due to the thoroughness with which the grammar treats the forms of the language and the phenomena of their changes. From the first its course of thought has proceeded from a real grasp of principles and rested upon a scientific basis. The advanced student has felt assured that he would find here all the light which the present state of science affords upon any difficult point.

At the same time practical teachers have felt that there was something yet to be desired in the form of the work for adaptation to elementary instruction. The copious materials of the grammar have not always proved to be so conveniently arranged as to be easily accessible to the inexperienced student.

While the writer believes that mere beginners should not be cumbered with the task of memorizing an elaborate treatise, but should be introduced at once to the language by the briefest

possible statement of its elementary principles, — and has accordingly prefixed such a compendium of principles to Davies' Hebrew Lexicon, — yet obviously the next step should be to place in his hands a complete discussion of the whole subject, upon a true philosophical plan, which ought, at the same time, to be so classified as to be immediately within his reach.

Accordingly, when the publishers of Davies' Hebrew Lexicon requested him to prepare an edition of Davies' Gesenius' Grammar which should be suited to the wants of American teachers and students, he set before himself the aim of combining the acknowledged excellences of Gesenius with a more lucid and practical arrangement.

Happily for this purpose, he found his contemplated task in large measure anticipated by the admirable work of Prof. Kautzsch, the successor of Rödiger in the editorial revision of Gesenius. The grammar which he has produced is practically a new work, exhibiting radical changes in the treatment of important topics, and uniting, as no grammar has done before, a logical and perspicuous method with a full treatment of the difficulties of the language.

Availing himself of the essential improvements of Kautzsch, among which will be found an entire reconstruction of the system of the Noun and a new discussion of the Accent and the Methegh, the Daghesh euphonic and the Pause, as well as of the nominal and verbal sentence (so that §§ 93–95 and § 144 *a* are entirely new, translated from Kautzsch, while indeed nearly every page and paragraph has felt the influence of Kautzsch's scientific discernment in the suggestion of improved forms of statement), the editor has also derived some hints from the Grammars of Ewald and Stade, and has added a few notes for illustration from Delitzsch and others. No change has been made in the numbering of sections, and the notes of

PREFACE.

Dr. Davies have been preserved, so far as they are not superseded by the text as reconstructed. They are designated by the signature *Tr.*

The references have been carefully verified (using the corrected text of Baer-Delitzsch upon Genesis, Job, Psalms, and Isaiah), and the eighth edition of Gesenius' Lexicon (by Mühlau and Volek) has been constantly consulted.

A new and important feature of this edition consists in the appending of very full *Indexes* of Subjects, of Scripture, and of Hebrew words, by means of which the entire contents of the Grammar are made available to the student. The Hebrew index will be found especially valuable, converting the grammar into a philological clavis for the explanation of difficult forms.

The work has been performed in the midst of a heavy pressure of other labors, and in the accomplishment of it the editor has been aided by his son as an amanuensis, preparing all the copy for the printers, and by his friend Mr. Max Meyer of Paris, a native German, and an accomplished linguist, who has revised all the translations and performed much patient toil in the reading of proofs.

E. C. M.

CHICAGO, September 1880.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND AMERICAN EDITION.

IN order to place within reach of American students the best resources for the study of the Hebrew language, it has now become necessary to make considerable changes in the arrangement of this grammar. Since the present Editor-in-chief undertook the revision of the grammar in 1880, some minor emendations have been made, chiefly from the twenty-third and twenty-fourth German editions, which did not involve any changes of numbering of the sections, excepting that, in 1883, §§ 84 and 85 were set aside and replaced by §§ 84*a*, 84*b* and 85. In the present revision the arrangement of the etymology still remains the same, though with considerable modifications within the sections.

The Syntax, however, has, in the German edition, undergone an entire reconstruction, under the painstaking and thorough manipulation of its distinguished Editor, and the subjects are now arranged in logical order, the discussion of them being in great part rewritten and considerably enlarged.

Although this change of arrangement may involve some inconvenience to those who have been using the former edition, it is obvious that the best service we can render is to present this improved syntax substantially entire. The volume of the grammar is thereby increased by about 120 pages, and the indexes correspondingly enlarged. The latter now constitute almost a glossary

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PARADIGMS
OF
VERBS AND NOUNS,
ETC.

Ancient Semitic Alphabets

Inscr. of Dibon. 9th. cent. B. C. Gram. § 22. § 5. L.	Phoenician Coins and Inscript.	New- Pun- ic.	Old. Hebr. Coins and Gems.	Sama- ritan.	Aram.- Egyptian. 9th. - 1st. cent. B. C.	Palmyra Inscript. 1st cent. B. C. - 4th. cent. A. C.	Heb. Inscr. Christ's Time.	Square Char.	Baschl.
𐤀 𐤁	𐤀 𐤁	𐤀	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃	𐤀 𐤁	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃	𐤀 𐤁	𐤀 𐤁	𐤀 𐤁	א ב
𐤄 𐤅	𐤄 𐤅	𐤄	𐤄 𐤅 𐤆	𐤄 𐤅	𐤄 𐤅 𐤆	𐤄 𐤅	𐤄 𐤅	𐤄 𐤅	ג ד
𐤇 𐤈	𐤇 𐤈	𐤇	𐤇 𐤈 𐤉	𐤇 𐤈	𐤇 𐤈	𐤇 𐤈	𐤇 𐤈	𐤇 𐤈	ה ו
𐤊 𐤋	𐤊 𐤋	𐤊	𐤊 𐤋 𐤌	𐤊 𐤋	𐤊 𐤋	𐤊 𐤋	𐤊 𐤋	𐤊 𐤋	ז ח
𐤎 𐤏	𐤎 𐤏	𐤎	𐤎 𐤏 𐤐	𐤎 𐤏	𐤎 𐤏	𐤎 𐤏	𐤎 𐤏	𐤎 𐤏	ט י
𐤒 𐤓	𐤒 𐤓	𐤒	𐤒 𐤓 𐤔	𐤒 𐤓	𐤒 𐤓	𐤒 𐤓	𐤒 𐤓	𐤒 𐤓	כ ל
𐤖 𐤗	𐤖 𐤗	𐤖	𐤖 𐤗 𐤘	𐤖 𐤗	𐤖 𐤗	𐤖 𐤗	𐤖 𐤗	𐤖 𐤗	מ נ
𐤚 𐤛	𐤚 𐤛	𐤚	𐤚 𐤛 𐤜	𐤚 𐤛	𐤚 𐤛	𐤚 𐤛	𐤚 𐤛	𐤚 𐤛	ס ע
𐤞 𐤟	𐤞 𐤟	𐤞	𐤞 𐤟 𐤠	𐤞 𐤟	𐤞 𐤟	𐤞 𐤟	𐤞 𐤟	𐤞 𐤟	פ צ
𐤢 𐤣	𐤢 𐤣	𐤢	𐤢 𐤣 𐤤	𐤢 𐤣	𐤢 𐤣	𐤢 𐤣	𐤢 𐤣	𐤢 𐤣	ק ר
𐤦 𐤧	𐤦 𐤧	𐤦	𐤦 𐤧 𐤨	𐤦 𐤧	𐤦 𐤧	𐤦 𐤧	𐤦 𐤧	𐤦 𐤧	ש ת
𐤬 𐤭	𐤬 𐤭	𐤬	𐤬 𐤭 𐤮	𐤬 𐤭	𐤬 𐤭	𐤬 𐤭	𐤬 𐤭	𐤬 𐤭	י
𐤰 𐤱	𐤰 𐤱	𐤰	𐤰 𐤱 𐤲	𐤰 𐤱	𐤰 𐤱	𐤰 𐤱	𐤰 𐤱	𐤰 𐤱	כ
𐤴 𐤵	𐤴 𐤵	𐤴	𐤴 𐤵 𐤶	𐤴 𐤵	𐤴 𐤵	𐤴 𐤵	𐤴 𐤵	𐤴 𐤵	ל
𐤸 𐤹	𐤸 𐤹	𐤸	𐤸 𐤹 𐤺	𐤸 𐤹	𐤸 𐤹	𐤸 𐤹	𐤸 𐤹	𐤸 𐤹	מ
𐤼 𐤽	𐤼 𐤽	𐤼	𐤼 𐤽 𐤾	𐤼 𐤽	𐤼 𐤽	𐤼 𐤽	𐤼 𐤽	𐤼 𐤽	נ
𐤿 𐁀	𐤿 𐁀	𐤿	𐤿 𐁀 𐁁	𐤿 𐁀	𐤿 𐁀	𐤿 𐁀	𐤿 𐁀	𐤿 𐁀	ס
𐁄 𐁅	𐁄 𐁅	𐁄	𐁄 𐁅 𐁆	𐁄 𐁅	𐁄 𐁅	𐁄 𐁅	𐁄 𐁅	𐁄 𐁅	ע
𐁈 𐁉	𐁈 𐁉	𐁈	𐁈 𐁉 𐁊	𐁈 𐁉	𐁈 𐁉	𐁈 𐁉	𐁈 𐁉	𐁈 𐁉	פ
𐁌 𐁍	𐁌 𐁍	𐁌	𐁌 𐁍 𐁎	𐁌 𐁍	𐁌 𐁍	𐁌 𐁍	𐁌 𐁍	𐁌 𐁍	צ
𐁐 𐁑	𐁐 𐁑	𐁐	𐁐 𐁑 𐁒	𐁐 𐁑	𐁐 𐁑	𐁐 𐁑	𐁐 𐁑	𐁐 𐁑	ק
𐁔 𐁕	𐁔 𐁕	𐁔	𐁔 𐁕 𐁖	𐁔 𐁕	𐁔 𐁕	𐁔 𐁕	𐁔 𐁕	𐁔 𐁕	ר
𐁘 𐁙	𐁘 𐁙	𐁘	𐁘 𐁙 𐁚	𐁘 𐁙	𐁘 𐁙	𐁘 𐁙	𐁘 𐁙	𐁘 𐁙	ש
𐁜 𐁝	𐁜 𐁝	𐁜	𐁜 𐁝 𐁞	𐁜 𐁝	𐁜 𐁝	𐁜 𐁝	𐁜 𐁝	𐁜 𐁝	ת

Modern Semitic Alphabets.

Hebrew	Rabbin- ical	Sama- ritan	Syriac				Arabic			
							Final	Medial	Initial	
א	ה	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	—	Ⲁ	ا	ا	ا	ʾ
ב b, bh	ב	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ب	ب	ب	b
ג g, gh	ג	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ت	ت	ت	t
ד d, dh	ד	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ث	ث	ث	th
ה h	ה	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ج	ج	ج	j
ו w	ו	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ح	ح	ح	ch
ז z	ז	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	خ	خ	خ	kh
ח ch	ח	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	د	د	د	d
ט t	ט	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ذ	ذ	ذ	dh
י y	י	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ر	ر	ر	r
כ k, kh	כ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ز	ز	ز	z
ל l	ל	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	س	س	س	s
מ m	מ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ش	ش	ش	sh
נ n	נ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ص	ص	ص	ṣ
ס s	ס	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ض	ض	ض	ḍ
ע	ע	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ط	ط	ط	ṭ
פ p, ph	פ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ظ	ظ	ظ	zh
צ ṣ	צ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ع	ع	ع	ʿ
ק q	ק	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	غ	غ	غ	gh
ר r	ר	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ف	ف	ف	f
ש sh	ש	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ق	ق	ق	q
ת t	ת	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	ك	ك	ك	k
Syr. Vowels: ʾ a, ˆ e, ˆ i, ˆ o, ˆ u.							ل	ل	ل	l
							م	م	م	m
							ن	ن	ن	n
							ه	ه	ه	h
							و	و	و	w
Arab. Vowels: ˉ a, ˉ i, ˉ u.							ی	ی	ی	y

A. THE PERSONAL

Nominative of the Pronoun,

or

Separate Pronoun.

Sing. 1. com. אֲנִי, in pause
אֲנִי; אֲנִי, in pause
אֲנִי I.

2. { m. אַתָּה (את), in
pause אַתָּה } thou.
f. אַתָּה (את)

3. { m. הוּא he.
f. הִיא she.

Plur. 1. com. אֲנֵנוּ (נָחֵנוּ),
(אֵנָּה) we.

2. { m. אַתֶּם
f. אַתֶּן, אַתֶּן } ye.

3. { m. הֵמָּה, הֵם
f. הֵנָּה } they.

Accusative of the Pronoun,

A.

By itself.

אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא me.

אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא, in p. אֶמְצָא, אֶמְצָא } thee.
אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא, אֶמְצָא

אֶמְצָא, אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא (אֶמְצָא), אֶמְצָא
him.

אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא her.

אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא us.

אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא } you.
אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא

(הֵם), אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא, אֶמְצָא,
אֶמְצָא* ; אֶמְצָא, אֶמְצָא*
them.

(הֵן), אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא, אֶמְצָא; אֶמְצָא them.

* The forms with an asterisk are only poetical; those in parenthesis

or Suffix of the Verb.

Genitive of the Pronoun, or Suffix of
the Noun (possessive Pron.).

B.	A.	B.
With Nûn demonstrative.	With Nouns Singular.	With Nouns Plur. & Dual.
$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}$	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$ my (prop. Gen. mei).	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$ my.
$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, (\text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}})$	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}$, in pause $\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$ } thy (tui).	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$ } thy.
not found.	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}, (\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}})$	
$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}, (\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}})$	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}, \text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}$ (הוּא) his (ejus and suus).	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}, \text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}$ * his.
$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}, \text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$ her.	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$ her.
$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}, (\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}})$ our.	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$ our.
These forms are not found.	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}$ } your.	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}$ } your.
	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}, \text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$ } * } their.	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}, \text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$ * } } their.
	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}, \text{אַתָּה}^{\text{א}}, \text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$	$\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{א}}$

are rarely used, but are put here to give a full view of the analogy.

		<i>Qāl.</i>	<i>Niph'āl.</i>	<i>Pr'ēl.</i>
<i>PERF. Sing. 3. m.</i>		קָטַל*	נִקְטַל*	קָטַל, קִטַּל*
3. f.		קָטְלָה*	נִקְטְלָה*	קָטְלָה
2. m.		קָטַלְתָּ*	נִקְטַלְתָּ*	קָטַלְתָּ
2. f.		קָטַלְתְּ	נִקְטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ
1. c.		קָטַלְתִּי	נִקְטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>		קָטְלוּ	נִקְטְלוּ	קָטְלוּ
2. m.		קָטַלְתֶּם*	נִקְטַלְתֶּם*	קָטַלְתֶּם
2. f.		קָטַלְתֶּן	נִקְטַלְתֶּן	קָטַלְתֶּן
1. c.		קָטַלְנוּ	נִקְטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּ
<i>INF.</i>		קָטַל*	הִקְטִיל*	קָטַל*
<i>INF. absol.</i>		קָטוּל*	הִקְטִיל, נִקְטַל	קָטַל, קָטַל*
<i>IMP. Sing. 2. m.</i>		קָטַל*	הִקְטִיל*	קָטַל*
2. f.		קָטְלִי*	הִקְטִילִי*	קָטְלִי
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>		קָטְלוּ	הִקְטִילוּ	קָטְלוּ
2. f.		קָטְלֶנָה*	הִקְטִילֶנָה*	קָטְלֶנָה
<i>IMPF. Sing. 3. m.</i>		יִקְטַל*	יִקְטָן*	יִקְטַל*
3. f.		תִּקְטַל	תִּקְבֹּד	תִּקְטַל
2. m.		תִּקְטַל	תִּקְבֹּד	תִּקְטַל
2. f.		תִּקְטְלִי*	תִּקְבְּדִי*	תִּקְטְלִי*
1. c.		אִקְטַל	אִקְבֹּד	אִקְטַל
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>		יִקְטְלוּ	יִקְבְּדוּ	יִקְטְלוּ
3. f.		תִּקְטַלְנָה*	תִּקְבְּדֶנָה*	תִּקְטַלְנָה*
2. m.		תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּקְבְּדוּ	תִּקְטְלוּ
2. f.		תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּקְבְּדֶנָה	תִּקְטַלְנָה
1. c.		נִקְטַל	נִקְבֹּד	נִקְטַל
<i>IMPF. Shortened (Jussive).</i>				
<i>PART. act.</i>		קָטַל*	קָטַן	מִקְטַל*
<i>pass.</i>		קָטוּל*		

<i>Pā'āl.</i>	<i>Hīph'ēl.</i>	<i>Hōph'āl.</i>	<i>Hithpā'ēl.</i>
קָטַל*	הִקְטִיל*	הִקְטַל*	הִתְקַטַּל*
קָטְלָה*	הִקְטִילָה*	הִקְטַלָה*	הִתְקַטַּלָה*
קָטְלָתָ*	הִקְטִילָתָ*	הִקְטַלָתָ*	הִתְקַטַּלָתָ*
קָטְלָתִי	הִקְטִילָתִי	הִקְטַלָתִי	הִתְקַטַּלָתִי
קָטְלָתְךָ	הִקְטִילָתְךָ	הִקְטַלָתְךָ	הִתְקַטַּלָתְךָ
קָטְלָתֵנוּ	הִקְטִילָתֵנוּ	הִקְטַלָתֵנוּ	הִתְקַטַּלָתֵנוּ
קָטְלָתְכֶם	הִקְטִילָתְכֶם	הִקְטַלָתְכֶם	הִתְקַטַּלָתְכֶם
קָטְלָתְכֶן	הִקְטִילָתְכֶן	הִקְטַלָתְכֶן	הִתְקַטַּלָתְכֶן
קָטְלָתְכֶם	הִקְטִילָתְכֶם	הִקְטַלָתְכֶם	הִתְקַטַּלָתְכֶם
wanting	הִקְטִיל*	wanting	הִתְקַטַּל*
קָטַל*	הִקְטִיל	הִקְטַל*	הִתְקַטַּל
	הִקְטַל*		הִתְקַטַּל*
wanting	הִקְטִיל*	wanting	הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטִילָה*		הִתְקַטַּלָה*
	הִקְטִילָתָ*		הִתְקַטַּלָתָ*
	הִקְטִילָתִי		הִתְקַטַּלָתִי
	הִקְטִילָתְךָ		הִתְקַטַּלָתְךָ
	הִקְטִילָתֵנוּ		הִתְקַטַּלָתֵנוּ
	הִקְטִילָתְכֶם		הִתְקַטַּלָתְכֶם
	הִקְטִילָתְכֶן		הִתְקַטַּלָתְכֶן
יִקְטַל*	יִקְטִיל*	יִקְטַל*	יִתְקַטַּל*
תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטַּל
תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטַּל
תִּקְטַלְךָ*	תִּקְטִילְךָ*	תִּקְטַלְךָ*	תִּתְקַטַּלְךָ*
אִקְטַל	אִקְטִיל	אִקְטַל	אִתְקַטַּל
יִקְטַלְכֶם	יִקְטִילְכֶם	יִקְטַלְכֶם	יִתְקַטַּלְכֶם
תִּקְטַלְכֶן*	תִּקְטִילְכֶן*	תִּקְטַלְכֶן*	תִּתְקַטַּלְכֶן*
תִּקְטַלְכֶם	תִּקְטִילְכֶם	תִּקְטַלְכֶם	תִּתְקַטַּלְכֶם
תִּקְטַלְכֶן	תִּקְטִילְכֶן	תִּקְטַלְכֶן	תִּתְקַטַּלְכֶן
נִקְטַל	נִקְטִיל	נִקְטַל	נִתְקַטַּל
	יִקְטַל*		
	מִקְטִיל*		מִתְקַטַּל*
מִקְטַל*		מִקְטַל*	

<i>Suffixes</i>	1 <i>Sing.</i>	2 <i>Sing m.</i>	2 <i>Sing f.</i>	3 <i>Sing.m.</i>
<i>PERF. Qāl S. 3. m.</i>	קָטַלְנִי	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּהוּ קָטַלְתָּ
3. <i>f.</i>	קָטַלְתָּנִי	קָטַלְתָּךְ	קָטַלְתְּךָ	קָטַלְתָּהוּ קָטַלְתָּה
2. <i>m.</i>	קָטַלְתָּנִי	—	—	קָטַלְתָּהוּ קָטַלְתָּה
2. <i>f.</i>	קָטַלְתָּנִי	—	—	קָטַלְתָּהוּ קָטַלְתָּה
1. <i>c.</i>	—	קָטַלְתָּךְ	קָטַלְתָּךְ	קָטַלְתָּהוּ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
2. <i>m.</i>	קָטַלְתֶּם	—	—	קָטַלְתֶּם
1. <i>c.</i>	—	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
<i>INF. Qāl</i>	קָטַלְנִי קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּהוּ
<i>IMF. Qāl 2. m. sing.</i>	קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתָּהוּ
<i>IMI. Qāl 3. m. sing.</i>	יָקַטְלְנִי	יָקַטְלְתָּ	יָקַטְלְתְּ	יָקַטְלְתָּהוּ
3. <i>m. with Nûn</i> <i>energicum.</i>	יָקַטְלְנִי	יָקַטְלְתָּ	—	יָקַטְלְתָּהוּ
3. <i>m. plur.</i>	יָקַטְלְתֶּם	יָקַטְלְתֶּם	יָקַטְלְתֶּם	יָקַטְלְתֶּם
<i>PERF. Pi'el 3. m. sing.</i>	קָטַלְנִי	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּהוּ

3 *Sing. f.* 1 *Plur.* 2 *Plur. m.* 2 *Plur. f.* 3 *Plur. m.* 3 *Plur. f.*

קטלָה	קטלָנוּ	קטלָכֶם	[קטלָכֶן]	קטלָם	קטלָן
קטלָתֶּהּ	קטלָתֵּנוּ	wanting	wanting	קטלָתֶּם	קטלָתֵּן
קטלָתֶּיהָ	קטלָתֵּינוּ	—	—	קטלָתֶּם	קטלָתֵּן
קטלָתֶּיהָ	קטלָתֵּינוּ	—	—	קטלָתֶּים	קטלָתֵּין
קטלָתֶּיהָ	—	קטלָתֶּיכֶם	קטלָתֶּיכֶן	קטלָתֶּים	קטלָתֵּין
קטלָתֶּיהָ	קטלָתֵּנוּ	wanting	wanting	קטלָתֶּוּם	קטלָתֵּוּן
קטלָתֶּיהָ	קטלָתֵּינוּ	—	—	קטלָתֶּוּם	קטלָתֵּוּן
קטלָתֶּיהָ	—	קטלָתֶּיכֶם	קטלָתֶּיכֶן	קטלָתֶּוּם	קטלָתֵּוּן

קטלָה	קטלָנוּ	קטלָכֶם } קטלָכֶם }	קטלָכֶן } קטלָכֶן }	קטלָם	קטלָן
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קטלָתֶּהּ } קטלָתֶּהּ }	קטלָתֵּנוּ	—	—	קטלָתֶּים	—
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קטלָתֶּהּ } קטלָתֶּהּ }	קטלָתֵּנוּ	קטלָתֶּיכֶם	קטלָתֶּיכֶן	קטלָתֶּים	קטלָתֵּין
קטלָתֶּהּ	קטלָתֵּנוּ	—	—	—	—
קטלָתֶּהּ	קטלָתֵּנוּ	קטלָתֶּיכֶם	קטלָתֶּיכֶן	קטלָתֶּוּם	קטלָתֵּוּן

קטלָה	קטלָנוּ	קטלָכֶם	קטלָכֶן	קטלָם	קטלָן
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	Qāl.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Höph'al.
PERF. S. 3. m.	עָמַד	נִעְמַד *	הִעְמִיד *	הִעְמִיד *
3. f.	עָמְדָה	נִעְמְדָה *	הִעְמִידָה	הִעְמִידָה *
2. m.	עָמַדְתָּ	נִעְמַדְתָּ	הִעְמַדְתָּ	הִעְמַדְתָּ
2. f.	עָמַדְתְּ	נִעְמַדְתְּ	הִעְמַדְתְּ	הִעְמַדְתְּ
1. c.	עָמַדְתִּי	נִעְמַדְתִּי	הִעְמַדְתִּי	הִעְמַדְתִּי
Plur. 3. c.	עָמְדוּ	נִעְמְדוּ	הִעְמִידוּ	הִעְמִידוּ
2. m.	עָמַדְתֶּם *	נִעְמַדְתֶּם	הִעְמַדְתֶּם	הִעְמַדְתֶּם
2. f.	עָמַדְתֶּן *	נִעְמַדְתֶּן	הִעְמַדְתֶּן	הִעְמַדְתֶּן
1. c.	עָמַדְנָה	נִעְמַדְנָה	הִעְמַדְנָה	הִעְמַדְנָה
INF.	עֹמֵד *	הִעְמִיד *	הִעְמִיד *	הִעְמִיד *
INF. absol.	עֹמֵד	נִעְמֹד *	הִעְמִיד *	הִעְמִיד *
IMP. S. 2. m.	עֹמֵד *	חֹזֵק *	הִעְמִיד *	הִעְמִיד
2. f.	עֹמְדִי	חֹזְקִי	הִעְמִידִי	הִעְמִידִי
Pl. 2. m.	עֹמְדוּ	חֹזְקוּ	הִעְמִידוּ	הִעְמִידוּ
2. f.	עֹמְדֶנָּה *	חֹזְקֶנָּה *	הִעְמִידֶנָּה	הִעְמִידֶנָּה
IMPF. S. 3. m.	יֵעָמֵד *	יִחְזֹק *	יֵעָמֵד *	יֵעָמֵד *
3. f.	תֵּעָמֵד	תִּחְזֹק	תֵּעָמֵד	תֵּעָמֵד
2. m.	תֵּעָמֵד	תִּחְזֹק	תֵּעָמֵד	תֵּעָמֵד
2. f.	תֵּעָמְדִי *	תִּחְזְקִי *	תֵּעָמְדִי	תֵּעָמְדִי *
1. c.	אֵעָמֵד *	אִחְזֹק	אֵעָמֵד	אֵעָמֵד
Plur. 3. m.	יֵעָמְדוּ *	יִחְזְקוּ *	יֵעָמְדוּ	יֵעָמְדוּ
3. f.	תֵּעָמְדֶנָּה	תִּחְזְקֶנָּה	תֵּעָמְדֶנָּה	תֵּעָמְדֶנָּה
2. m.	תֵּעָמְדוּ	תִּחְזְקוּ	תֵּעָמְדוּ	תֵּעָמְדוּ
2. f.	תֵּעָמְדֶנָּה	תִּחְזְקֶנָּה	תֵּעָמְדֶנָּה	תֵּעָמְדֶנָּה
1. c.	נֵעָמֵד	נִחְזֹק	נֵעָמֵד	נֵעָמֵד
IMPF. shortened (Jussive).			יֵעָמֵד	
PART. act.	עֹמֵד	נִעְמֵד *	מִעְמִיד *	
pass.	עֹמֵד			מִעְמִיד *

	<i>Qāl.</i>	<i>Niph'āl.</i>	<i>Pi'ēl.</i>	<i>Pū'āl.</i>	<i>Hithpā'ēl.</i>
<i>PERF. S. 3. m.</i>	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	יִבְרַךְ*	יִבְרַךְ*	יִתְבָּרַךְ*
3. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטָה*	נִשְׁחַטָה*	יִבְרַכָּה	יִבְרַכָּה	יִתְבָּרַכָּה
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	יִבְרַכְתָּ	יִבְרַכְתָּ	יִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטְתְּ	נִשְׁחַטְתְּ	יִבְרַכְתְּ	יִבְרַכְתְּ	יִתְבָּרַכְתְּ
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	יִבְרַכְתִּי	יִבְרַכְתִּי	יִתְבָּרַכְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>	שָׁחַטוּ*	נִשְׁחַטוּ*	יִבְרְכוּ	יִבְרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	יִבְרַכְתֶּם	יִבְרַכְתֶּם	יִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטְתֶּן	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן	יִבְרַכְתֶּן	יִבְרַכְתֶּן	יִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁחַטְנוּ	נִשְׁחַטְנוּ	יִבְרַכְנוּ	יִבְרַכְנוּ	יִתְבָּרַכְנוּ
<i>INF.</i>	שַׁחֵט	הִשְׁחִיט	יִבְרַךְ*	wanting	יִתְבָּרַךְ*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	שָׁחֹט	נִשְׁחָט	יִבְרַךְ*		
<i>IMP. S. 2. m.</i>	שַׁחֵט*	הִשְׁחִיט	יִבְרַךְ*		יִתְבָּרַךְ*
2. <i>f.</i>	שַׁחֲטִי*	הִשְׁחִיטִי*	יִבְרְכִי*	wanting	יִתְבָּרְכִי
<i>Pl.</i> 2. <i>m.</i>	שַׁחֲטוּ	הִשְׁחִיטוּ	יִבְרְכוּ		יִתְבָּרְכוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	שַׁחֲטֶנָּה	הִשְׁחִיטֶנָּה	יִבְרַכְנָה		יִתְבָּרַכְנָה
<i>IMPF. S. 3. m.</i>	שֹׁחֵט*	יֹשְׁחֵט	יִבְרֹךְ*	יִבְרֹךְ*	יִתְבָּרֹךְ*
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחֵט	תִּבְרֹךְ	תִּבְרֹךְ	תִּתְבָּרֹךְ
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחֵט	תִּבְרֹךְ	תִּבְרֹךְ	תִּתְבָּרֹךְ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטִּי*	תִּשְׁחֵטִי*	תִּבְרְכִי	תִּבְרְכִי	תִּתְבָּרְכִי
1. <i>c.</i>	אֲשַׁחֵט	אֲשַׁחֵט	אֲבָרַךְ	אֲבָרַךְ	אֲתִבָּרַךְ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִשְׁחָטוּ	יִשְׁחֲטוּ	יִבְרְכוּ	יִבְרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחֲטְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּבְרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּן	תִּשְׁחֲטְתֶּן	תִּבְרַכְתֶּן	תִּבְרַכְתֶּן	תִּתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּן	תִּשְׁחֲטְתֶּן	תִּבְרַכְתֶּן	תִּבְרַכְתֶּן	תִּתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>	נִשְׁחֵט	נִשְׁחִיט	נִבְרַךְ	נִבְרַךְ	נִתְבָּרַךְ

IMPF. with Suff. יִשְׁחַטְיָהוּ

<i>PART. act.</i>	שֹׁחֵט	נֹשְׁחֵט	נִבְרַכְךָ*	נִתְבָּרַכְךָ*
<i>pass.</i>	שָׁחוּט			מִבְרַכְךָ*

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pi'el.</i>
<i>PERF. S. 3.m.</i>	שָׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	שִׁלַּח*
3. <i>f.</i>	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלַחָה	שִׁלְחָה
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁלַחְתָּ*	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ*	שִׁלַּחְתָּ*
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְחוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ
<i>INF.</i>	שִׁלַּח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	שֹׁלֵחַ	נִשְׁלָח	שֹׁלֵחַ
<i>IMP. S. 2.m.</i>	שִׁלַּח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח
2. <i>f.</i>	שִׁלְחִי	הִשְׁלְחִי	שִׁלְחִי
<i>Plur. 2.m.</i>	שִׁלְחוּ	הִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְחוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	שִׁלְחֶיךָ*	הִשְׁלְחֶיךָ	שִׁלְחֶיךָ*
<i>IMPF. S. 3.m.</i>	שִׁלַּח*	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח*
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי
1. <i>c.</i>	אֶשְׁלַח	אֶשְׁלַח	אֶשְׁלַח
<i>Plur. 3.m.</i>	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>			
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>	יִשְׁלַחֲנִי		
<i>PART. act.</i>	שֹׁלֵחַ*	נִשְׁלָח	שֹׁלֵחַ*
<i>pass.</i>	שֹׁלֵחַ*		

<i>Pā'āl.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hōph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpā'el.</i>
שָׁלַח	הִשְׁלִיחַ*	הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
שִׁלְחָה	הִשְׁלִיחָה	הִשְׁלַחָה	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָה
שִׁלְחָתָה	הִשְׁלִיחָתָה	הִשְׁלַחָתָה	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָה
שִׁלְחָתָה*	הִשְׁלִיחָתָה*	הִשְׁלַחָתָה*	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָה*
שִׁלְחָתִי	הִשְׁלִיחָתִי	הִשְׁלַחָתִי	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתִי
שִׁלְחָהּ	הִשְׁלִיחָהּ	הִשְׁלַחָהּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָהּ
שִׁלְּחָתֶם	הִשְׁלִיחָתֶם	הִשְׁלַחָתֶם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתֶם
שִׁלְּחָתְךָ	הִשְׁלִיחָתְךָ	הִשְׁלַחָתְךָ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתְךָ
שִׁלְּחָנָה	הִשְׁלִיחָנָה	הִשְׁלַחָנָה	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָנָה
	הִשְׁלִיחַ*		הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
	הִשְׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	
	הִשְׁלַח		הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
wanting	הִשְׁלִיחִי	wanting	הִשְׁתַּלַּחִי
	הִשְׁלִיחוּ		הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
	הִשְׁלִיכְתָּה		הִשְׁתַּלַּכְתָּה*
יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלִיחַ*	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלִיחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחִי
אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלִיחַ	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁלִיחוּ	יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְכֶּם	תִּשְׁלִיחְכֶּם	תִּשְׁלַחְכֶּם	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְכֶּם*
תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁלִיחוּ	תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְכֶּם	תִּשְׁלִיחְכֶּם	תִּשְׁלַחְכֶּם	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְכֶּם
נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלִיחַ	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁתַּלַּח
	יִשְׁלַח		
	מִשְׁלִיחַ*		מִשְׁתַּלַּח*
מִשְׁלַח		מִשְׁלַח	

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.
<i>PERF. Sing. 3.m.</i>	עָבַ*	נָעַב*	הָעִבַ*
3. f.	עָבָה	נָעָבָה*	הָעָבָה*
2.m.	עָבֹת*	נָעֹבֹת*	הָעֹבֹת*
2. f.	עִבֹת	נָעִבֹת	הָעִבֹת
1. c.	עִבֹתִי	נָעִבֹתִי	הָעִבֹתִי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	עָבוּ	נָעָבוּ	הָעָבוּ
2.m.	עִבְתֶּם	נָעִבְתֶּם	הָעִבְתֶּם
2. f.	עִבְתֶּן	נָעִבְתֶּן	הָעִבְתֶּן
1. c.	עִבְנוּ	נָעִבְנוּ	הָעִבְנוּ
<i>INF.</i>	עִב*	הָעִב*	הָעִב*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	עִבֹב	הָעִבֹב	הָעִבֹב
<i>IMP. Sing. 2.m.</i>	עִב*	הָעִב	הָעִב*
2. f.	עִבִי	הָעִבִי*	הָעִבִי
<i>Plur. 2.m.</i>	עִבוּ	הָעִבוּ	הָעִבוּ
2. f.	עִבְיֶנָה*	הָעִבְיֶנָה*	הָעִבְיֶנָה*
<i>IMPF. Sing. 3.m.</i>	יֵעֵב* יֵעֵב* ^{§67, Rem. 3.)}	יֵעֵב*	יֵעֵב* יֵעֵב*
3. f.	יֵעֵב	יֵעֵב	יֵעֵב
2.m.	יֵעֵב	יֵעֵב	יֵעֵב
2. f.	יֵעֵבִי*	יֵעֵבִי	יֵעֵבִי*
1. c.	יֵעֵב	יֵעֵב	יֵעֵב
<i>Plur. 3.m.</i>	יֵעֵבוּ	יֵעֵבוּ	יֵעֵבוּ
3. f.	יֵעֵבְיֶנָה*	יֵעֵבְיֶנָה	יֵעֵבְיֶנָה*
2.m.	יֵעֵבוּ	יֵעֵבוּ	יֵעֵבוּ
2. f.	יֵעֵבְיֶנָה	יֵעֵבְיֶנָה	יֵעֵבְיֶנָה
1. c.	יָעֵב	יָעֵב	יָעֵב
<i>IMPF. with Wāw consec.</i>	וַיֵּעֵב*		וַיֵּעֵב
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>	יֵעֵבִי*		יֵעֵבְיֶנָה*
<i>PART. act.</i>	עִבֵב	נָעֵב	הָעֵב*
<i>pass.</i>	עִבְבִי*		

<i>Hōph'āl.</i>	<i>Pō'ēl.</i>	<i>Pō'āl.</i>	<i>Hithpō'ēl.</i>
הוֹסֵב*	סוֹבֵב*	סוֹבֵב*	הִסְתוֹבֵב
הוֹסֵבָה	סוֹבֵבָה	סוֹבֵבָה	הִסְתוֹבֵבָה
הוֹסֵבוֹת	סוֹבֵבוֹת	סוֹבֵבוֹת	הִסְתוֹבֵבוֹת
הוֹסֵבוֹת	סוֹבֵבוֹת	סוֹבֵבוֹת	הִסְתוֹבֵבוֹת
הוֹסֵבוֹתִי	סוֹבֵבוֹתִי	סוֹבֵבוֹתִי	הִסְתוֹבֵבוֹתִי
הוֹסֵבוּ	סוֹבֵבוּ	סוֹבֵבוּ	הִסְתוֹבֵבוּ
הוֹסֵבוֹתָם	סוֹבֵבוֹתָם	סוֹבֵבוֹתָם	הִסְתוֹבֵבוֹתָם
הוֹסֵבוֹתָן	סוֹבֵבוֹתָן	סוֹבֵבוֹתָן	הִסְתוֹבֵבוֹתָן
הוֹסֵבוּנִי	סוֹבֵבוּנִי	סוֹבֵבוּנִי	הִסְתוֹבֵבוּנִי
	סוֹבֵב		הִסְתוֹבֵב
	סוֹבֵב	טוֹבֵב	
	סוֹבֵב		הִסְתוֹבֵב
	סוֹבֵבִי		הִסְתוֹבֵבִי
wanting	סוֹבֵבוּ	wanting	הִסְתוֹבֵבוּ
	סוֹבֵבוֹתָהּ		הִסְתוֹבֵבוֹתָהּ
יֹסֵב* יֹסֵב	יֹסֵבֵב	יֹסֵבֵב	יִסְתוֹבֵב
תוֹסֵב	תִּסְבֵּב	תִּסְבֵּב	תִּסְתוֹבֵב
תוֹסֵב	תִּסְבֵּב	תִּסְבֵּב	תִּסְתוֹבֵב
*תוֹסֵבִי	תִּסְבֵּבִי	תִּסְבֵּבִי	תִּסְתוֹבֵבִי
אוֹסֵב	אוֹסֵבֵב	אוֹסֵבֵב	אוֹסְתוֹבֵב
יוֹסֵבוּ	יוֹסֵבוּ	יוֹסֵבוּ	יוֹסְתוֹבֵבוּ
*תוֹסֵבֵיָהּ	תִּסְבֵּבוּהָ	תִּסְבֵּבוּהָ	תִּסְתוֹבֵבוּהָ
תוֹסֵבוּ	תִּסְבֵּבוּ	תִּסְבֵּבוּ	תִּסְתוֹבֵבוּ
תוֹסֵבֵיָהּ	תִּסְבֵּבוּהָ	תִּסְבֵּבוּהָ	תִּסְתוֹבֵבוּהָ
נִיֹּסֵב	נִסְבֵּב	נִסְבֵּב	נִסְתוֹבֵב
	יִסְבֵּבִי		
	מִסְבֵּב		מִסְתוֹבֵב
*מוֹסֵב		מִסְבֵּב	

		Qāl.		Niph'āl. Hiph'il. Hōph'āl.		
PERF. Sing.	3. m.	נָגַשׁ	נָפַל	נָחַן	*הִגִּישׁ	*הִגִּישׁ
	3. f.	etc.	etc.	נָחָה	הִגִּישָׁה	הִגִּישָׁה
	2. m.			נָחַתָּ	הִגִּישְׁתָּ	הִגִּישְׁתָּ
	2. f.			נָחַתְּ	הִגִּישְׁתְּ	הִגִּישְׁתְּ
	1. c.	regular		נָחַתִּי	הִגִּישְׁתִּי	הִגִּישְׁתִּי
	Plur. 3. c.			נָחֲנוּ	הִגִּישׁוּ	הִגִּישׁוּ
	2. m.			נָחַתְּם	הִגִּישְׁתֶּם	הִגִּישְׁתֶּם
	2. f.			נָחַתְּןָ	הִגִּישְׁתֶּן	הִגִּישְׁתֶּן
	1. c.			נָחַתְּנוּ	הִגִּישְׁתֶּנוּ	הִגִּישְׁתֶּנוּ
INF.		*נִגְשׁוּת	*נִפְלוּת	נָחַת	הִגִּישׁוּת	*הִגִּישׁוּת
INF. absol.		נִגְשׁוּ	נִפְלוּ	נָחֲוֹן	הִגִּישׁוּ	*הִגִּישׁוּ
IMP. Sing.	2. m.	*נִגֵּשׁ	נִפֹּל	נָחֵן	הִגִּישׁוּ	*הִגִּישׁוּ
	2. f.	נִגְשִׁי	נִפְלִי	נָחִי	הִגִּישִׁי	הִגִּישִׁי
	Plur. 2. m.	נִגְשׁוּ	נִפְלוּ	נָחֻנוּ	הִגִּישׁוּ	הִגִּישׁוּ
	2. f.	נִגְשִׁינָה	נִפְלִינָה	נָחִינָה	הִגִּישִׁינָה	הִגִּישִׁינָה
IMPF. Sing.	3. m.	יִגֵּשׁ	יִפֹּל	יִנָּחֵן	יִגְשֹׁשׁ	*יִגֵּשׁ
	3. f.	תִּגְשׁוּ	תִּפֹּל	תִּנָּחֵן	etc.	תִּגְשֹׁשׁ
	2. m.	תִּגְשׁוּ	תִּפֹּל	תִּנָּחֵן		תִּגְשֹׁשׁ
	2. f.	תִּגְשִׁי	תִּפְלִי	תִּנָּחִי		תִּגְשִׁי
	1. c.	אִגְשׁ	אִפֹּל	אִנָּחֵן		אִגְשֹׁשׁ
	Plur. 3. m.	יִגְשׁוּ	יִפֹּלוּ	יִנָּחֻנוּ	regu-	יִגְשֹׁשׁוּ
	3. f.	תִּגְשִׁינָה	תִּפְלִינָה	תִּנָּחִינָה	lar.	תִּגְשִׁינָה
	2. m.	תִּגְשׁוּ	תִּפֹּלוּ	תִּנָּחֻנוּ		תִּגְשֹׁשׁוּ
	2. f.	תִּגְשִׁינָה	תִּפְלִינָה	תִּנָּחִינָה		תִּגְשִׁינָה
	1. c.	נִגְשׁוּ	נִפֹּלוּ	נִנָּחֻנוּ		נִגְשֹׁשׁוּ
IMPF. shortened (Jussive).		יִגְשׁוּ*				
PART. act.		נִגְשֵׁן	נִפֹּלֵן	נִנָּחֵן	*מִגִּישֵׁן	*מִגִּישֵׁן
	pass.	נִגְשֹׁת	—	נִנָּחֹת		מִגְשֹׁת

	<i>Qāl.</i>	<i>Niph'āl.</i>	<i>Hiph'āl.</i>	<i>Hōph'āl.</i>
<i>PERF.</i>	אָבַל	נִאֲבַל*	הִאֲבִיל*	הֹאֲבִיל*

As the Verb *Pe Guttural*, Paradigm D.

<i>INF.</i>	אָבַל	אֲבִיל*	הֲאֲבִיל	הֲאֲבִיל
<i>INF. absol.</i>	אָבוּל	הֲאֲבִיל	wanting	wanting
<i>IMP. Sing.</i>	2. m.	אֲבִיל*	הֲאֲבִיל	
	2. f.	אֲבִילי	etc.	
<i>Plur.</i>	2. m.	אֲבִילוּ		wanting
	2. f.	אֲבִילנה		
<i>IMPF. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יֵאֲבַל* (in P. יֵאֲבֵל)	יֵאֲבִיל*	יֵאֲבִיל*
	3. f.	תֵּאֲבַל	etc.	etc.
	2. m.	תֵּאֲבֵל		
	2. f.	תֵּאֲבִילי		
	1. c.	אֵבַל*		
<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יֵאֲבִלוּ		
	3. f.	תֵּאֲבִלנה		
	2. m.	תֵּאֲבִלוּ		
	2. f.	תֵּאֲבִלנה		
	1. c.	נֵאֲבַל		
<i>IMPF. with Wāw</i> <i>consecutive.</i>	יֵאֲבִיל*, יֵאֲבִיר*			
<i>PART. act.</i>	אֲבֵל	נֹאֲבֵל	מֵאֲבִיל	
<i>pass.</i>	אֲבוּל			מֵאֲבִיל

	Qāl.	Niphāl
PERF. Sing. 3. m.	יָשַׁב	*יָשַׁב
3. f.		*נָשְׁבָה
2. m.		נִשְׁבַּח
2. f.		נִשְׁבַּח
1. c.	regular	נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי
Plur. 3. c.		נִשְׁבְּחוּ
2. m.		נִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם
2. f.		נִשְׁבַּחְתֶּן
1. c.		נִשְׁבַּחְנוּ
INF.	יֹסֵד, *שָׁבַח	*הִשְׁבִּיחַ
INF. absol.	יָשׁוּב	wanting
IMP. Sing. 2. m.	*שֵׁב	*יִרְשׁ
2. f.	שְׁבִי	יִרְשִׁי
Plur. 2. m.	שִׁבוּ	יִרְשׁוּ
2. f.	שְׁבֹנָה	יִרְשְׁנָה
IMPF. Sing. 3. m.	*יֹשֵׁב	*יִירָשׁ
3. f.	יֹשֵׁב	יִירָשׁ
2. m.	יֹשֵׁב	יִירָשׁ
2. f.	יֹשְׁבִי	יִירָשִׁי
1. c.	יֹשֵׁב	יִירָשׁ
Plur. 3. m.	יֹשְׁבוּ	יִירָשׁוּ
3. f.	יֹשְׁבֹנָה	יִירָשְׁנָה
2. m.	יֹשְׁבוּ	יִירָשׁוּ
2. f.	יֹשְׁבֹנָה	יִירָשְׁנָה
1. c.	נֹשֵׁב	נִירָשׁ
IMPF. shortened (Jussive).		
IMPF. with Wāw consec.	*וַיֹּשֵׁב	
PART. act.	יֹשֵׁב	*נֹשֵׁב
pass.	יֹשֻׁב	

<i>Hiph'āl.</i>	<i>Hōph'al.</i>	<i>Qāl.</i>	<i>Hiph'āl.</i>
*הוֹשִׁיב הוֹשִׁיבָה הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבְתִּי הוֹשִׁבוּ הוֹשִׁבְתֶּם הוֹשִׁבְתֶּן הוֹשִׁבְנוּ	*הוֹשֵׁב הוֹשִׁיבָה הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבְתִּי הוֹשִׁבוּ הוֹשִׁבְתֶּם הוֹשִׁבְתֶּן הוֹשִׁבְנוּ	יָטַב regular. יָטַב יָטוּב	*הוֹשִׁיב הוֹשִׁיבָה הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבְתִּי הוֹשִׁבוּ הוֹשִׁבְתֶּם הוֹשִׁבְתֶּן הוֹשִׁבְנוּ
*הוֹשִׁיב הוֹשֵׁב	*הוֹשֵׁב	יָטַב יָטוּב	*הוֹשִׁיב *הוֹשֵׁב
*הוֹשֵׁב הוֹשִׁיבִי הוֹשִׁיבוּ הוֹשִׁיבְנָה	wanting	יָטַב יָטַבִּי יָטַבוּ יָטַבְנָה	*הוֹשֵׁב הוֹשִׁיבִי הוֹשִׁיבוּ הוֹשִׁיבְנָה
*יֹושֵׁב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיבִי אוֹשִׁיב יֹושִׁיבוּ תוֹשִׁיבָה תוֹשִׁיבוּ תוֹשִׁיבְנָה נוֹשִׁיב	*יֹושֵׁב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיבִי אוֹשִׁיב יֹושִׁיבוּ תוֹשִׁיבָה תוֹשִׁיבוּ תוֹשִׁיבְנָה נוֹשִׁיב	*יִיטַב תִּיטַב תִּיטַב תִּיטַבִּי אִיטַב יִיטַבוּ תִּיטַבְנָה תִּיטַבוּ תִּיטַבְנָה נִיטַב	*יִיטַב תִּיטַב תִּיטַב תִּיטַבִּי אִיטַב יִיטַבוּ תִּיטַבְנָה תִּיטַבוּ תִּיטַבְנָה נִיטַב
*יֹושֵׁב *יֹושֵׁב			יִיטַב וְיִיטַב
*מוֹשִׁיב	*מוֹשֵׁב	יָטַב יָטוּב	מִיטַב מִיטַב

	Qāl.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
<i>PERF. S. 3. m.</i>	בָּשׂ *מָתָ *קָם *	נָקַם *	הָקִים *	הוּקַם *
3. f.	בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה *	נָקְמָה *	הָקִימָה *	הוּקְמָה *
2. m.	בָּשַׁת *מָתָה *קָמַת *	נָקַמְוֹת *	הָקִימְוֹת *	הוּקְמְוֹת *
2. f.	בָּשַׁת *מָתָ *קָמַת *	נָקַמְוֹת *	הָקִימְוֹת *	הוּקְמְוֹת *
1. c.	בָּשַׁת *מָתִי *קָמַתִּי *	נָקַמְוֹתִי *	הָקִימְוֹתִי *	הוּקְמְוֹתִי *
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	בָּשׂוּ *מָתוּ *קָמוּ *	נָקְמוּ *	הָקִימוּ *	הוּקְמוּ *
2. m.	בָּשַׁתְּם *מָתֶם *קָמַתְּם *	נָקַמְוֹתֶם *	הָקִימְוֹתֶם *	הוּקְמְוֹתֶם *
2. f.	בָּשַׁתְּןָּ *מָתַן *קָמַתְּנָּ *	נָקַמְוֹתְנָּ *	הָקִימְוֹתְנָּ *	הוּקְמְוֹתְנָּ *
1. c.	בָּשַׁנּוּ *מָתַנּוּ *קָמַנּוּ *	נָקַמְוֹנּוּ *	הָקִימְוֹנּוּ *	הוּקְמְוֹנּוּ *
<i>INF.</i>	קוֹם *	בוֹשׂ	הַקּוֹם *	הַקּוֹם *
<i>INF. absol.</i>	קוֹם *		הַקּוֹם *	הַקּוֹם *
<i>IMP. S. 2. m.</i>	קוּם *		הַקּוּם *	הַקּוּם *
2. f.	קוּמִי *		הַקּוּמִי *	הַקּוּמִי *
<i>Pl. 2. m.</i>	קוּמוּ		הַקּוּמוּ	הַקּוּמוּ
2. f.	קוּמְנָה *		הַקּוּמְנָה	הַקּוּמְנָה
<i>IMPF. S. 3. m.</i>	יִקּוֹם *	יִבֹּשׂ	יִקּוֹם *	יִקּוֹם *
3. f.	תִּקּוֹם	תִּבֹּשׂ	תִּקּוֹם	תִּקּוֹם
2. m.	תִּקּוֹם	etc.	תִּקּוֹם	תִּקּוֹם
2. f.	תִּקְוִמִי *		תִּקְוִמִי *	תִּקְוִמִי *
1. c.	אִקּוֹם		אִקּוֹם	אִקּוֹם
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יִקְוִמוּ		יִקְוִמוּ	יִקְוִמוּ
3. f.	תִּקְוִמְנָה *		תִּקְוִמְנָה	תִּקְוִמְנָה *
2. m.	תִּקְוִמוּ		תִּקְוִמוּ	תִּקְוִמוּ
2. f.	תִּקְוִמְנָה		תִּקְוִמְנָה	תִּקְוִמְנָה
1. c.	נִקּוֹם		נִקּוֹם	נִקּוֹם
<i>IMPF. shortened.</i>	יָקַם			יָקַם *
<i>IMPF. with 1 consec.</i>	יִיָּקַם, יִיָּקַם *			יִיָּקַם *
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>	יִקְוִמְנִי *			יִקְוִמְנִי *
<i>PART. act.</i>	קוֹם *	בּוֹשׂ	נִקּוֹם *	מְקִים *
<i>pass.</i>	קוֹם *			מְקִים *

Pālél. = Pāl'āl.		Qāl.		Niph'āl.
קוּמִים*	קוּמִים*	בִּין*	בִּין*	נִבְּוִן*
קוּמְמָה	קוּמְמָה	בִּינָה*	בִּינָה*	נִבְּוִנָה
קוּמְמָת	קוּמְמָת	בִּינּוֹת*	בִּינּוֹת*	נִבְּוִנוֹת
קוּמְמָת	קוּמְמָת	בִּינּוֹת	בִּינּוֹת	נִבְּוִנוֹת
קוּמְמָתִי	קוּמְמָתִי	בִּינּוֹתִי	בִּינּוֹתִי	נִבְּוִנוֹתִי
קוּמְמָמוֹ	קוּמְמָמוֹ	בִּינּוֹ	בִּינּוֹ	נִבְּוִנּוֹ
קוּמְמָתָם	קוּמְמָתָם	בִּינּוֹתָם	בִּינּוֹתָם	נִבְּוִנוֹתָם
קוּמְמָתָן	קוּמְמָתָן	בִּינּוֹתָן	בִּינּוֹתָן	נִבְּוִנוֹתָן
קוּמְמָמֵנוּ	קוּמְמָמֵנוּ	בִּינּוֹנֵנוּ	בִּינּוֹנֵנוּ	נִבְּוִנוֹנֵנוּ
קוּמִים		בִּין*	הַבּוֹן	הַבּוֹן
		בִּין*	הַבּוֹן	הַבּוֹן
קוּמִים	wanting	בִּין*	הַבּוֹן	הַבּוֹן
קוּמְמִי		בִּינִי	as	as
קוּמְמָמוֹ		בִּינּוֹ	הַקּוֹם	הַקּוֹם
קוּמְמָתָהּ		—		
יְקוּמִים	יְקוּמִים	יְבִין*	יְבִין	יְבִין
יְקוּמִים	יְקוּמִים	יְבִין	as	as
יְקוּמִים	יְקוּמִים	יְבִין	יְקוֹם	יְקוֹם
יְקוּמְמִי	יְקוּמְמִי	יְבִינִי		
יְקוּמִים	יְקוּמִים	יְבִין		
יְקוּמְמָמוֹ	יְקוּמְמָמוֹ	יְבִינּוֹ		
יְקוּמְמָנָהּ	יְקוּמְמָנָהּ	יְבִינּוֹת*	יְבִינּוֹת*	יְבִינּוֹת*
יְקוּמְמָמוֹ	יְקוּמְמָמוֹ	יְבִינּוֹ	יְבִינּוֹ	יְבִינּוֹ
יְקוּמְמָנָהּ	יְקוּמְמָנָהּ	יְבִינּוֹתָהּ	יְבִינּוֹתָהּ	יְבִינּוֹתָהּ
יְקוּמִים	יְקוּמִים	יְבִין	יְבִין	יְבִין
		יְבִין*		
		יְבִין*		
		יְבִינִי*		
מְקוּמִים	מְקוּמִים	בִּין*	נִבְּוִן	נִבְּוִן
		בִּין*		

	Qāl.	Niphāl.	Pr'ēl.
<i>PERF. Sing. 3.m.</i>	מִצָּחַ*	נִמְצָחַ*	מִצָּחַ
3. f.	מִצָּחָה	נִמְצָחָה	מִצָּחָה
2.m.	מִצָּחָת*	נִמְצָחָת*	מִצָּחָת*
2. f.	מִצָּחָה	נִמְצָחָה	מִצָּחָה
1. c.	מִצָּחָתִי	נִמְצָחָתִי	מִצָּחָתִי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	מִצָּחוּ	נִמְצָחוּ	מִצָּחוּ
2.m.	מִצָּחַתֶּם	נִמְצָחַתֶּם	מִצָּחַתֶּם
2. f.	מִצָּחַתְּנָה	נִמְצָחַתְּנָה	מִצָּחַתְּנָה
1. c.	מִצָּחַנִי	נִמְצָחַנִי	מִצָּחַנִי
<i>INF.</i>	מִצָּחַ	הִמְצָחַ	מִצָּחַ
<i>INF. absol.</i>	מִצָּחוּ	נִמְצָחוּ	מִצָּחוּ
<i>IMP. Sing. 2.m.</i>	מִצָּחַ*	הִמְצָחַ	מִצָּחַ
2. f.	מִצָּחִי	הִמְצָחִי	מִצָּחִי
<i>Plur. 2.m.</i>	מִצָּחִי	הִמְצָחִי	מִצָּחִי
2. f.	מִצָּחֶיךָ*	הִמְצָחֶיךָ*	מִצָּחֶיךָ*
<i>IMPF. Sing. 3.m.</i>	יִמְצָחַ*	יִמְצָחַ*	יִמְצָחַ
3. f.	תִּמְצָחַ	תִּמְצָחַ	תִּמְצָחַ
2.m.	תִּמְצָחַ	תִּמְצָחַ	תִּמְצָחַ
2. f.	תִּמְצָחִי	תִּמְצָחִי	תִּמְצָחִי
1. c.	אִמְצָחַ	אִמְצָחַ	אִמְצָחַ
<i>Plur. 3.m.</i>	יִמְצָחוּ	יִמְצָחוּ	יִמְצָחוּ
3. f.	תִּמְצָחֶינָה*	תִּמְצָחֶינָה*	תִּמְצָחֶינָה*
2.m.	תִּמְצָחוּ	תִּמְצָחוּ	תִּמְצָחוּ
2. f.	תִּמְצָחֶינָה	תִּמְצָחֶינָה	תִּמְצָחֶינָה
1. c.	נִמְצָחַ	נִמְצָחַ	נִמְצָחַ
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>			
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>	יִמְצָחֵנִי		יִמְצָחֵנִי
<i>PART. act.</i>	מִצָּחַ	נִמְצָחַ	מִמְצָחַ
<i>pass.</i>	מִצָּחוּ		מִמְצָחוּ

[illegible]

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pr'el.</i>
<i>PERF. Sing. 3. m.</i>	בָּלָה*	נִבְלָה*	בָּלָה*
3. <i>f.</i>	בִּלְתָּה*	נִבְלְתָה*	בִּלְתָּה*
2. <i>m.</i>	בָּלִית*	נִבְלִית* (— יֵת)	בָּלִית* (בָּלִית)
2. <i>f.</i>	בָּלִית	נִבְלִית	בָּלִית
1. <i>c.</i>	בָּלִיתִי	נִבְלִיתִי	בָּלִיתִי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	בָּלוּ*	נִבְלוּ	בָּלוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	בָּלִיתֶם	נִבְלִיתֶם	בָּלִיתֶם
2. <i>f.</i>	בָּלִיתְנָה	נִבְלִיתְנָה	בָּלִיתְנָה
1. <i>c.</i>	בָּלִינוּ	נִבְלִינוּ	בָּלִינוּ
<i>INF.</i>	בָּלוֹת*	הִבְלוֹת*	בָּלוֹת*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	בָּלָה	נִבְלָה	בָּלָה, בָּלָה
<i>IMP. Sing. 2. m.</i>	בָּלָה*	הִבְלָה*	בָּלָה*
2. <i>f.</i>	בָּלִי*	הִבְלִי*	בָּלִי*
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	בָּלוּ	הִבְלוּ	בָּלוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	בָּלִינָה*	הִבְלִינָה*	בָּלִינָה*
<i>IMPF. Sing. 3. m.</i>	יִבְלָה*	יִבְלָה*	יִבְלָה*
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּבְלָה	תִּבְלָה	תִּבְלָה
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּבְלָה	תִּבְלָה	תִּבְלָה
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּבְלִי*	תִּבְלִי*	תִּבְלִי*
1. <i>c.</i>	אִבְלָה	אִבְלָה	אִבְלָה
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יִבְלוּ	יִבְלוּ	יִבְלוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּבְלִינָה*	תִּבְלִינָה*	תִּבְלִינָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּבְלוּ	תִּבְלוּ	תִּבְלוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּבְלִינָה	תִּבְלִינָה	תִּבְלִינָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נִבְלָה	נִבְלָה	נִבְלָה
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>	יִבֵּל*	יִבֵּל*	יִבֵּל*
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>	יִבְלִי*		יִבְלִי*
<i>PART. act.</i>	בָּלָה*	נִבְלָה*	מִבְלָה*
<i>pass.</i>	בָּלוּי*		

[illegible]

*Masculine Noun. Feminine Noun**Singular.*

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סוס a horse	סוּסָה a mare.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סוס horse-of.	סוּסָת mare-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סוּסִי my horse.	סוּסָתִי my mare.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסְךָ thy horse.	סוּסָתְךָ thy mare.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֶךָ thy horse.	סוּסָתְךָ thy mare.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסָיו his horse.	סוּסָתָיו his mare.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֶיהָ her horse.	סוּסָתֶיהָ her mare.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סוּסֵינוּ our horse.	סוּסָתֵנוּ our mare.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם your horse.	סוּסָתֵיכֶם your mare.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן your horse.	סוּסָתֵיכֶן your mare.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶם their horse.	סוּסָתֵיהֶם their mare.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶן their horse.	סוּסָתֵיהֶן their mare.

Plural.

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סוסים horses.	סוּסוֹת mares.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סוּסֵי horses-of.	סוּסוֹת mares-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סוּסִי my horses.	סוּסוֹתִי my mares.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיךָ thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיךָ thy mares.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיךָ thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיךָ thy mares.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיוּ his horses.	סוּסוֹתָיו his mares.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהָ her horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיהָ her mares.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סוּסֵינוּ our horses.	סוּסוֹתֵנוּ our mares.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם your mares.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן your mares.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶם their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם their mares.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶן their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן their mares.

Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מֶלֶךְ (king)	סֵפֶר (book)	קֹדֶשׁ (sanctuary)	נָעַר (a youth)	נֶצַח (perpetuity)	פֶּעַל (work)
„ <i>constr.</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נֶצַח	פֶּעַל
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מֶלְכִי	סֵפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נַעְרִי	נֶצְחִי	פַּעְלִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכֶּכֶם	סִפְרֶכֶם	קֹדְשֶׁכֶם	נַעְרֶכֶם	נֶצְחֶכֶם	פַּעְלֶכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מְלָכִים	סִפְרִים	קֹדְשִׁים	נַעְרִים	נֶצְחִים	פַּעְלִים
„ <i>constr.</i>	מְלָכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קֹדְשֵׁי	נַעְרֵי	נֶצְחֵי	פַּעְלֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מְלָכִי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נַעְרִי	נֶצְחִי	פַּעְלִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קֹדְשֵׁיכֶם	נַעְרֵיכֶם	נֶצְחֵיכֶם	פַּעְלֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	רַגְלָיִם (feet)	קַבְצָיִם (double pile)	מִתְנָיִם (loins)	נַעֲלָיִם (sandals)		צֶהָרִים (noon, prop. 2 lights)
„ <i>constr.</i>	רַגְלֵי		מִתְנֵי	נַעֲלֵי		

I.

	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מָוֶת (death)	זֵית (olive)	שׁוֹט (scourge)	פֶּרִי (fruit)	יָם (sea)	אִם (mother)	חֵק (law)
„ <i>constr.</i>	מָוֶת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פֶּרִי	יָם	אִם	חֵק
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מָוְתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	פֶּרְיִי	יָמִי	אִמִּי	חֻקִּי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מָוְתֶכֶם	זֵיתֶכֶם	שׁוֹטֶכֶם	פֶּרִיֶכֶם	יָמֶכֶם	אִמֶּכֶם	חֻקֶּכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מָוְתִים	זֵיתִים	שׁוֹטִים	פְּרִיִּים	יָמִים	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּים
„ <i>constr.</i>	מָוְתֵי	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	פְּרִיֵּי (kids)	יָמֵי	אִמּוֹת	חֻקֵּי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מָוְתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	(kids)	יָמִי	אִמּוֹתִי	חֻקִּי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מָוְתֵיכֶם	זֵיתֵיכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם		יָמֵיכֶם	אִמּוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקֵּיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>		עֵינַיִם (eyes)	יוֹמַיִם (two days)	לְחָיִים (cheeks)	כַּפָּיִם (hands)	שִׁנָּיִם (teeth)	
„ <i>constr.</i>		עֵינַי		לְחָיֵי	כַּפָּי	שִׁנָּי	

II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	דָּבָר (word)	חָכֶם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	כָּתֵף (shoulder)	חֲצֵר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ <i>constr.</i>	דְּבָר	חָכֶם	זָקֵן	כָּתֵף	חֲצֵר	שָׂדֶה
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקֹנִי	כָּתְפִי	חֲצֵרִי	שָׂדֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרְכֶם	חָכְמֶכֶם				
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	דְּבָרִים	חָכְמִים	זָקֵנִים		חֲצֵרִים	[שָׂדִים]
„ <i>constr.</i>	דְּבָרֵי	חָכְמֵי	זָקֵנֵי		חֲצֵרֵי	שָׂדֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקֹנִי		חֲצֵרִי	שָׂדֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵיכֶם	חָכְמֵיכֶם	זָקֵנֵיכֶם		חֲצֵרֵיכֶם	שָׂדֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	כְּנָפַיִם (wings)	חֲלָצִים (thighs)	יָרֵכִים (loins)			
„ <i>constr.</i>	כְּנָפֵי					

III.

IV.

	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	עוֹלָם (perpetuity)	אֹיֵב (enemy)	חֹזֶה (prophet)	פֹּקֵד (overseer)	עָנִי (poor)	כָּתֵב (writing)
„ <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָם	אֹיֵב	חֹזֶה	פֹּקֵד	עָנִי	כָּתֵב
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	פֹּקִידִי		כָּתְבִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלָמְכֶם	אֹיְבֶכֶם	חֹזְכֶם	פֹּקִידְכֶם		כָּתְבְּכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	עוֹלָמִים	אֹיְבִים	חֹזִים	פֹּקִידִים	עָנִיִּים	כָּתְבִים
„ <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָמֵי	אֹיְבֵי	חֹזֵי	פֹּקִידֵי	עָנֵי	כָּתְבֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	פֹּקִידִי		כָּתְבִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלָמֵיכֶם	אֹיְבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵיכֶם	פֹּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנֵיכֶם	כָּתְבֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	מְלָקָחַיִם (tongs)	מֵאזְנָיִם (balance)		שְׁבָעִים (fortnight)		
„ <i>constr.</i>		מֵאזְנֵי				

Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מַלְכָּה (queen)	חֲרָפָה (reproach)	חֲרָבָה (waste)	חֻקָּה (law)	גְּבֵרָתָהּ (mistress)
„ <i>constr.</i>	מַלְכָּת	חֲרָפַת	חֲרֻבַת	חֻקַּת	גְּבֵרַת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתִי	חֲרָפָתִי	חֲרֻבָּתִי	חֻקָּתִי	גְּבֵרָתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתְכֶם	חֲרָפַתְכֶם	חֲרֻבַתְכֶם	חֻקַּתְכֶם	גְּבֵרָתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרֻבוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
„ <i>constr.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרֻבוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
„ <i>with suff.</i>	מַלְכוֹתִי	חֲרָפוֹתִי	חֲרֻבוֹתִי	חֻקּוֹתִי	
<i>Dual absol.</i>		רִקְמָתַיִם (double embroidery)			מַצְלֵתַיִם (cymbals)

II.

III.

	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	צֶדֶקָה (justice)	זַעֲקָה (outcry)	שָׁנָה (year)	יוֹנֵקָה (sprout)	גִּלְגֻּלָּתָהּ (skull)
„ <i>constr.</i>	צֶדֶקַת	זַעֲקַת	שָׁנַת	יוֹנֵקַת	גִּלְגֻּלַּת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	צֶדֶקָתִי	זַעֲקָתִי	שָׁנָתִי	יוֹנֵקָתִי	גִּלְגֻּלָּתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	צֶדֶקַתְכֶם	זַעֲקַתְכֶם	שָׁנַתְכֶם	יוֹנֵקַתְכֶם	גִּלְגֻּלַּתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	צֶדֶקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	[יוֹנֵקוֹת]	גִּלְגֻּלוֹת
„ <i>constr.</i>	צֶדֶקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יוֹנֵקוֹת	גִּלְגֻּלוֹת
„ <i>with suff.</i>	צֶדֶקוֹתִי		שָׁנוֹתִי	יוֹנֵקוֹתִי	גִּלְגֻּלוֹתִי
<i>Dual absol.</i>			שְׁפָתַיִם (lips)		[נִחְשָׁתַיִם] (pair of fletters)
„ <i>constr.</i>			שְׁפָתַי		

NUMERALS. §§ 97, 98.

*With the Masculine.**With the Feminine.*

	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>
1.	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָת	אֶחָת
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁתֵּי	שְׁתֵּי
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁת	שְׁלוֹשׁ	שְׁלוֹשׁ
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשָּׁת	חֲמִשׁ	חֲמִשׁ
6.	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשֶׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבַּע	שִׁבַּע
8.	שְׁמוֹנֶה	שְׁמוֹנֶת	שְׁמוֹנֶה	שְׁמוֹנֶה
9.	תִּשְׁעָה	תִּשְׁעַת	תִּשְׁעָה	תִּשְׁעָה
10.	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשְׂרֵת	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשְׂרֵה

*Masc.**Fem.*

11.	{ אֶחָד עֶשְׂרֵה עֶשְׂתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה	{ אֶחָת עֶשְׂרֵה עֶשְׂתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
12.	{ שְׁנַיִם עֶשְׂרֵה שְׁנֵי עֶשְׂרֵה	{ שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עֶשְׂרֵה	שְׁלוֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה

100	מֵאָה <i>fem., constr.</i> מֵאֹת, <i>plur.</i> מֵאוֹת <i>hundreds.</i>
200	מֵאֵתַיִם <i>dual</i> (for מֵאֵתַיִם).
300	שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת.
400	אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת etc.
1000	אֶלֶף <i>masc., plur.</i> אֶלְפִים <i>thousands.</i>
2000	אֶלְפִים (<i>dual</i>).
3000	שְׁלֹשָׁת אֶלְפִים.
4000	אַרְבַּעַת אֶלְפִים, etc.
10000	{ רִבְבָּהּ but, in later books, רִבּוּא, רִבּוּ <i>pl.</i> רִבּוּא.
20000	רִבְבֵּי (dual), also רִבּוּא שְׁתֵּי.
40000	אַרְבַּע רִבּוּא, etc.
60000	שִׁשְׁ-רִבְבָּאוֹת Ezra 2. 69.

a) לְ with the suffixes:—

<i>Sing.</i>		<i>Plur.</i>
1. לִי to me.		לָנוּ to us.
2. { m. לָהּ, (לָכֶּה), in pause לָךְ } to thee.		לָכֶם, לָכֶנָּה ¹ } to you
3. { m. לוֹ to him.		לָהֶם, לָהֶמָּה, poet. לָמֹ ² } to them.
{ f. לָהּ to her.		לָהֶן ³ } to them.

לְ takes suffixes in the same manner, except that for the 3d person plur. we have בָּהֶם, בָּם, בָּהֶמָּה, fem. בָּהֶן or בָּהֶן, בָּהֶנָּה.

b) כִּי with the suffixes:—

<i>Sing.</i>		<i>Plur.</i>
1. כִּמְדוּרִי ⁴ as I.		כִּמְדוּנֵינוּ as we.
2. { m. כִּמְדוּרִי } as thou.		כִּכֶּם, seldom כִּמְדוּכֶם } as ye.
3. { m. כִּמְדוּרָיו as he.		כִּמְדוּרֵיהֶם [כִּמְדוּמָה] כִּהֶם } as they.
{ f. כִּמְדוּרָהּ as she.		כִּהֶנָּה, כִּהֶן } as they.

c) מִן with the suffixes:—

<i>Sing.</i>		<i>Plur.</i>
1. מִמְּדוּרִי, poet. מִדוּרִי, in pause מִדוּרִי from me.		מִמְּדוּנֵינוּ from us.
2. { m. מִמְּדוּרִי, in p. מִמְּדוּרִי } from thee.		מִכֶּם } from you.
{ f. מִמְּדוּרִי } from thee.		מִכֶּן } from you.
3. { m. מִמְּדוּרָיו, poet. in pause מִמְּדוּרָיו, מִמְּדוּרָיו from him.		מִמְּדוּרֵיהֶם, מִמְּדוּמָה, poet. מִמְּדוּמָה } from them.
{ f. מִמְּדוּרָהּ from her.		מִמְּדוּרֵיהֶן, מִמְּדוּרָהּ } from them.

¹ לָכֶן happens not to occur in the Old Testament.

² See Note ¹ on p. 261.

³ Not לָהֶן, which signifies therefore.

⁴ The use of לִי for לְ here is simply for euphony.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.

THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN GENERAL.


1. The Hebrew tongue is only a single branch of a great family of languages in western Asia, which was native in Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria and Arabia; that is, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean sea to beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. But in very early antiquity, this family of languages had spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and, through Phœnician colonies, over several of the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and particularly over the whole Carthaginian coast. There is no ancient collective name for the nations and languages of this family. We have, however, retained the now generally received names *Shemites*, *Semitic languages*, borrowed from the fact that nearly all the nations, who spoke these languages, were descended from Shem (see Gen. 10, 21—29)¹.

2. From this Semitic family have proceeded four principal branches. I. The South Semitic or *Arabic*, both the classic and modern (vulgar). To this belongs the Ethiopic

¹ From Shem proceeded (Gen. ch. 10) the Aramæan and Arab tribes, as well as the Hebrews; but not the Canaanites (Phœnicians), who are referred to Ham (vs. 6, 15—18); though their language belongs decidedly to those called Semitic.

(in Abyssinia), as an offshoot of the older South-Arabic (Himyaritic).¹ II. The Middle Semitic, or *Canaanitic*. The *Hebrew* of the Old Testament belongs here with the Rabbinical, as well as the Phœnician, the Punic (of Carthage), and other Canaanitish dialects appearing in proper names and on the Moabite Stone. III. The North Semitic or *Aramæan*. This is subdivided into 1) the Eastern Aramæan or *Syriac* (the literary language of the Christian Syrians) of which the religious books of the *Mandæans*² (Nasoræans, Sabians, the so-called disciples of John) are in a degraded dialect. A Jewish modification of the Syriac is exhibited in the language of the Babylonian Talmud. 2) The Western or Palestinian Aramæan (inaccurately called Chaldee). This dialect is represented, in the Old Testament, by two words in Genesis 31, 47, by the verse Jer. 10, 11, and by the passages: Dan. 2, 4—7, 28; Ezra 4, 8—6, 18, and 7, 12—26. But principally in Jewish literature such as the Targums, the Palestine Gemara, etc. To the same branch belongs the *Samaritan* with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and also the idiom of the *Nabatæan*³ inscriptions, in the east of Palestine and the region of Sinai. IV. As a distinct and fourth chief-branch, the East Semitic, we may regard the *Assyrian-Babylonian* Cuneiform (3^d class of so-called Achæmenide) Inscriptions.⁴

¹ On the Himyaritic Inscriptions, see *Rödiger's* Excursus to Wellstedt's Reisen in Arabien (Halle, 1842) Bd. II, *Ewald* in Zeitschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl. Bd. V, and in *Höfer's* Zeitsch., Bd. I, *M. A. Levy* and *Osiander* in Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Bd. X, XIX, XX, XXIV, *Prütorius* ibid. Bd. XXVI,

² See *Nöldeke* über d. Mundart d. Mandäer, Göttingen, 1863. 4to. He traces the name, *Sabians*, to the root , to dip; comp. Am. Bibliotheca Sacra, 1851, p. 563.

³ Yet the names found in these inscriptions are rather Arabic: see *Tuch* in Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Bd. III, S. 129 ff., *M. A. Levy* ibid., Bd. XIV, S. 363 ff., *Blau* ibid., Bd. XVI, S. 331 ff., *E. Meier* ibid. Bd. XVII, S. 575 ff., *de Vogüé* in Revue archéologique, nouv. série, IX, 1864, p. 284—288, and his Syrie centrale, Paris, 1868, p. 89 ff.

⁴ The importance of Assyrian for Hebrew philology, especially lexicographically, is discussed by *Friedr. Delitzsch* in The Hebrew Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research, London, 1883, and Prolegomena eines neuen Hebr.-Aram. Wörterbuchs zum A. T., Leipzig, 1886; also by *Haupt* in various journals devoted to Assyriological research, e. g. Art. on Assyrian Phonology, "Hebraica," vol. I., 3 (Chicago, Jan., 1885).

If the above division into four branches were reduced to two principal groups, No. I as the South Semitic would stand in contradistinction to the other three branches as the North Semitic.

All these languages are related to each other in much the same manner as those of the Germanic family (Gothic, Old-Norse, Danish, Swedish; high and low German, in the earlier and later dialects): or as those of the Slavic tongues (Lithuanian, Lettish; Old-Slavic, Servian, Russian; Polish, Bohemian). They are now either wholly extinct, as is the case with the Phœnician and the Assyrian, or they exist only in a debased and dwindling form, as the modern Syriac among the Jews and the Syrian Christians in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan¹, the Ethiopic (called *Gheez*) in the modern Abyssinian dialects (Tigré, Amharic), and as the Hebrew, among a part of the modern Jews, though the latter in their writings often aim at the reproduction of the language of the Old Testament. The Arabic alone, in a form but slightly altered, has not only retained to this day its original seat, Arabia proper, but also penetrated in all directions into the domains of other tongues.

The Semitic class of languages is bordered, on the east and north, by another of still wider extent, which has spread itself from India into the west of Europe, and which is called the *Indo-Germanic* (also called *Aryan*), as it comprehends, under the most varied forms, the Indian (Sanskrit), ancient and modern Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavic, Gothic with the other Germanic languages and the Keltic. With the Old-Egyptian language, the offspring of which is the Coptic, the Semitic has had, from earliest antiquity, much in common; but also much of fundamental difference.² The Chinese, the Japanese, the Tartar and other languages, exhibit a radically different character from the Semitic.

3. The *grammatical structure* of the Semitic stock, as compared with that of other languages, particularly the Indo-Germanic, exhibits many peculiarities, which collectively constitute its distinctive character, although many of them are found singly in other languages. Thus we find: *a*) among

Ménant, Exposé des Elements de la Gramm. Assy., Paris, 1868; *Schrader's* valuable articles on the Assyrian Inscriptions and Language, in the *Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. XXIII (1869), pp. 337—74, also Bd. XXVI (1872), pp. 1—392.

¹ See *Rödiger* in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. II., S. 77 ff., *Stoddard's* Gramm. of the Modern Syriac Language, London, 1854, *Nöldeke's* Gramm. der neusyrischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1868.

² For comparisons of the Egyptian and Semitic, see *Gesenius* in d. Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1839, No. 77 ff., 1841, No. 40, and in his *Thes. Ling. Hebrææ*; *Schwarze* in his *Altes Aegypten* and in *Bunsen's Aegypten*, I., S. 520 ff.; *Ewald* in *Abhandl. d. Göttinger Ges. d. Wissen.*, Bd. IX, 1860, S. 157 ff.; *Birch* in the new ed. of *Bunsen's Egypt.*, Vol. II; *Brugsch's Hieroglyph. Demot. Wörterbuch*, and others.

the consonants which, in general, form the pith and substance of these languages, many gutturals of different gradations; the vowels proceeding all from the three primary sounds (*a, i, u*), and serving to mark more subordinate distinctions: *b*) word-stems, generally consisting of three consonants: *c*) in the Verb, only two tense-forms, each having a peculiarly marked out usage; and a pervading regularity in the formation of verbals: *d*) in the Noun, only two genders (masc. and fem.), and a peculiar indication of case: *e*) in the Pronoun, the oblique cases indicated by appended forms (*suffixa*): *f*) scarcely any compounds, either in the Noun (except many proper names) or in the Verb: *g*) in the Syntax, a great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations (small number of particles, prevalence of simple succession of clauses without periodic structure) to which, however, the classic Arabic furnishes a not unimportant exception.

4. In respect to the *Lexicon* also, the Semitic store of words differs essentially from the Indo-Germanic; though there is here apparently more agreement than in grammatical structure. Very many stems and roots¹ are coincident in sound with those of the Indo-Germanic class. But aside from expressions directly borrowed (see next p.), the actual similarity restricts itself, partly to words imitating² natural sounds (*onomatopoetica*), partly to those in which the sameness or similarity of meaning follows readily from the nature of the kindred sounds, according to the universal type of human speech. Neither of these establishes any *historical* (gentilic) relationship; to the direct proof of which, the agreement also in grammatical structure is essential.³

As examples of *onomatopoetic* stems, imitating² the same natural

¹ See the distinction between *stems* and *roots* in § 30, Rem. 1 and 2.—Tr.

² Hence words of this sort are aptly called *mimetic* (or *onomatopoetic*) and the curious student can find them generally indicated and compared in the Hebrew Lexicon, e. g. under אָז, אָם, בָּבָה.—Tr.

³ The earlier empirical comparisons between the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic tongues were of no scientific value. The later attempts of *Rud. von Rarmer*, *Ascoli* and others to solve the question, are partly not yet carried out and partly self-contradictory; so that there is altogether need of still farther thorough investigations. *Ewald* gives a survey of the whole subject in the

sound, we may class together the following: לָקַח, לִקַּח, λείχω, *lingo*, Sans. *lih*, F. *lécher*, Germ. *lec'en*, Eng. *to lick*, and Erse *lighim* = Welsh *llyvi*¹; לָלַךְ, (kindr. לָלַץ לָלַץ), χέλλω, κίλλω, κυλίω, *volvo*, Welsh *olwyn* = E. *wheel*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, and Eng. *to well*; חָרַר, חָרַר, χαράττω, Pers. *kharīdan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Germ. *kratzen*, Eng. *to grate*, *to scratch*, and Welsh *carthu*, *cravi*; פָּרַק *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, Eng. *to break*, Armoric *frika* = Welsh *brüvo*, &c. An example of another kind is *am*, *ham* (*sam*), *gam*, *kam*, in the signification *with*, *together*; e. g. in Heb. אִמָּם (hence אִמָּם people, prop. assemblage), עִם *together-with*, אָמַם (hence אָמַם also), Arab. جَمَعَ *to collect*; Pers. *ham*, *hama* (at once), Sans. *amā* (*with*); Gr. ἄμα (*ἄμφω*), ὁμός, ὁμοῦ (*ὁμιλος*, ὁμαδος), and harder in sound, κοινός, Lat. *cum*, *cumulus*, Welsh *cym* = Lat. *com*, and with the corresponding sibilant, Sans. *sam*, σύν, ξύν, ξυνός = κοινός, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *samint*, *sammeln*: though doubts may still be felt in regard to several of the instances quoted.

Essentially different from such internal relationship, are the adoption and naturalisation of single words from one language into another (borrowed words). Thus,

a) When Indian, Egyptian, Persian objects are called in the Hebrew by their native names: e. g. יְאֵר (Egypt, *ior*, *iero*, *iaro*) river, Nile; אֶהֱי (Egypt. *ake*) Nile-grass; פַּרְדֵּס (old Pers. *pairidéz* = *παράδεισος*) park; דָּרִיכָא *daric*, Persian gold-coin; תְּפִיץ, from the Sanscr. *ṣikhi* Malabar *togāi*, peacocks. Several of them are found also in Greek, as קֶהָ (Sans. *kapi*) ape, κῆπος, κῆπος; כַּרְפָּס (Sans. *karpāsa*) cotton, κάρπακος, *carbasus*.

b) When Semitic words, names of Asiatic products and articles of traffic, have passed over to the Greeks along with the things: e. g. בִּיץ *bússos*, *byssus*; לִבְנָה *libanotós* (frankincense); קָנָה *kánnē*, *kánna*, *canna*, *cane*; מִין *kúminon*, *cuminum*, *cumin*; מִין *múrrā*, *myrrhā*, *myrrh*; קַצִּיָּה *kassía*, *cassia*; מִין *kámēlos*, *camelus*, *camel*; עֲרָבֹן *arrhabon*, *arrha*, pledge. Such transitions would be facilitated, especially, by the commerce of the Phœnicians.

5. As the writing of a language is never so perfect as to express all its various shades of sound, so the *writing of the*

Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1862, Bd. X, S. 1—80. This at least appears certain, viz. that these two families do not stand in a sisterly or any close relationship to each other.

¹ That the *Keltic* dialects (not unlike the Semitic in their relation to each other), namely Welsh, Cornish, Armoric (or Breton), Gælic, Erse, and Manks, belong to the Indo-Germanic family has been abundantly proved by Dr. *Pritchard* in his *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, and by *Pictet* in his *Affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit*; see also the *Grammatica Celtica* of *Zeuss* and *Lhuyd's Archæologia Britannica*.—Tv.

Shemites has decidedly one very remarkable imperfection; viz. that only the consonants (which indeed constitute the pith and substance of the language) were marked down in the line as real letters; whilst, of the vowel-sounds, only the fuller ones, and even these not always, were represented by certain consonants (§ 7). Not till a later period were all the vowel-sounds indicated to the eye, by attaching to the consonants (§ 8) particular small signs (points, or strokes, below and above them); which however, for more practised readers, are wholly omitted. The letters are always written, moreover, from right to left¹.—Dissimilar as the different Semitic characters may appear, they yet all proceed, by various tendencies and modifications, from one and the same original alphabet, of which the truest type among all the existing varieties of alphabetic writing, is preserved in *old Phœnician*, with which the *Early Hebrew* was nearly identical (§ 5, 1), and from which came also the old Greek, and through it all the European alphabets.

See the Table at the beginning of this Grammar, showing the relation of some of the older Semitic Alphabets to each other, and specially the origin of the present Heb. characters from the older forms. For a more detailed view of the Phœnician alphabet, and of those which have proceeded from it, see *Gesenius*, *Monumenta Phœnicia* (Lipsiæ, 1837, 4) p. 15. ff. and Tab. 1—5, and his article *Palæographie*, in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop.*, Sect. III, Bd. 9. Of late years, the discovery of numerous monuments has considerably extended and rectified our knowledge of the Semitic alphabet; see *Schröder's Phönizische Sprache*, 1869, S. 75 ff.; *de Vogüé's* tables in Vol. XI of the *Revue Archéol.* (Paris 1865) and his *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale* (Paris 1868); *Lenormant*, *Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'ancien Monde*. Tome I (2d ed. Paris 1875) and the appendix to *Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's Grundriss der hebr. Sprache* (Leipz. 1877), which is the best and richest scriptural table of to-day, that of *Jul. Euting*.

¹ The Himyaritic writing runs usually from left to right, but at times also from right to left, and even both ways by turns. The Ethiopic is now written from left to right. But this is perhaps in consequence of Greek influence; but a few ancient inscriptions still exhibit the contrary direction. See *Rödiger* in the *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenll.*, Bd. I, S. 332 ff. and his *Excursus to Wellsted's Reisen in Arabien*, II, 376 ff. Also the Assyrian cuneiform writing runs from left to right.

6. In regard to the relative *age of the Semitic languages*, the oldest written works are found in the *Cuneiform*, then in the *Hebrew* of the Old Testament (§ 2); the Jewish *Aramæan* works begin about the time of Cyrus (compare *Ezra* 6, 3 sq.); those of the *Arabic* branch not earlier than in the first centuries of the Christian era (Himyaritic inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth century, North-Arabic literature after the sixth). But it is still another question, which of these languages longest and most truly held to the original Semitic type, and therefore has come to us, in an earlier phase of its developement. For the more or less rapid modification of language, in the mouth of a people or of tribes of the same people, is determined by causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature; and often, before the formation of a literature, has the organism of a language been already impaired, especially by early contact with other tongues. Thus, in the Semitic branch, the Aramæan dialects suffered the earliest and greatest decay, and next to them the Hebrew-Canaanitic and, in its own way, the Assyrian. The Arabic retained longest the natural fulness and primitive purity of its sounds and forms; remaining among the secluded tribes of the wilderness more undisturbed, in its fully stamped organism, until, in the Mohammedan revolution, it too became much impaired; and then, at so much later a period, it reached about the same stage as that in which we find the Hebrew, even as early as in the times of the Old Testament.¹

Hence the phenomenon, accounted by some so strange, that the ancient Hebrew accords more, in its grammatical structure, with the later than with the earlier Arabic; and that the latter, though first appearing as a written language at a later period, has yet, in comparison with the other Semitic tongues, preserved a structure in many respects more perfect, and greater freshness in its vowel-system; and so it holds among them a relation similar to that of the Sanskrit among the Indo-Germanic languages, or of the Gothic in the narrower circle of

¹ Among the Bedawin of the Arabian desert, the language has still preserved many antique forms. See *Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia*, Append. VII; his *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 211; *Wallin* in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. V (1851), S. 1 ff., VI, S. 190 ff., 369 ff., XII, S. 673; *Wetzstein* in the same *Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXII, S. 69 ff., 162 ff.

the Germanic. How a language can preserve its fuller structure, amidst decaying sister tongues, is seen (e. g.) in the Lithuanian compared with the Slavic languages, properly so called. So the Doric held tenaciously to earlier sounds and forms; so the Friesic and Icelandic, among the Germanic and Norse languages. But even the most constant and enduring structure of language often suffers, in single forms and plastic tendencies; while on the contrary, in the midst of universal decline, the original and ancient is here and there still remaining. Such is the case also with the Semitic tongues. The Arabic, too, has its chasms, and its later growth; but in general, the preeminence is due to it, especially in its vowel-system.

To establish more fully these principles, and to carry them out farther, belong to a Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages. But it follows from what has been said: 1) That the Hebrew language, as it appears in the ancient sacred literature of the Jews, has already suffered more considerable loss, in respect to its organic nature, than the Arabic which comes later within our historical horizon. 2) That notwithstanding this, we cannot straightway award to the latter the priority in all points. 3) That it is a mistaken view, when many regard the Aramæan, on account of its simplicity, as the original form of Semitic speech; for its simplicity was caused by the decay of its organic nature and the crumpling of its forms.

On the character, literature, grammatical and lexical treatment of the Semitic languages, see *Gesenius's* Preface to his *Hebräisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. 4; *de Wette-Schrader*, *Lehrbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung in die kanon. u. apokryph. Bücher des A. T.* (8th ed. Berlin, 1869) p. 71; *F. Bleek*, *Einleitung in das A. T.* (3d ed. *Kamphausen* Berlin, 1870) p. 37; *L. Diestel*, *Gesch. des A. T. in der christl. Kirche* (Jena, 1869).—Also *American Biblical Repository*, vol. III.

§ 2.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

See *Gesenius*, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipzig, 1815, §§ 5—18. *E. Renan*, *Histoire gén. des Langues Sémitiques*, Vol. I. 4th ed. Paris, 1864. *Th. Nöldeke*, art. "Sprache, hebräische" in *Schenkel's Bibellex.* Bd. V. Leipzig, 1875. *Bertheau* "Hebräische Sprache" in *Herzog's Realencyklopädie*.

1. The *Hebrew Language*, as the name is usually employed, denotes the language of the Sacred Writings of the Israelites, which constitute the canonical books of the Old Testament. It is called *ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the modern Hebrew in Jewish works, written since the Biblical period.

The name, Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית, γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἑβραϊστί), does not occur in the Old Testament; instead of it we find *the language of Canaan* in Is. 19, 18 (from the country where it was spoken) and יְהוּדִית *Jewish* in 2 K. 18, 26 (comp. Is. 36, 11, 13), Neh. 13, 24. In the latter passage it follows the later usage, which arose after the return from the captivity, and in which the name *Jew*, *Jewish*, was gradually extended to the whole nation (as in Haggai, Nehemiah and Esther).

The names *Hebrews* (עִבְרִיִּים, Ἑβραῖοι, *Hebræi*) and *Israelites* (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), are thus distinguished; the latter had more the import of a national name of honour, which the people used to apply to themselves, with a patriotic reference to their descent from illustrious ancestors; while the former was probably the older and less significant national name, by which they were known among foreigners, for which reason it is used in the Old Testament, specially when they are to be distinguished from other nations (Gen. 40, 15; 43, 32; Ex. 2, 7; 3, 18; Jon. 1, 9), and where persons who are not Israelites are introduced as speaking (Gen. 39, 14, 17; 41, 12: compare *Gesenius's* Hebr. Lexicon, under עִבְרִי). On the other hand, among the Greeks and Romans, e. g. in Pausanias, Tacitus, and even Josephus, it is the only customary name. As an appellative it might mean, *those beyond, people of the country on the other side* (with reference to the land beyond the Euphrates), from עֵבֶר *land on the other side*, and the formative syllable יָ (§ 86, 2, 5). It might then be appropriated to the colony, which under Abraham migrated from regions east of the Euphrates into the land of Canaan (Gen. 14, 13); though the Hebrew genealogists explain it, as a patronymic, by *sons (posterity) of Eber* (Gen. 10, 21, Num. 24, 24).

In the time of the New Testament, the term *Hebrew* (ἑβραϊστί, John 5, 2. 19, 13, 17, 20; ἑβραῖς διάλεκτος Acts 21, 40, 22, 2, 26, 14) was applied also to the language (Aramæan) then vernacular in Palestine, in distinction from the Greek; and Josephus (who died about A. D. 95) uses it in this sense, as well as for the ancient Hebrew.

The name *lingua sancta* is first given to the Hebrew in the Jewish Aramaic versions of the Old Testament, as the language of the sacred books, in distinction from the *lingua profana*, or the Aramaic vernacular.

2. Out of the Old Testament there are only very few monuments of ancient Hebrew writing, namely—1) an Inscription of 34 lines, which was found (unhappily much injured) in the former territory of the tribe of Reuben, about 4 leagues to the east of the Dead Sea, among the ruins of the city of Dibô'n (now Dibâ'n), anciently inhabited by the Gadites but afterwards belonging to Moab, and in which the Moabite king

afterwards belonging to Moab, and in which the Moabite king *Mêshâ* (at the beginning of the 9th century B. C.) tells about his battles with Israel (comp. 2 K. 3, 4-27), and his various enterprises and achievements;¹—2) a six-line inscription in the Old Hebrew character of about 700 B. C.² was discovered in June, 1880, in the tunnel between the Virgin's fount and the pool of Siloam in Jerusalem;—3) twenty Stones or Gems (written on for seals), but mostly presenting only names;—4) Coins of the Maccabean prince J. Hyrcanus (135 B. C.) and of his successors.³

3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as they lie before us in the Old Testament, as also in the extra-Biblical monuments (see No. 2 above), the language appears to stand almost in the same stage of development, as to its general character, irrespective of lesser changes and differences of style (see Nos. 6 and 7 below). In this form it may have been early fixed as a literary language, and the fact that the Old Testament books had been handed down as sacred writings, must have been highly favorable to its remarkably persistent uniformity.

To this Old Hebrew language the Canaanitic⁴ or Phœnician came

¹ See plaster facsimiles at several American Universities and elsewhere, and a magnificent reproduction of the inscription by *Smend* and *Socin* (Freiburg i. B. 1886).

² Cf. on this inscription, which unfortunately is not dated, though very important in a literary and palæographical point of view, the contents describing the process of building the tunnel: *Kautzsch* in *Zeitschr. des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1881, p. 102 sq. and 260 sq. (with facsimile of the inscription from a plaster cast), also 1882, p. 205 sq.; *Guthe*, *ibid.*, 1881, p. 250 sq.; *W. Wright* in the *Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archæol.*, Feb. 7, 1882; also the *Oriental series* of the *London Palæographical Society*, table 87. *S. R. Driver* in *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Introduction, Plate I., p. XV. sq.

³ See *De Saulcy*, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque* (Paris, 1854, 4to); *M. A. Levy's* *Geschichte der Jüd. Münzen* (Breslau, 1862); *Madden's* *History of Jewish Coinage*, (London 1864); *The Coins of the Jews* (London, 1881); also *Schürer's* *Lehrb. der neutest. Zeitgesch.* (Leipz. 1886-91).

⁴ מִצְרַיִם, מִצְרַיִם is the native name alike both for the Canaanitic tribes in Palestine, and for those who dwelt at the foot of Lebanon and on the Syrian

the nearest of all the Semitic tongues, as appears partly from the many Canaanitic names of persons and places with Hebrew form and meaning (e. g. מִלְכִּי-צֶדֶק, קָרְיֹת סָפֵר, etc.), that occur in the Old Testament, and partly from the extant remains of the Phœnician and Punic language. The latter we find in their own writing (see § 1, 5) in inscriptions (over 350 in all), and on coins (copied by *Gesenius* in his *Monumenta Phœnicæ*, *Judas, Bourgade, Davis, De Vogüé, P. Schröder, von Mallzan*, and others). Among the inscriptions are only a few public documents (e. g. two sacrificial lists), by far the most being grave-stones or votive-tablets; also the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmūnazar, king of Sidon, (found 1855, now in the Louvre; first accurately copied in facsimile by the Duke *de Luynes* in his *Mémoire sur le sarcophage et l'inscription funéraire d'Esmunazar, roi de Sidon*, Paris 1856, and then fully elucidated by *Schlottmann*, Halle, 1868 and by *Kämpf*, Prague, 1874). We find also isolated words here and there in Greek and Latin authors and the Punic pieces of text in *Plautus* (*Pœnulus* 5, 1–3). From those monuments we see the native orthography, and from these specimens the pronunciation and vowel-system, both together giving a distinct idea of this language and of its relation to the Hebrew.

Phœnician (Punic) words, found in inscriptions, are e. g. אל god, אדם man, בן son, בת daughter, מלך king, עבד servant, כהן priest, זבח sacrifice, בעל lord, שמש sun, ארץ land, ים sea, אבן stone, כסף silver, ברזל iron, עת time, קבר grave, מצבה pillar, מקום place, משכב bed, כל all, אחד one, שלש three, חמש five, שש six, שבע seven, עשר ten, שמע to hear, פתח to open, ניר to vow, ברך to bless, בקש to seek, &c. Proper names: צידן Sidon, צר Tyre, חנא Hanno, הַנְּבַל Hannibal, &c. Comp. *M. A. Levy's* Phön. Wörterbuch, Breslau, 1864.

The variations in the Phœnician orthography and forms are, e. g. the almost constant omission of the vowel-letters (§ 7, 2), as בַּח for בֵּית *house*, קַל for קוֹל *voice*, צַדִּין for צִדְוֹן *priests*, אלִּנִּים *alōnim* in *Plautus*) *gods*; the feminine ending in ת (*ath*) as well as in א (*ô*), even in the absolute state (§ 80, 2), besides many others. Those in pronunciation are still more remarkable, especially in the Punic, which commonly pronounced *i* as *û*, e. g. שֹׁפֵט *sûfê't* (judge), שְׁלֹשׁ *salû's* (three), רֶשׁ *rûs* = ראש (head); for *i* and *e*, it often has the obscure, dull sound *y*, e. g. הַעֲנִי *yynnynu* (*ecce eum*), יֵת (*ayth*) *yth*; and takes the *e* as *o*, e. g. מֹעַר *Mocar* (comp. מִעְבָּה, LXX Μωχά). For the collection of these grammatical peculiarities, see *Gesenius*, *Monum. Phœn.* p. 430 sqq.; also *Movers* in *Art. Phönizien* in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop. Sect. III. Bd. 24*, pp. 434 ff., *Paul Schröder* in his *Phönizische Sprache*, Halle, 1869, and *B. Stade*, *Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phönic. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades* (in the "*Morgenländ. Forschungen*" Leipzig, 1875).

coast, whom we call Phœnicians, while they called themselves כְּנַעַן *on* their own coins. Also the people of Carthage called themselves *so*.

4. As the Heb. writing on stones and coins, mentioned in No. 2 above, consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old Testament books have used merely the consonants (§ 1, 5); and even now the written Rolls, or copies of the Law, used in the Synagogues, must not, according to ancient custom, contain any thing more. The present pronunciation of this consonant-text, its vocalisation, accentuation and chant-like way of being read, rest only on tradition, as kept up by custom and in the Jewish schools, and finally as Jewish scholars settled it by means of the system of vowel-points (§§ 7—17), about the 7th century after Christ.

Yet an earlier stage of developement of the Hebrew-Canaanitic language, or a form of it which must have existed before the time of the written documents in our possession, and have stood nearer to the common and not yet divided speech of the Semitic race, can even now be recognised and established, thus:—1) from many archaic forms, which the writings handed down still preserve, specially in the names of persons and places, inherited from more ancient times, and in particular archaisms especially used in poetic diction;—2) by retrospective inference, in general, from the forms of the words so handed down, in so far as they obviously, in the law and analogy of the sound changes, point back to such an older form of the language;—3) by comparison of the kindred tongues, especially the Arabic, in which this older condition of the language has been maintained to a considerable degree, even down to later times (§ 1, 6). The certainty of such deductions rest on the frequent coincidence of the results won in these different ways, whence we then get an approximate idea of the language, as it may have appeared at that preliminary stage of its developement. But at the same time we may thereby see more clearly, how the Old Test. Hebrew got its system of sounds and grammatical forms.

Although the connected historical tracing and explaining of the process of the language as here indicated, properly belongs to the comparative philology of the Semitic tongues, still it is very needful, for the scientific handling of the Hebrew, to go back to those primitive forms, as we may call them, and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic; and even elementary grammar cannot quite do without

this laying of a scientific foundation, although it has properly to deal with the language as it exists in the Old Testament, and only here and there uses those obsolete forms in elucidation of the actual ones.

5. But even in the language of the Old Testament, which is on the whole so very uniform, we can distinguish a certain progress in style, marking *two periods*: the first, down to the end of the Babylonish exile, which may be called its *golden age*; and the second, or *silver age*, after the exile.

To the first belongs (excepting isolated traces of a later revision), the greater part of the books of the Old Testament: viz. of the prosaic and historical, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings (written near the close of the exile); of the poetical, the Psalms (a number of later ones excepted), Proverbs, Canticles, Job, and the earlier prophets, in chronological order, as follows: Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah(?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the last two being still active in the time of the exile, to the close of which also the contents of some portions, especially chapters 40 to 66 of the book of Isaiah point.

The commencement of this period, and of the literature of the Hebrews in general, must certainly be fixed as early as the time of Moses; even though we should regard the Pentateuch, in its present setting and form, as the work of a later recension. It suffices for the history of the language and for our object to remark, that the Pentateuch has certainly peculiarities of language, which may be regarded as archaisms. The pronoun *היא* *he* (but v. p. 100, N. ²), and the noun *לַד* *lad*, are there used also, as of common gender, for *she* and for *maiden* (as *ὁ παῖς* and *ἡ παῖς*); and certain harder forms of words, e. g. *בָּכָה* *to cry*, *בָּהָל* *to laugh*, which are here the usual ones, are in other books exchanged for the softer, as *בָּכָה*, *בָּהָל*.

On the other hand, there are found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as also in the later Psalms, decided approximations to the Aramæan colouring of the second or silver age (see No. 7 on page 15).

6. Even in the writings of this first period of about 1000 years, we find, as may be expected, no inconsiderable differences in the diction and style, which have their ground partly in the difference of time and place of their composition, and partly in the individuality of the authors. Isaiah, for example, writes quite otherwise than the later Jeremiah, and also than Micah, his own contemporary. And among the

historical books of this period, not only do those differ which are separated in date, as the books of Judges and Kings, but also the texts, which in many of them have been taken from older written sources, have a colouring of speech obviously different from the words flowing from later sources, or belonging to the reviser himself. Yet the structure of the language and, with individual exceptions, even the store of words and the usage of speech, specially in the prose books, are on the whole the same.

But the *poetic diction* is everywhere distinguished from prose, not only by a *rhythm* that moves in more strictly measured *parallel members*, but also by *words* and *significations of words*, *inflections* and *syntactical constructions*, peculiar to itself; although this distinction does not go so far, as in the Greek, for example. But most of these poetic idioms are in the kindred languages, particularly the Aramæan, just the common forms of speech, and may be regarded in part as archaisms, which poetry retained, in part as acquisitions with which poets, familiar with Aramæan, enriched their native Hebrew.¹ The prophets, moreover, at least the earlier ones, in language and rhythm are to be ranked almost as poets, except that with these poetical speakers, the sentences often run on to greater length, and the *parallelism* is less measured and regular, than is the case with the poets, properly so called. The language of the later prophets, on the contrary, keeps nearer to prose.

On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see the Introductions to the Old Testament and to the Commentaries on the Psalms by *De Wette*, *Hupfeld*, *Delitzsch* and others, specially *Ewald* in his *Dichter des alten Bundes*, Th. I. (2d ed., Göttingen, 1866); in brief form, *Gesenius*, *Hebr. Lesebuch*, Vorerinnerungen zur 2ten Abtheilung; and *E. Meier*, *die Form der Hebr. Poesie* (Tübingen, 1853), and others.

Of *poetic words*, occurring along with those commonly used in prose, the following are examples: אָנוּשׁ *man*=אָדָם; אַרְחַ *path*=פֶּתַח; אָחֵז *to come*=בֹּא; מֶלֶךְ *word*=דָּבָר; חָזַה *to see*=רָאָה.

¹ That in Isaiah's time (2d half of the 8th century before Christ) the more educated Hebrews, at least the officers of state (but not the people in Jerusalem) understood Aramæan is clear from 2 Kings 18, 26 (comp. Is. 36, 11).

§ 2. HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE. 15

To the *poetic significations* of words belongs the use of certain *epithets* for substantives: e. g. אֶחָד *strong* (one), for God; אֶבֶר *strong* (one), for bullock, horse; לְבָנָה *alba*, for *luna*; יְהִידָה *unica* or *solitaria*, for *anima, vita*.

Of *poetic forms*, we may note (e. g.) the longer form of local prepositions (§ 103, 3), as עַל=עָלַי, אֶל=אֵלַי, עַד=עָדַי; the endings י, ו, in the noun (§ 90); the suffixes מוֹ, מִי, מֵ, for ׀, ׀, ׀ (§ 58); the plural-ending יָ for יָם (§ 87, 1, a).

To the *poetic peculiarities* in *syntax* belong (e. g.) the far more sparing use of the article, of the relative pronoun, and of the accusative-particle אֲתָ; the construct state before a preposition (§ 130); the shortened form of the imperfect, in the signification of the usual form (§ 109, 2, b, Rem.); and in general, a forcible brevity of expression.

7. The *second* or *silver* age, from the return from the exile to the time of the Maccabees (about 160 B. C.), is marked chiefly by an approximation in the language to the kindred Western Aramæan; to which the Jews might the more easily accustom themselves already during their abode in Babylonia, since it stands so near to the Hebrew; and which after their return from the exile, came more and more into use also in Palestine, so that it had an ever increasing influence on the Hebrew, as a book language, and now also even on its prose; and thus it gradually banished the Hebrew from the mouth of the people, though the knowledge and written use of the latter still continued among learned Jews.

We may fitly conceive of the relation of the two languages, at this later period, as similar to that of the High and Low German in Lower Saxony, or that of the High German and the popular dialects in the south of Germany and in Switzerland; so far as here also, even among the more educated, an influence is often exerted by the popular dialect on the oral and written expression of the High German. It is a false view, taken from an erroneous interpretation of Neh. 8, 8, that the Jews had immediately after the exile wholly forgotten the ancient tongue, and had to learn it from priests and experts.

The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, and all exhibiting the Chaldee colouring, though in various shades, are the following books:—Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetic books of Jonah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel; of the poetical books, Ecclesiastes, and the later Psalms. In their character also as literary compositions, they stand far below the writings of the earlier

days; yet there are not wanting productions of this time, which, in purity of language and æsthetic value, are but little inferior to those of the golden age. Such (e. g.) are many of the later Psalms (120 and foll., 137, 139).

Examples of *later words* (Aramaisms), for which the earlier writers employ others, are זמן=עת *time*, לָקַח=לָקַח *to take*, סוּף=סוּף *end*, שָׁלַט=שָׁלַט *to rule*, חָזַק=חָזַק *to be strong*.—Of later *significations*, אָמַר (to say) *to command*, אָנַח (to answer) *to begin speaking*.—Grammatical peculiarities are:—the frequency of the *scriptio plena* ו and ך, e. g. דָּוִיד (elsewhere דָּוִד), even קוֹדֶשׁ for קֹדֶשׁ, רֹב for רֹב; the interchange of ה and ח final; the more frequent use of substantives in ך, ך, ך, etc.

But the peculiarities of these later writers are not all Aramaisms. Some are not found in the Aramaic, and must have belonged in earlier times to the vernacular Hebrew, especially, as it seems, in northern Palestine, where Judges and Canticles, among other books, may have been written, and hence the occurrence, in these earlier writings, of the form which was common in the Phœnician, and which recurs in some later books, namely שׁ instead of שׂ (§ 36).

Rem. 1. Of diversities of dialect, in the old Hebrew language, only one explicit example is found in the Old Testament; namely, in Judges 12, 6, where the Ephraimites are said to have pronounced שׁ as שׂ or ס. In Neh. 13, 23, 24, perhaps a distinctively Philistine dialect is spoken of. To these, however, are to be counted also sundry peculiarities in the North-Palestine books including Hosea (see preceding paragraph), and likewise some exceptional forms in the Moabite Inscription of Mēsha' (see § 2, 2).

2. The remains of Hebrew literature, now extant, cannot be expected to contain the entire stores of the ancient language; and we must regard its compass and affluence as far greater, than what we now find in the canonical literature of the Old Testament, which is really but a small fragment of the entire national literature of the ancient Hebrews.

§ 3.

GRAMMATICAL TREATMENT OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

(cf. Gesenius, Geschichte der hebr. Sprache, §§ 19—39.)

1. At the time of the gradual extinction of the old Hebrew language, and when the collection of the Old Testament writings was closed, the Jews began to apply themselves to the *interpretation* and *criticism* of this their sacred codex, and to

translate it into the popular languages then prevalent among them. The oldest *translation* is the *Greek* of the so-called *seventy interpreters* or *Septuagint* (lxx), commenced at Alexandria in Egypt with the *translation* of the Pentateuch, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and completed in later years by various authors. It was in part made from knowledge of the original Hebrew as a living tongue, for the use of Greek-speaking Jews, particularly those at Alexandria. Somewhat later, the *Chaldee* translations or Targû'ms (תרגומין i. e. *translations*) were composed in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations*, derived in part from professed tradition, almost exclusively refer to civil and ritual law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than the remarks on various readings. They are contained in the *Talmû'd*; the first portion of which (the *Mishnâ'*) was composed about the beginning of the third, and the second (the *Gēmārâ'*) was in part (namely the *Jerusalem Gem.*) written about the middle of the fourth, and in part (namely the *Babylon Gem.*) in the middle of the sixth century after Christ. The Mishna is the beginning of the new Hebrew literature; in the Gemara, on the contrary, the Aramaic language is predominant.

2. In the interval between the composition of the Talmûd and the earliest grammarians, fall mainly the *vocalisation* and *accentuation* of the till then unpointed text of the Old Testament, after the pronounciation handed down in the synagogues and schools (§ 7, 3); also the collection of critical remarks, under the name of *Massôrâ'* (מסורה *tradition*), from which the manuscript copies of the present Textus Receptus of the Old Testament, hence called the *Massoretic Text*, have ever since been uniformly derived.

That the original massoretic text goes back to a single chief copy was first recognized by *Olshausen*. Others in the same line are *Frensdorff* in *Ochla W'ochla*, Han., 1864; *Ginsburg* (The Massora compiled from Manuscripts, etc., London, 1880 sq.). Since 1869, *S. Baer* and *F. Delitzsch* in their critical texts have well illustrated the value of the Massora for the critical reconstruction of the text. Cf. also § 7, 8, Rem.

3. It was only about the commencement of the 10th century, that the first beginnings were made by the Jews in

compiling their grammar, after the example of the Arabs. The earliest attempts, by Rabbi *Saadia* († 942) and others, are mostly lost, only *Saadia's* Arabic explanation of O. T. ἀπαξ λεγόμενα having been preserved; but those of R. *Yehuda Chayyûg* (called also *Abû-Zakaria Yachya*) about the year 1000, and of R. *Yona* (*Abû'l-Walîd Merwân ibn Ganâch*) about 1030, composed in the Arabic language, are still extant. Assisted by these pioneer labors, *Abraham ben Ezra* (died 1167) and R. *D. Kimchi* (died 1235), especially won for themselves a classic reputation by grammars written in Hebrew.

From these first grammarians proceed many methods of arrangement and technical terms, which are still in part retained; e. g. the designation of the derivative and the weak verbs after the paradigm פִּעֵל פִּעַל (§ 39, 4), the *voces memoriales*, as פִּתְּךָ, פִּתְּךָ, and the like.¹

4. The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was *John Reuchlin* († 1522), to whom Greek literature also owes so much. But he, as also the grammarians of the next succeeding period down to *John Buxtorf* († 1629), still adhered almost exclusively to Jewish tradition. It was only after the middle of the 17th century, that the field of view gradually widened; and that the study of the sister tongues, chiefly through the labors of the so-called Holland School, *Albert Schultens* († 1750) and *N. W. Schröder* († 1798), became of fruitful service to Hebrew grammar.

5. In the nineteenth century the advances in Hebrew philology have been linked to the following names: *W. Gesenius* (born 1786, Prof. at Halle 1810–1842, † 1842), who in advance of every one else treated the phenomena of the language in an empirical manner; *H. Ewald* († 1875), who referred the forms of language back to general laws; *J. Olshausen* († 1882), who

¹ On the oldest Hebrew Grammarians, cf. *Strack und Siegfried*, *Lehrb. d. neuhebr. Spr. u. Liter.* (Karlsr. 1884), p. 107 sq.; the prefaces to *Gesenius'* and *Fürst's* Wörterbb.; *Berliner*, *Beiträge zur Hebr. Gramm. im Talmud u. Midrasch* (Berl. 1879); *Baer und Strack*, *die Dikduke ha-te'amim*, Leipzig 1879; *Jastrow* in *Stade's Zeitschr.* 1885, p. 193 sq.; *Drachmann*, Breslau, 1885; *J. and H. Derenbourg*, *Opusculs et traites*, Paris, 1880; *Bacher*, *Revue des études Juives*, vol. VI.; *Leben u. Werke des Abulw.*, Leipzig, 1885, etc.

attempted to explain the present forms of the language by referring them back to supposable original Semitic forms; *F. Böttcher* attempted by a comparison of the different forms to explain everything by the Hebrew itself. *Stade* (Lehrb. d. Heb. Gram., I. Th., Leip., 1879) proceeded in a purely scientific manner to unite the systems of *Ewald* and *Olshausen*. *E. König*, in his treatment of sounds and forms, falls back on the old grammarians, and renews the discussion of numerous grammatical questions.

These methods of handling the language grammatically on different scientific principles has influenced its lexicography, and will tend to unify to a certain extent the ultimate methods in both lines of research.

The most noteworthy work of Jewish scholars is that of *Luzzato* (Padua, 1853-59).

§ 4.

DIVISION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE GRAMMAR.

The division and arrangement of Hebrew grammar depend on the three parts that constitute every language, viz.—1) articulate *sounds* denoted by *written signs*, and their connection in *syllables*, 2) *words*, and 3) *sentences*.

Accordingly, the first part (*doctrine of elements*) includes the doctrine of the *sounds*, and their representation in writing. It describes the nature and relations of the sounds of speech, the manner of pronouncing written signs (orthoëpy), and the established mode of writing (orthography). It then treats of the sounds as combined into syllables and words, and of the laws and conditions of this combination.

The second part (*doctrine of forms*) treats of words in their character as *parts of speech*, and contains:—1) the doctrine of the *formation of words*, or of the rise of the different parts of speech from the roots or even from one another;—2) the doctrine of *inflection*, i. e. of the varied forms which words assume, according to their relation to one another and to the sentence.

¹ Cf. *Kautzsch*, Gram. des Bibl.-Aram. p. 19 sq.

The third part (*syntax*, or doctrine of the construction of words) teaches:—1) partly how the various inflections, existing in the language, are used for expressing variously modified thoughts, and how other thoughts for which no forms have been coined in the language are expressed by circumlocution;—2) partly the laws, by which the parts of speech are combined into sentences (*doctrine of the sentence*, or *syntax* in the stricter sense).

PART FIRST.

OF THE ELEMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

OF READING AND ORTHOGRAPHY.

§ 5.

OF THE CONSONANTS: THEIR FORMS AND NAMES.

(See the Table of Ancient Semitic Alphabets.)

1. The Hebrew letters now employed (commonly called the *square* or *Assyrian character*), in which the manuscripts of the O. Testament are written and our editions of the Bible are printed, are not those originally used. *Old Hebrew writing*, as it was used in public monuments as early as the 9th century B. C., is to be seen in the inscriptions (very like in style) on the Stone of Mêsha' and on the Maccabean Coins of the 2d cent. B. C., as also on the ancient Gems (see § 2, 2); and with this Old Hebrew the Phenician writing is nearly identical (see the Table of Ancient Alphabets). According to the analogy of the history of other alphabets, we may assume that out of, and along with, the above writing on stones, another and somewhat quicker style was early formed for writing on softer materials (on skin or parchment, on bark or papyrus, etc.), which style the Samaritans retained in their MSS of the Pentateuch, when they separated from the Jews, while the latter soon after (from the 6th to the 4th century B. C.) exchanged the same for an Aramæan style, out of which came the so-called *Square Character* (from

the 4th to the end of the 3d century B. C.), which has great resemblance to the still extant Aramæan, the Aram.-Egyptian,¹ the Nabatæan, and especially the Palmyrene. One of the Heb. inscriptions in the earlier square character belongs to the year 176 B. C.¹

2. The Alphabet of the Hebrews, as well as of the other Shemites, consists only of consonants, 22 in number, some of which have also the power of vowels (§ 7, 2). Their forms, names, sounds and numerical values (Rem. 3 below) are shown in the Table on next page.

3. The five characters which have a different form at the end of a word (*final letters*),² ך, ם, ן, ף, ץ, terminate (with the exception of ם) in a straight stroke directed downwards, whilst the common form has a horizontal connecting line, directed towards the following letter.

¹ *De Vogüé*, in the *Revue Archéol.*, nouv. série IX (1864), p. 205 and Tab. VII, No. 2; comp. *Nöldeke* in the *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges.*, Bd. XIX, p. 640; *Merx*, Art. "Schreiben" in *Schenkel's Bibell.*, Bd. V; upon the paleography of the Hebrew square character; *Harkavy*, *altjüdische Denkmäler aus der Krim* (Petersburg and Leipzig, 1876), pp. 108-116.

² These letters are formed into one word and pronounced as *בְּמִנְיָן*. Such *voces memoriales* were invented by the Jewish grammarians to help the remembering of certain letters. So too *אֶחָדָם* (p. 24), and other *mnemonic* words in § 6, 3 and 4. [Comp. also *אֶחָדִי* (§ 7, 2, Note ³) for vowel letters and the memorial words *אֶיֶּהֱן מִשֶּׁה וְכָלֵב* to designate *serviles* among consonants, of which *אֶיֶּהֱן* are prefixed to the *Impf.* of verbs; *הָאֵמֶתֶיִי* to represent letters used in the formation of nouns from roots; and the *vox memor.* *אֶמֶת* for the poetical books composed of the first consonants of *תְּהִלִּים* (Psalms), *קִשְׁלִי* (Proverbs) and *אֵיּוֹב* (Job).—*Ed.*]

THE HEBREW ALPHABET.

Form	Pronunciation.	Hebrew name.	Sounded as ¹	Signification of the name.	Numerical value.
Final	א	אָלֶפֶת	' <i>Ā-lēph</i>	Ox	1
	ב	בֵּית	<i>Bēth</i>	House	2
	ג	גֵּימֶל	<i>Gī-mēl</i>	Camel	3
	ד	דֹּלֶת	<i>Dā'-lēth</i>	Door	4
	ה	הָא	<i>Hē</i>	Vent-hole, window	5
	ו	וָו	<i>Wāw</i>	Hook	6
	ז	זֶרֶן	<i>Zā'-yīn</i>	Weapon	7
	ח	חֵית	<i>Chēth</i>	Fence or barrier	8
	ט	טֵית	<i>Ṭēth</i>	Snake (winding)	9
	י	יֹד	<i>Yôdh</i>	Hand	10
ך	כ	כָּף	<i>Kāph</i>	Bent-hand	20
	ל	לֹמֶד	<i>Lā'mēdh</i>	Ox-goad	30
ם	מ	מֶם	<i>Mēm</i>	Water	40
ו	נ	נֹון	<i>Nûn</i>	Fish	50
	ס	סֹמֶךְ	<i>Sā'-mēkh</i>	Prop	60
	ע	עֵין	' <i>Ā'-yīn</i>	Eye	70
פ	פ	פֶּא	<i>Pē</i>	Mouth	80
ץ	צ	צָדִי	<i>Ṣā-dhē'</i>	Fish-hook	90
	ק	קֹפֶה	<i>Qôph</i>	Back of the head	100
	ר	רֵישׁ	<i>Rêsh</i>	Head	200
	ש	שֵׁן	<i>Sîn</i>	} Tooth	} 300
	שׁ	שֵׁן	<i>Shîn</i>		
	ת	תָּו	<i>Tāw</i>	Sign or cross	400

4. Hebrew is written and read from right to left. The division of a word at the end of a line is not allowed; and

¹ For the sounds of the consonants and vowels in this table, see § 6 and Notes on § 8. NB. In our common way of reading Hebrew the letters א and ע have no sound; and the *g* for ג is always *hard* as in *give*; the *ch*, always guttural as in Welsh and German, or the Greek χ.—*Tr.*

² As in Arabic, or as the English *w*, not as the German.

³ The latin *q* serves well for the Semitic ק (Greek κόππα), as it holds its very place in the Alphabet.

to fill out a line, certain letters (*dilatabiles*) are at times dilated in MS and in print. These are in our printed books the five following:

ם, ח, ל, ה, ז (אֵתֵלֶם).

Rem. 1. The *forms* of the letters were originally hasty and rude representations of visible objects, the names of which began with the letter, which they were meant to indicate; e. g. *Yôdh*, in the older alphabets a rude figure of a hand, denotes properly a *hand* = יָד *yâdh*, but as a letter only the initial י (*y*); '*Ayîn* (prop. *eye*), יָיִן, stands only for י, the initial letter. In the Phœnician alphabet specially, the similarity of the *figures* to the objects signified by the *names* may still be seen for the most part, and even in the square character it appears yet in some letters, as in י, ו, ט, כ, ל, ק, ש.

NB. The *forms* of the letters in each of these seven groups, כ כב, צ ע, ס סמט, ק יזו, ח חה, פ פדר, נ ג, must be carefully noted to avoid confusion.—*Tr.*

However certain it is, on the one hand, that the Shemites were the first to adopt this alphabet, yet it is highly probable, on the other, that the Egyptian writing (the so-called phonetic hieroglyphics and their modified or hieratic style) suggested the principle, though not so much the forms; for these hieroglyphic characters, for the most part, indicate the initial sound in the name of the pictured object; e. g. the hand, *tot*, indicates the letter *t*; the lion, *laboi*, the letter *l*¹.

2. The *order* of the letters in the Alphabet (on which we have an ancient testimony in the alphabetical poetic compositions in Ps. 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145; Lam. 1—4; Prov. 31, 10—31), certainly depended originally on a physiological consideration of the sounds, as we may see from the occurrence in succession of the three softest labial, palatal, and lingual sounds, viz. ב, ג, ד, also of the three liquids, ל, מ, נ, and other similar arrangements; but yet other considerations must also have had some effect upon it, for it is certainly not a mere accident, that two letters representing a *hand* (*Yôdh* and *Kâph*), also two exhibiting the *head* (*Qôph* and *Rêsh*), are put together, as is done also with several characters denoting related or connected objects (*Mêm* and *Nûn*, '*Ayîn* and *Pê*).

Both the names and the order of the letters (with a trifling alteration), passed over from the Phœnician into the Greek, in which the

¹ Comp. *Hitzig*, die Erfindung des Alphabets, Zurich, 1840. *J. Olshausen*, über den Ursprung des Alphabets, Kiel, 1841. *F. Böttcher*, unseres Alphabetes Ursprünge, Dresden, 1860. *Ed. Bohmer*, das Alphabet in organischer Ordnung. Ztschr. der D. Morgenl. Ges., Bd. XVI, p. 579. The effort of *Wuttke* (in the 2d ed. of his Gesch. der Schrift) and of *W. Deecke* (Ztschr. der D. Morg. Ges., Bd. XXXI, p. 102), to derive the old Semitic Alphabet from the new Assyrian cuneiform writing fails, from chronological reasons.

letters, form *Alpha* to *Tau*, correspond to the ancient alphabet. From the Phœnician proceeded also, directly or indirectly, the Old-Italic, the Roman, and all the alphabets derived from the Latin and the Greek. Comp *Gesenius*, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 65.

3. The letters are used also for *signs of number*, as the Hebrew had no special arithmetical figures or ciphers¹. But this use of them as numerals (see Alphabet Table) did not, if we may judge from the existing MSS, take place in the O. T. text, and is first found on coins of the Maccabees (middle of 2d cent. B. C.). It is now employed in the editions of the Bible specially for numbering the chapters and verses. Much like the Greek numerals, the Heb. *units* are denoted by the letters from א to ט, the *tens* by י—צ, the *hundreds* from ק to ד, but from 500 to 900, they are sometimes marked by the five final letters, thus, ה 500, ו 600, ז 700, ח 800, ט 900; and sometimes by ט=400, with the addition of the other hundreds, as חק 500. In combining different numbers the greater is put first (i. e. on the right), as יא 11, קכא 121. Fifteen however is marked by טו=9+6, and not by יו, because with these two letters the name of God (יהוה) commences; and 16 by טז not by יז, for a similar reason. The *thousands* are denoted by the units with two dots above, as כּ for 1000.²

4. *Abbreviations* of words are not found in the text of the O. T. On coins, however, they occur, and they are in common use among the later Jews. The sign of abbreviation is usually an oblique stroke, as רשׁ for רשׁאֵל פּ for פּלִיז, *aliquis*, וגו' for וגוּמַר *et complens=et cætera*, רר or ר (also רה) for רהוּה.

§ 6.

PRONUNCIATION AND DIVISION OF CONSONANTS.

1. It is of the greatest importance to understand well the old and genuine sound of every consonant, since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes (§§ 18, etc.) are dependent on, and can be explained only by, the nature of the sounds and their pronunciation. Our knowledge of this is derived partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects,

¹ Yet the Phœnicians had arithmetical signs in early times, as may be seen in *Schröder's Phönizische Sprache*, pp. 186—9, with a Table.

² The Jews count their dates from the creation of the world, and they have what they call the "great chronology", (לְפָרֵט גְּדוֹלָה) including the thousands and the "small chronology" (לְפָרֵט קְטַנָּה) omitting the thousands. The date according to the christian era is found by adding 240 to the short Jewish reckoning for the first thousand years and 1240 for the second.

particularly of the still living Arabic, partly from observing the affinity and interchange of the letters in Hebrew itself (§ 19), partly from the tradition of the Jews.¹

The pronunciation of the Jews of the present day is very divergent. The Polish and German Jews adopt a worse one, partly like the Syriac, while the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, whom most Christian scholars (after the example of Reuchlin) follow, prefer a purer one, more in harmony with the Arabic.

The manner in which the Septuagint (LXX) wrote Hebrew proper names in Greek letters, furnishes an older and more weighty tradition. Several, however, of the Hebrew sounds they were unable to represent for want of corresponding characters in the Greek language, e. g. א, ב, ג, ד, ה (in which cases they made the best shifts they could). This is true also of Jerome's expression of Hebrew words in Roman letters, after the Jewish pronunciation of his time. For that of the Jews now in northern Africa, see *Bargès*, *Journ. Asiat.* 1848, Nov.; for that of the South Arabic Jews see *J. Derenbourg*, *Manuel du Lecteur* etc. Paris 1871 (from a Ms. of Yemen, A.D. 1390).

2. The following list embraces those consonants which require special attention as to the pronunciation, those being arranged and viewed together which resemble each other in sound.

Rem. 1. Among the *gutturals*, א is the slightest, a scarcely audible breathing from the lungs, the *spiritus lenis* of the Greek, on the principle that an initial vowel is naturally preceded by a soft breathing. Even *before* a vowel, it is almost lost upon the ear (אָמֵר, *ámár*, *ámár*), like the *h* in the French *habit*, *homme*, Eng. *hour*, but *after* a vowel it is mostly quite lost in that vowel-sound (מָסָא, *māsá*, § 23, 1; however comp. רָאָה *rāá*)

ה before a vowel is exactly our *h* (*spiritu asper*); after a vowel it is either likewise a guttural breathing, — so always at the end of a syllable which is not the last one (הָפֵחַ); at the end of a word the consonantal ה has (§ 14) a dot, — *Mappiq* in its center, or it stands inaudible at the end of the word, generally as a mere orthographic compensation for a dropped ה or for a half-vowel (גָּלָא, *gālá*); see § 7, 2 and § 75, 1.

כ is related to א but stronger; and is a sound peculiar to the organs

¹ Important aid may be derived from an accurate, physiological observation of the whole system of sounds, and of their formation by the organs of speech. *E. Brücke's* *Grundzüge der Physiologie u. Systematik d. Sprachlaute*, Wien, 2d ed. 1876. *C. L. Merkel's* *Physiologie der menschlichen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1866. *F. Delitzsch*, *Physiologie und Musik in ihrer Bedeutung für die Grammatik, bes. die Hebräische*, Leipzig, 1868. *E. Sievers*, *Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie*, Leipzig, 1876.

of the Semitic race. Its hardest sound is that of a *g* slightly rattled in the throat, as עָרָה, LXX Γάζα, חֲמָרָה Γόμορρα; it is elsewhere a weaker sound of that sort, which the LXX indicate only by a *breathing* (the *spiritus asper* or *lenis*), as in עָלִי 'Ηλί, קָמָרָה 'Αμαλέα. In the mouth of the Arabs, the first often strikes the ear like a soft guttural *r*, the second as a sort of vowel-sound like *a*.—To pass over ע, as many do in reading and in the expression of Hebrew words by our letters (e. g. עָלִי *Eli*, קָמָרָה *Amalek*), and to pronounce it simply as *g* or as nasal *ng*, are both incorrect. An approximation to its stronger sound would be *gh* or *ʿg*; but since the softer sound was probably predominant in Hebrew, it may suffice to mark it (as in the Alphabet Table, p. 23) by ' , as אַרְבַּע 'arbā', חֲמֹרָה 'amôrā'.

ח is the firmest of the guttural sounds, being a guttural *ch*, as the Swiss pronounce it, as in *macht*, *docht*, *zucht*¹ (not as in *licht*, *knecht*), resembling the Spanish *x* and *j*. While the Hebrew was a living language this letter was doubtless uttered more softly in many words, more strongly in others.²

ך also the Hebrews frequently pronounced with a rattling guttural sound, not as a lingual made by the vibration of the tongue. Hence it is not merely to be reckoned among the liquids (*l, m, n, r*), but, in many respects, it belongs also to the class of gutturals (§ 22, 5).

Rem. 2. In *sibilant* sounds the Hebrew language is uncommonly rich, but they arose in part from the lingual sounds, which appear still as such in Aramæan and, as affected with an aspiration, in Arabic (see ה, צ, ש in Lex.).

ש and שׁ were originally one letter ש, and in unpointed Hebrew this is still the case. But as its sound *sh* was in many words very soft, approaching to that of *s*, the grammarians distinguished this double pronunciation by the diacritic point into שׁ *sh* (which occurs most frequently), and ש *s*.

שׁ accordingly was closely allied to שׂ in pronunciation, and so was uttered more strongly than שׂ. Hence this difference of sound made at times a difference in sense, as שָׁר to *close up* and שָׂר to *hire*, בִּשָּׁר to *be foolish* and בִּשָּׂר to *be wise*. The Syrians employed only שׂ for both. They are also interchanged even in the later Hebrew; as שָׁר = שָׂר to *hire* Ezr. 4, 5; שָׁרָה for שָׂרָה *folly* Eccl. 1, 17.³

ז is a soft, whizzing *s*, the Gr. ζ (by which also the LXX represent it), the Fr. and Eng. *z*, quite different from the Germ. *z*.

¹ As also in the Keltic dialects.—*Tr.*

² In the Arabic language, the hard and soft sounds of שׁ and שׂ (as well as certain differences in the pronunciation of ה, ו, צ), are indicated by diacritic points. Two letters are thus made from each: from שׁ the softer ع *Ain*, and the harder غ *Gain*; from שׂ the softer ح *Cha*, and the harder خ *Kha*.

³ But on the contrary the Samaritans of this day, in reading their Heb. Pentateuch, always pronounce שׁ as שׂ.

Rem. 3. The **ז** is, like **פ** and **צ**, uttered with strong articulation, and with a compression of the organs of speech in the back part of the mouth. The two latter differ essentially from **כ** and **ת**, which answer to *k* and *t*, but are often aspirated (see No. 3 of this §.). The **ז** has a peculiar articulation differing from every other *s*, and by no means the same as the Germ. *z* or *ts*. [Our *ss* as in *hiss!* sounded not at the teeth, but at the palate, is not very unlike it; but **ז** is here used to represent it.]

3. Six consonants, the so-called *mutés*,

ת, פ, כ, ד, ג, ב (בְּנִדְכָּפֶת)

have come down to us with a twofold pronunciation¹:—1) a harder, more slender sound (*tenuis*) as *b, g, d, k, p, t*, and 2) a softer sound, uttered with a gentle aspiration (*aspirata*). The harder sound is the original. It maintains itself at the beginning of words and syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding, and it is indicated by a point in the letter (*Dāghēsh lené*, § 13), as in **ב** *b*, **ג** *g*, **ד** *d*, **כ** *k*, **פ** *p*, **ת** *t*. The aspirated sound occurs after a vowel immediately preceding, and is denoted in manuscripts by *Rāphē* (§ 14, 2), but in the printed text it is known by the absence of the *Dāghēsh*. In some of these letters (especially **ג**), the difference is less perceptible to our ear. The modern Greeks aspirate distinctly **β, γ, δ**, and the Danes *d* at the end of a word. The Greeks have two characters for the two sounds of the other letters of this class, as **כ** *κ, χ*; **פ** *π, φ*; **ת** *τ, θ*.

The German and Polish Jews pronounce the aspirated **ב** like the German *v*; the Spanish Jews like an English *v*, e.g. **רב** *rāv*. The German Jews pronounce **ת** like *S*, e.g. **ראשית** *rēshí's*. See also § 21.

4. After what has been said, the usual division of the consonants according to the organs of speech (i. e. throat, palate, tongue, teeth and lips), employed in uttering them, will be more intelligible and useful. The common division is as follows:

a) Gutturals **ח, ה, ע, א,**

(אֶחָדָה);

b) Palatals, **ק, כ, ג, י,**

(בְּיָדָה);

¹ Sound **ת** as *t*, **ת** as *th* in *thick*; **ד** as *d*, **ד** as *dh* as *th* in *that*. Anglo-Sax. **ð**; **פ** as *p*, **פ** as *ph* or *f*; **ב** as *b*, **ב** as *bh* as *v*; **ג** and **ג** as *g* in *go*, or in the German *gegen*; **כ** and **כ** as *k*. To give the aspirated sound of **ג** and **כ**, pronounce *g* and *k*, rolling the palate at the same breath.—Tr.

- c) Linguals, ט, ת, ד, with ג, ל, (דטלנת);
 d) Dentals or sibilants, צ, ש (ש and ש), ס, ז, (זסצש);
 e) Labials, פ, ב, מ, ר, (ברמפ).

The letter ר appertains partly to the first and to the third class as being both a throat-sound and a tongue-sound.¹

Also the liquids (ר, נ, מ, ל), which have in many respects a common character, are grouped together as a distinct class.

The following classification may be useful:

	Mutes			Liquids			Sibilants			Aspirates			
	s.	m.	e.	vibr.	nasal	semiiv.	s.	m.	e.	s.	m.	h.	e.
Gutturals				[ר]						[ע] ה הע א			
Palatals	ג	כ	ק			י							
Linguals	}	ד	ת	ט	ל	נ			ז	ש	ס	צ	
Dentals													
Labials		ב	פ			מ	ר						

Rem. 1. The signification of the letters in the superscription is as follows: s=soft; m=medium; h=hard; e=emphatic. Consonants pronounced by the same organ are called *homorganic* (e. g. ג and כ as palatals). Consonants, whose sound is of the same nature, are called *homogeneous* (e. g. מ and נ as liquids). The possibility of an exchange of consonants within the language, as well as between kindred dialects depends upon their homorganic character and upon their homogeneousness. Generally the soft sound changes with the soft, the hard with the hard etc. (e. g. ר=ז, ר=ש, ז=צ). Yet other transpositions are not excluded. It is important to observe, whether the change takes place at the beginning, middle or end of the word, since a change in the middle consonant does not always indicate the possibility of a change in the same letter, when standing at the beginning.

Rem. 2. In the Hebrew, as well as in all the Semitic dialects, the strength and harshness of pronunciation, which generally characterised the earlier periods of the language, gradually gave way to more soft and feeble sounds. In this way many nice distinctions of the earlier pronunciation were neglected and lost.

¹ Compare, in regard to the double pronunciation of the ר, *Delitzsch, Physiol. u. Musik* p. 10 ff.

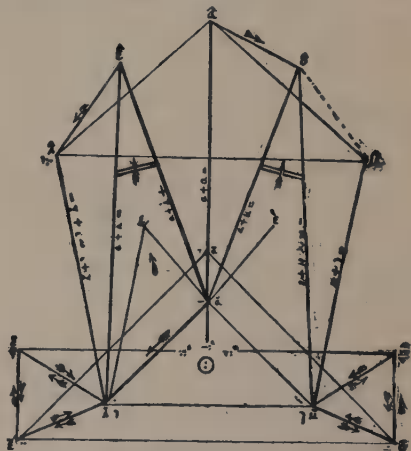
§ 7.

THE VOWELS IN GENERAL, VOWEL LETTERS, AND
VOWEL SIGNS.

The three *primary vowels* in the Semitic tongues are the short *A, I, U*. From these by various processes are derived all other vowels and vowel sounds. *E* and *O* short are derived from *I* and *U* respectively, either by deflection, or by the shortening of their heightened forms, i. e., *ě* is a deflection from *ĩ* or a shortening from *ē*; *ō* is a deflection from *ũ* or a shortening from *ō*. The naturally long *ê* results from a union of a short *ă* and *ĩ*, i. e. from the diphthong *ai*; and the naturally long *ô* results either from a union of *ă* and *ũ*, the diphthong *au*, or from an obscuring of *â*.

The naturally long *á, î, û* are, as a rule, the result of a union of two homogeneous vowels, or vowels and vowel-letters.

A general scheme for illustrating the vowel system may be observed in the following figure:¹—



¹ The original suggestion of such a figure is due to Dr. Hubbard, of Hamilton, N. Y.

1) The angles of the inner triangle at the base represent the three *primary* vowels, \bar{a} , \bar{i} , \bar{u} , \bar{a} , \bar{i} , \bar{u} .

2) The angles of the outer triangle at the base represent the *tone long* vowels, \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} , \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} , heightened from the corresponding primary vowels at the angles of the inner triangle.

3) The top of the upright lines in the centre and on the extreme left and right give the naturally long vowels, \hat{a} , \hat{i} , \hat{u} , corresponding to the primary vowels at the points from which those lines emanate. These vowels are the result 1) of lengthening, or 2) of contraction of two like vowels, or 3) of contraction of a vowel and its homogeneous vowel-letter.

4) The union of the upright lines from \bar{a} and \bar{i} give \bar{e} , and those from \bar{a} and \bar{u} give \bar{o} —both the result of contraction of two primary vowels, or of \bar{a} with the vowel letters, ' and '.

Rem. Union of the shorter upright lines from \bar{a} and \bar{i} give the anomalous e , found in 3d and 2d fem. pl. Impf. and 2d fem. pl. Imper. of ה'ל verbs.

5) The two small triangles, one on the right and the other on the left side of the base, represent the changeable forms of the primary vowels \bar{i} and \bar{u} , viz: (1) \bar{i} is heightened to \bar{e} or deflected to \bar{e} ; \bar{e} is shortened to \bar{i} in sharpened syllables (תִּי , תִּי), or to \bar{e} in ordinary closed syllables (תִּי , תִּי). (2) \bar{u} is heightened to \bar{o} or deflected to \bar{o} ; \bar{o} is shortened to \bar{u} in sharpened syllables (לִי , לִי), or to \bar{o} in ordinary closed syllables (לִי , לִי).

6) The following special and anomalous vowel lines and changes must be noticed: (1) \bar{a} is sometimes attenuated to \bar{i} ; (2) \bar{a} is heightened, especially in Segholate forms, to a tone-long \bar{e} ; (3) \bar{a} is frequently obscured to \bar{o} Qāl Part. act. לִי for an orig. לִי . (4) \bar{e} is attenuated to \bar{i} in the inflection of ה'ל verbs; (5) there is also an inexplicable (exc. on euphonic grounds) exchange between \bar{o} and \bar{u} in the inflection of the Nīph. Perf. of ו'ל verbs.

7) The simplest sound in the Hebrew language is the simple Shewâ \bar{a} , occupying the centre of the base triangles. The compound Shewâs \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} , are formed by a union of this simple Shewâ with the primary vowel \bar{a} and the deflected forms (\bar{e} and \bar{o}) of the other two primary vowels (\bar{i} and \bar{u}). These compound forms stand at the inner terminus of lines emanating from \bar{a} , \bar{e} and \bar{o} , thus occupying the middle of the inner triangle.

To summarize: 1) The angles of the inner triangle represent the three primary vowels, \bar{a} , \bar{i} , \bar{u} ; 2) The angles of the outer triangle at the base represent the heightened forms of the primary vowels, viz: \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} ; 3) The upper terminus of the centre and extreme left and right lines emanating from angles of the inner triangle represent the pure naturally long vowels, \hat{a} , \hat{i} , \hat{u} ; 4) The union at the upper terminus of lines emanating from \bar{a} and \bar{i} , and from \bar{a} and \bar{u} give \bar{e} and \bar{o} respectively; 5) The angles of the small triangles on the left and right of the base give the changeable forms of the primary vowels \bar{i} and \bar{u} respectively; 6) special changes are indicated between \bar{a} and \bar{i} , \bar{a} and \bar{e} , \bar{a} and \bar{o} , \bar{e} and \bar{i} , and \bar{o} and \bar{u} ; 7) The simple Shewâ and its com-

pounds are found in the field of the inner triangle at the base of the figure.

NOTE. The so-called obtuse ϵ (in § 27, Rem. 4, *b*), from an original *u* or *o* is entirely anomalous.

2. The sparing manner of indicating the vowels by means of certain consonants (ה, ו, י, א), in use long after the Hebrew ceased to be spoken, as well as while it was a living tongue, has probably undergone the following principal stages:—

a) The need of a graphic representation of the vowels in reading made itself felt principally in cases where, after the elision of a consonant or of a whole syllable, a long vowel formed the final sound of a word. In such a case, the originally final consonant was then retained, as a vowel-letter at least, to indicate the presence of a final vowel. There is, in fact, still found in the Old Test., as also on the Moabite Stone, an ה thus used, and in reality, also as an indication of the presence of a final *o*. From this point it was only a step to use the same consonant to indicate vowels not final (e. g. the vowels \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{a} , in the inflection of verbs ל''). Furthermore, after the use of ו as vowel-letter for \bar{o} and \bar{u} , and of י for \bar{e} and \bar{i} had become established (vid. under *b*), the consonants for those vowels were employed — though not consistently — even for the final sound of a word.

As stated in § 91, 1 and Rem. 1, *b*, the suffix of the 3d sing. masc. of nouns (as of verbs) was originally הו. Now ה is frequently retained as a vowel-letter in such cases where הו, after the elision of ה, is contracted with a preceding *a* to \bar{o} ; e. g. סוֹתָהּ, עִירָהּ Gen. 49, 11, cf. § 91, 1, Rem. 2; thus consistent with בִּיתָהּ, אֶרְצָהּ (also בֵּיתָהּ), בְּנָהּ, לָהּ, הַלְתַּחֲמָהּ on the Moabite stone (but רִעִיו on the Siloam inscription). Peculiar is מֶשָׁהּ l. 8 = יָמָיו *his days*, as well as רָשָׁהּ l. 20 in case it = רָאשָׁיו *his heads*. The verbal forms with suffixed ה are to be read וַיַּחֲלֶפֶה (l. 6), וַאֲסַחֲכָהּ (l. 12 sq.), and וַיִּנְרָשֶׁהּ (l. 19).

The י of the construct state, pl. masc. may also be considered as a remnant of the original consonant whenever \bar{e} of the same construction (§ 89, 2, *c*, Rem.) has arisen from an original *aj*. Against this supposition, to be sure, is the fact that in the Phœnician Inscriptions this \bar{e} , as other final vowels, is not usually expressed.

b) The use of ו to indicate \bar{o} , \bar{u} , as well as of י to indicate \bar{e} , \bar{i} , may have arisen from cases where a ו with a preceding *a* was contracted to *au*, later to \bar{o} , or had coalesced with a foregoing *u* to \bar{u} ; also where י with *a* had become *ai*, later \bar{e} , or with a preceding *i* had become \bar{i} (cf. § 24). In such cases the foregoing consonants were also retained as vowel-letters, and were furthermore brought into use in the final sound of words to indicate their respective long vowels. א finally became estab-

lished as a vowel-letter principally wherever a consonantal א had coalesced with *a* to form *â*.

The suppositions above are almost invariably in agreement with the orthography of the Siloam inscription. Here, as on the Moabite stone, are found all long vowels that were not originally derived from diphthongs *without* any vowel-letters; hence we have אֶשׁ, אֶזְרָא, שֶׁלֶשׁ, קָל, אֶמֶת (מִיָּמֵן) or מִיָּכֵן, חֶצְבִּים, אֶשׁ. On the other hand we have מוֹצָא (from *mauṣa*'), עוֹד (from *'aūd*); מִיָּכֵן also, when read מִיָּכֵן, these are a sufficient warrant for the retention of ' coalesced with *i* to form *î*. Grounds for the retention of an original consonantal א as a vowel-letter are: מֶאֱתָר, מוֹצָא, קָרָא (in other cases ה is always found in place of a final *ā*) as well as רֶאשׁ. Only ים, instead of the expected יום (arab. *jaum*) *day*, would accordingly here be an exception (cf. however, § 97, Note on יום). If the reading is correct, this ים should be considered as a proof that the knowledge of the origin of many a long vowel was early lost, so that the vowel-letters (at least in the body of words) were omitted even where, according to the statements above, they were required, and were employed where no contraction was apparent. This supposition is greatly strengthened by the orthography of the Moabite Inscription; for there, as expected, is found דִּיבֵן (= *Daibōn*, as the Δαῖβων of the LXX proves), חוֹרֵן (ô from *au*) and בִּיתָה (ê from *ai*), but also הוֹשַׁעֲנִי in place of הוֹשַׁעֲנִי (from *haush*), ואֶשֶׁב = וְאֶשֶׁב, בֵּית four times, בֵּיתָה once, for בֵּית and בֵּיתָה (from *bait*); לָלֶה = לָלֶה, אֵן = אֵן or אֵן.

c) In the present state of Old Test. orthography, as it appears to us in the Massoretic text, the tendency toward a certain uniformity, notwithstanding seeming irregularities, cannot fail to be appreciated. So the final long vowel, with very few exceptions (cf. § 9, 1 and the doubtful cases, § 8, 4) is represented by means of one vowel-letter—in fact almost always by means of one and the same vowel-letter in definite nominal or verbal terminations. In many cases, the indication of *ô*, *û* by means of ו, and of *ê*, *î* by means of י, when due to contraction, are by far the more common. The elision of an original consonantal א (the historic orthography having been superseded by a purely phonetic principle) is, as a rule, of rare occurrence. On the other hand, however, the number of exceptions is nevertheless very large; in many cases (e. g. in the pl. endings ים—and וֹת) the use of vowel-letters for long vowels, not due to contraction, has become customary. Sometimes even short vowels are indicated. From the preceding it is evident that if there ever was a period in the history of Hebrew writing in which there was a tendency to establish fixed rules for all individual cases, either these rules, in the further transmission of the text, were not consistently obeyed, or else error and confusion afterwards crept in. Furthermore, much uncertainty remained even in such texts as were

abundantly supplied with vowel-letters. For even if the language was unmistakable, there were still examples where, from the many possible pronunciations of a word, more than one seemed admissible.

3. But when the Hebrew had died out, the ambiguity arising from such an indefinite mode of writing, and the fear of losing the right pronunciation, must have been increasingly felt; then the *vowel-signs* or *vowel points* were invented, which minutely settled what had till then been left uncertain. Of the date of this punctuation (*vocalization*) of the Old Testament text we have no historical account; but a comparison of historical facts warrants the conclusion, that the present vowel-system was not completed till the seventh century after Christ; and that it was done by Jewish scholars, well versed in the language, who, it is highly probable, copied the example of the Syriac, and perhaps also of the Arabic, grammarians.

See *Gesenius*, *Gesch. d. hebr. Spr.* p. 182 sq. and *Hupfeld* in the *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, No. 3, where it is shown that the Talmūd and Jerome make no mention of vowel-signs; *Abr. Geiger*, *Zur Nakdanim-Literatur* (*Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissensch. u. Leben*, Jahrg. X, Breslau, 1872, p. 10 sq.); *Geiger*, *Massorah bei den Syrern* (*Ztschr. der D. M. G.*, Bd. XXVII, Leipz., 1873, p. 148 sq.); *H. Strack*, *Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr.*, Leipz., 1873; *Strack*, *Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibel-Textes* (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1875, IV, p. 736 sq.); also in the *Ztschr. f. die ges. Luth. Theol. u. Kritik*, 1875, p. 619 sq.); "Massorah" in the *Protest. Real Encyc.* IX, 388 sq.; *M. Schwab*, *des points-voyelles dans les langues sémitiques*, Paris, 1879; *A. Merx* in the *Verhandl. des Orientalistencongresses zu Berlin*, I, Berlin, 1881, p. 164 sq., and as appendix to that, p. 188 sq.: *die Tschufutkaleschen Fragmente*; *Eine Studie zur Gesch. der Masora.* *H. Graetz*, *eine masoreth. Studie. Die Anfänge der Vokalzeichen im Hebr.*, *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, 1881, p. 348 sq. and 395 sq. *Hersmann*, *zur Gesch. des Streites über die Entstehung der hebr. Punktation*, Ruhrort, 1885. On the hypothesis that the punctuation originated in Jewish primary schools, cf. *J. Dérenbourg* in the *Rev. Crit.* vol. XIII (1879), No. 25. Cf. *Pick* in *Hebraica* I, p. 153 sq.

This vowel-system has, probably, for its basis the pronunciation of the Jews of Palestine; and its consistency,

as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, furnishes strong proof of its correctness, at least as a whole. We may, however, assume, that it exhibits not so much the pronunciation of common life as the formal style, which was sanctioned by tradition in reading the sacred books, in the synagogues and schools, in the 7th century after Christ. Its authors laboured with great care to represent by signs the minute gradations of the vowel-sounds, marking even half-vowels and helping-sounds (§ 10), spontaneously adopted in all languages, yet seldom expressed in writing. To the same labours on the Hebr. Text we owe the different marks, by which the sound of the consonants themselves is modified (§§ 11—14), and the accents (§§ 15, 16).

The Arabs have a much more simple vowel-system, for they have only three vowel-signs, according to the three primary sounds. The Syriac vowel-pointing is likewise based upon a less complicated system. It is possible that the Hebrew also had at an earlier period a more simple vowel-system, but no actual traces of it are found.

§ 8.

THE VOWEL-SIGNS.¹

1. Of full vowels, besides which there are also certain *half-vowels* (§ 10, 1, 2), grammarians have generally reckoned *ten*, and divided them into *five long* and *five short* or *doubtful*. As this division, though not faultless, is simpler and more convenient for the beginner, it is here presented: —

¹ The vowels, as represented in this translation, are supposed to be sounded as follows:—*ā* or *â* like *a* in *father*; *ă* like *a* in *fat*; *ä* like *æ*, or as *a* in *fate*; *ē* or *ê* like *e* in *there*; *ě* like *e* in *her*; *ī* or *î* like *i* in *pride*; *ĩ* like *i* in *pick*; *ō* or *ô* like *o* in *no*; *ö* like *o* in *not*; *û* or *ũ* like *u* in *rule* (sounded as *rool*); *ũ* like *u* in *full*; *ai* and *au* as proper diphthongs, each vowel being distinctly heard, as in German.—NB. The same vowel, whether long or short, has properly but *one* sound, differing only in *quantity*, i. e. in the longer or shorter time we may take in pronouncing it, as in *sō* and *sôt*.—Tr.

Long Vowels.

- *Qā'měš*, *ā*, *ā*, קָם *qām*,¹ יָם *yām*.
 — *Sē'rē*, *ē*, שֵׁם *shēm*.
 — (or —) *Chî'rěq long*, *î*, בֵּין *bîn*,
 בִּין, גִּוִּים *gô-yî'm*.
 ו (or —) *Chō lēm*, *ô*, *ô*, קוֹל *qôl*,
 סֹבֵב *sōbh*.
 ו (or —) *Shû'rěq*, *û*, מוֹת *mûth*,
 מֹתִי *mû-thî'*.

Short Vowels.

- *Pă'thäch*, *ă*, בַּת *băth*.
 — *Sēghô'l*, *ě*, *ě* or *ä*, מֶלֶךְ *mă'-lěkh*.
 — *Chî'rěq short*, *î*, מִן *mîn*.
 — *Qā'měš-châ'û'ph*, *ö*, חֶקֶךְ *chöq*.
 — *Qibbû's*, *ű*, שׁוּלְחָן *shül-chăn*.

A more philosophic and complete view of the vowels, according to the three primary vowel-sounds (§ 7, 1, 2), is the following:—

First Class. For the A sound.

1. — *Qā'měš*, *ā*, *ā*, יָד *yādh* (hand), קָם *qām* (he arose).
2. — *Pă'thäch*, *ă*, בַּת *băth* (daughter).
3. — *Sēghô'l*, *ě*, *ě* (*ü*), a modification of *a*,² as in the first syllable of יָדְכֶם *yědhē-khě'm* (your hand) from *yādhē-khēm*, פֶּסַח³ *pēsāch* (πάσχα); also in union with י as יָדֶיךָ *yā-dhē-khā* (thy hands), גִּלְיָה *g'elē-nā*, like the French *é* in *mère* or the first *e* in Eng. *there*. Comp. in Eng. *man* changed into *men*; Ger. *mann* into *männer*; W. *carreg* (stone) into pl. *cerrig*.

Second Class. For the I and E sound.

- I { 1. — and — *long Chî'rěq*, *î*, צַדִּיקִים *šād-di-qî'm* (just ones).
 2. — *short Chî'rěq*, *î*, אִם *'im* (if).
 3. — *Sē'rē* with *Yôdh*, *ē*, and — *Sē'rē* without *Yôdh*, *ē*, as in בֵּית *bēth* (house), שֵׁם *shēm* (name). Very rarely the — (defective, see No. 4 on p. 37) stands also for *ē*.
 E { 4. — *Sēghô'l*, *ě*, an abbreviation from *ē* as in שֵׁן *shēn* (tooth), from שֵׁן (gdf. *shīn*) or an obscuring from *ě* e. g. חֶפְצִי (Grdf. *chīphš*).

¹ The equivalents for the Hebrew vowels are marked here variously, viz., *ā*, *ē*, *ô* for the essentially long-vowels, *ā*, *ē*, *ô* for the merely tone-long, *ă*, *ě*, *ö* for the short (see § 9.). For the others, the distinction of *î* and *ī*, *û* and *ü* is sufficient.

² So mostly; hence Jewish grammarians call *Sēghôl* also *small Pă'thäch* (פֶּתַח קטן).

³ The sign — marks in this Grammar the accented syllable of Heb. words, when that syllable is not the last, as in פֶּסַח. Comp. § 15, Rem. 3.

Third Class. For the U and O sound.

- U { 1. ר *Shû'rêq*, û, מוּת *mûth* (to die), rarely also for ü.
 2. ׀ *Qibbû's*, ü, סֵלֶם *sûl-lâ'm* (ladder), but also û, written defectively (see No. 4 on p. 37) instead of *Shû'rêq*, מוּת *mû-thû* (my dying).
O { 3. ם and — *Chô'lêm*, ô, ô, קוֹל *qôl* (voice), רֹב *rôbh* (multitude). Often defective — for ô, seldomer ם for ô.
 4. — *Qâ'mêš-châţû'ph*, ô, חֹק *chôq* (statute).
 5. also —, obtuse ĕ, so far as it is changed from *u* or *o*, as in אַתֶּם *'attê'm* (ye) from 'attû'm (see § 27, Rem. 4, b), אֶת *'êth* (from אֶת).

The names of the vowels are nearly all taken from the form and action of the mouth in uttering the sounds. Thus, פֶּחַח signifies *opening*, יִצְרִי (also שֶׁבֶר) *bursting* (of the mouth), חִירֶק *gnashing*, חֹלֶם *fulness*, from its full tone (also מִלֵּא פִּי *full mouth*), שִׁחִיחַ *hissing* συσσισμός, קִבֵּץ *closing* (of the mouth). This last meaning belongs also to קִמֵּץ; and the reason why long *a* and short *o* (קִמֵּץ חֲסִידָה *Qâ'mêš correptum*) have the same sign and name, seems to be that the inventors of the vowel-signs pronounced the long *a* rather obscurely, and somewhat like *o*, as it then passed over to a full *o* with the present German and Polish Jews; comp. the Syriac *â* with the Maronites=*ô*, the Swedish *â*, and the early change of *â* into *ô* even in the Hebrew (§ 9, 10, 2).¹ The distinction between them is shown in § 9. But *Sêghô'l* (סֶגְוֹל *bunch of grapes*) appears to be named after its *form*; so too some call *Qibbûš* שְׁלֹשׁ נִקְדוֹת (*three points*).

The names were, moreover, so formed that the sound of each vowel was heard in the first syllable; and in accordance with this, some write *Süghô'l*, *Qô'mêš-châţû'ph*, *Qübbû's*.

2. As appears from the examples given above, the vowel-sign is regularly put *under* the consonant *after* which it is to be pronounced, as ר *râ*, ר *ră*, ר *rē*, ר *rû*, etc. There is an exception to this rule in *Pă'thăch*, when it stands under a guttural at the end of a word (*Pă'thăch furtive*, see § 22, 2, b), for it is then spoken *before* the consonant, as רִיחַ *rû'ch* (wind,

¹ In the Babylonian punctuation (see next note) *â* and *ô* are clearly distinguished, — as they are also in many manuscripts with the usual punctuation, — by adding a *she'wa* to the pure vowel *ô*. Still, it is probable that both signs were originally quite identical.

spirit). We must also except *Chō'lē'm* (without *Wāw*), which is put to the left *over* the letter, as in רֹא *rō*.¹

NB. When *Chō'lē'm* (without *Wāw*) and the diacritic point over ש (שׂ, שׁ) come together, one dot serves for both, as שׁנא *sō-nē'* (not שׁנא) hating, מִשָּׁה *mō-shè* not מִשָּׂה. ש (with two points), when no vowel stands under it, is *sho*, as in שׁמֶר *shō-mē'r* (keeper); when no vowel goes before it, *os*, as in שׁפֹּס *šr-pō's* (he treads down), like רִקְטָל Is. 45, 20 *han-nō-sē'im* (the bearers), like רִקְטָלִים.

The figure ו̇ is sometimes sounded *ow*, the ו̇ being a consonant with *Chō'lē'm* before it, as לוֹוֶ *lō-wè* (lending); and sometimes *wō*, the *Chō'lē'm* being read after the *Wāw*, as עוֹן *'ā-wō'n* (sin) for עוֹן. In very exact impressions a distinction is made thus: ו̇ *ōw*, ו̇ *wō*, and ו̇ *ō*.

3. The vowels of the first class (the *A* sound) are, with the exception of ו̇ in the middle, and of ו̇, ו̇, ו̇,

¹ Only very recently have we been made acquainted with a vowel system in many respects different from the common one. It is found in some MSS formerly kept at Odessa, but now in St. Petersburg. All the vowels except ו̇ are placed above the consonants, and deviate almost throughout in figure, and partly even in respect to the department of sound. Thus, for instance, Pathach and S^eghol, when they have the tone, are expressed by the same sign; but the short vowels without the tone are marked variously, according as they stand in a syllable sharpened by Daghesch forte (§ 12) or not. The accents deviate less, and stand partly under the line of the consonants. In respect to this, the so-called "Babylonian punctuation" (נקיף בקלף) see *A. Harkavy* and *H. L. Strack's* "Catalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg." Vol. I & II, Petersburg. & Leipzig. 1875 p. 223 ff. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by *H. Strack's* facsimile edition of *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (Petersburg. 1876 fol.); a codex of the year 916 which was discovered by *Firkowitsch* in 1839 in the synagogue of Tschufutkale in the peninsula of the Crimea. *Strack* has given a fragment of the same codex in *Hosea et Joel prophetæ ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.* St. Petersburg. 1875. The result shows that the two systems (the Eastern or Babylonian and the western or Tiberian) were developed simultaneously, but that the western shows a higher degree of originality and approaches nearer the ancient fundamental laws of punctuation. A long specimen of this peculiar Text (the Book of Habakkuk) is given in *Pinner's* Prospectus der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Gesch. und Alterth. gehörenden ältesten hebr. und rabb. Manuscripte, Odessa, 1845, 4. A sketch of this vowel-system, which had probably its origin among Babylonish Jews, has been given by *Rödiger* in the Halle Allgem. Lit. Zeit. 1848, Aug., No. 169, and by *Ewald* in the Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissenschaft, I., Göttingen, 1849, p. 160 and foll.; but more thoroughly still by *Pinsker* in his Einleitung in das Babylon.-hebr. Punctuationssystem, Wien, 1863; and *Olshausen* in the Monatsbericht d. Berlin. Akad. d. Wissensch. July, 1865.

(§ 9, 1, 3) at the end of a word, indicated *only* by vowel-signs (§ 7, 2); but those of the two other classes (the *I* and *E* sound and the *U* and *O* sound) when long, are mostly expressed by vowel-letters, the sound of which is determined by the sign standing before or within or above them. Thus,—

י may be determined by *Chû'rěq* (י־), *Şě'rê* (י־), *S'ghô'l* (י־).

י by *Shû'rěq* (י) and *Chô'lēm* (י).¹

In Arabic the long *â* is regularly indicated by the vowel-letter *ʾA'lēph* (آ), so that in it three vowel-letters answer to the three vowel-classes. In Hebrew this use of *ʾ* is very rare (§ 9, 1, and § 23, 3, Rem. 1).

4. When, in the second and third classes, the long vowel is expressed *without* a vowel-letter, it is called *scriptio defectiva*, when *with* a vowel-letter, *scriptio plena*. Thus קול and קום are written *fully*, קֹל and קֹום *defectively*.

The choice of the full or the defective mode of writing is not always arbitrary, as there are certain cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus, the full form is written for *û*, *î*, *ê* as well as for *é* in הוּה etc. (§ 9, 8), and is necessary at the end of a word, e. g. מַלְכִי, קִטְלִי, קִטְלִי, נָדִי, מַלְכִי; but in Is. 40, 31 the Massora requires וְקוֹר for וְקוֹרִי, but the defective is usual when the vowel is preceded by the analogous vowel-letter as consonant, e. g. גוֹיִם for גוֹיִים *nations*, מִצְוֹת for מִצְוֹת *commands*,² עֲשׂוּיִם for עֲשׂוּיִים.

But in other cases, much depended on the option of the transcribers, so that the same word is written in various ways, e. g. הַקִּימוֹתִי Ezek. 16, 60, הַקִּמְתִּי Jer. 23, 4, where other editions have הַקִּמּוֹתִי (comp. § 25, 1). It may be observed, however,

¹ The vowel-sign, which serves to determine the sound of the vowel-letter, is said to be *homogeneous* with that letter. Many, after the example of the Jewish grammarians, use here the expression, 'The vowel-letter rests (*quiesces*) in the vowel sign.' Hence the letters י and י (with א and ה, see § 23) are called *litteræ quiescibiles*; when they serve as vowels, *quiescentes*, when they are consonants, *mobiles*. But the expression is not suitable; we should rather say, 'The vowel-letter is sounded as this or that vowel, or stands in place of the vowel.' The vowel-letters are also called by grammarians, *matres lectionis*, since they partly guide in reading the unpointed text.

² So also עֲדוּתִי *testimonies* is for עֲדוּתִי (plural of עֲדוּת in Aram. style), but used only in pl. with suf. as in עֲדוּתִי 1 K. 2, 3 *his testimonies*.—Tr.

a) That the defective writing is used chiefly, though not constantly, when the word has increased at the end, and the vowel of the penultima has lost somewhat of its stress in consequence of the accent or tone of the word being moved forward (see § 29, 2), as *קָלִיל*, *קוֹל*; *צִדְקִים*, *צִדְקִי*; as *אֵל*, *אֵלִי*;

b) That in the later books of the Old Testament the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual¹.

5. In the kindred dialects, when a vowel-letter has before it a vowel, that is not kindred or homogeneous, if it be *a*, then a diphthong is formed, e. g. *אֵל* *au*, *אֵי* *ai*. But in Hebrew, according to the pronunciation handed down, *א* and *י* retain here their consonant-sound, so that we get *āw*, *ay*,² e. g. *אֵל* *wāw* (hook), *חַי* *chāy* (living), and so also *גּוֹי* *gōy* (nation), *עָשׂוּי* *āsūy* (made), *גֵּב* *gēw* (back). The sound of *אֵי* is the same as *אֵי*, namely, *āw*, as in *דְּבָרָיו* *d'bhā-rā'w* (his words); therefore often *אֵי* defectively for *אֵי*.

The LXX give generally, in these cases, an actual diphthong as in the Arabic, and this must be considered as an earlier mode of pronunciation; the modern Jewish pronunciation is, on the other hand, similar to the modern Greek, in which *αὐ*, *εὐ* sound like *av*, *ev*. In the manuscripts *Yodh* and *Waw* are, in this case, even marked with *Mappiq* (§ 14, 1). The Italian Jews sound these syllables more like diphthongs, e. g. *chāi*, *gēu*, and so also *bait* (*בַּיִת*).

§ 9.

CHARACTER AND VALUE OF THE SEVERAL VOWELS.

Numerous as the Heb. vowel-signs appear, they are yet insufficient for completely representing the various modifications of the vowel-sounds in respect to length and shortness, sharpness and expansion. It may be observed further, that the indication of the sound by these signs cannot be called always perfectly appropriate. We therefore give here, for the better understanding of this matter, a short commentary on the character and value of the several vowels,

¹ The same historical relation may be shown in the Phœnician, and in the Arabic when *ā* is used as a vowel-letter. Probably the vowel letters have been added to the older text of the Bible, in part at least, by later copyists.

² The *w* and *y* in these cases, as expressing the consonant-sound, are as much as possible like *w* in *wo* and *y* in *yet*, not as in *now* and *nay*.—*Tr.*

especially in respect to *length* and *shortness*; but at the same time noticing also their *changeableness* (see §§ 25, 27).

I. First Class: A sound.

1. *Qā'měš* (—) is every where long *a*, but yet is in its nature of two kinds:

a) The essentially long *ā* which is not easily shortened and never entirely dropped (§ 25, 2), for which the Arabic regularly has **آ**—, as **كَتَبَ** *k'thā'bh*¹ (writing), **غَنَبَ** *gān-nā'bh* (thief), **قَامَ** *qām* (he arose), very seldom written **قَامَ**.²

b) The prosodically lengthened or tone-long *ā* (see § 26, 3), both in the tone-syllable and close before or after it. This sound invariably proceeds from the original short *ā*,³ and is found in an open syllable (i. e. one ending with a vowel, see § 26, 3), e. g. **لָكָה**, **قَاتَلָה**, **يָكِيم**, **أَسِير** (in Arabic *lākā*, *qātālā*, *yāqūm*, *'āsīr*), and also in a closed syllable (i. e. one ending with a consonant), as **יָדָה**, **כָּוָדָה** (Arabic *yād*, *kaukāb*). In the closed syllable, however, it can stand only when this has the tone,⁴ **דָּבָר**, **עוֹלָם**, but in the open, it is especially frequent *before* the tone-syllable, as **יָדָה**, **יָקֵן**, **גָּדֹל**, **קָטָלָה**, **לָכָה**. When the tone is either moved forward or lessened, this vowel becomes, in the former case, short *a* (*Pä'thäch*), and in the latter, vocal *Sh'wā* (§ 27, 3), **דָּבָר**, **דְּבַר** (*d'bhār*); **חָכָה**, **חָכָה** (*ch'khām*); **קָטָלָה**, **קָטָלָה**.

Under the final letter of a word, *Qā'měš* may stand alone (**קָטָלָה**, **לָה**), but in this position it is also indicated by **ה** (**קָטָלָהּ**, **אָתָה**, **אָתָה**). Comp. § 7, 2.

2. *Pä'thäch*, or the short *ä*, stands properly only in a closed syllable with and without the tone (**קָטָלָה**, **קָטָלָה**). Most of the cases where it now stands in an open syllable, had the syllable originally closed, as in **נָחַל** (original form *nachl*) and

¹ This long *ā* is rare in Hebr., since it has generally changed into *ō*, see No. 10, ■ on p. 42.

² Of another sort are the cases in which **א** has lost its original consonant-sound by softening (see § 23, 1, 2).

³ In the Arabic, the short *a* is still maintained.

⁴ When the tone is marked in this book, the sign — usually put over the first letter of the syllable, see § 15, 2, Rem. 3.—Tr.

בַּיִת (Arab. *bait*), see § 28, 4. Such an *ā* in an open syllable is else generally changed into *ā* (—); comp. above in No. 1, *b*.

On the rare union of Pă'thăch with נ (נ—), see § 23, 2; on *ā* as a helping-sound (*Pă'thăch furtive*), see § 22, 2, *b* and § 28, 4.

3. *S'ghô'l* (ě, é —) belongs, according to its origin, chiefly to the first class of vowels, but now and then to the second or the third. It belongs to the first, when it is a modification of א (as in the Ger. *Bad*, pl. *Bäder*) either in an unaccented syllable, e. g. יִדְבֵּם (for יִדְבֵּם), or in the tone-syllable, e. g. קָרְן from קָרַן, אֶרֶץ (Arabic *qārṇ*), קָמַח (Arab. *qāmch*); even in an accented final syllable e. g. בִּרְזֵל, or with a final ה as in מִרְאָה (Arab. *mar'ā*), or even in the gravest tone-syllable at the end of a clause or sentence (in *pause*, § 29, 4), as in מִלְכָּה, צֶדֶק, though it then becomes *ā* in other words of this form, as in קָמַח, קָרְן. *S'ghô'l*, which seems to be lengthened from *sh'wā* but which in fact comes likewise from an original *ā*, stands in pausal forms, as פָּרִי (groundform *pārī*), יָהִי (*yāhī*) etc.

II. Second Class: I and E sound.

4. The long *Chî'rěq*, *î*, is most commonly expressed by the letter י (a fully written *Chî'rěq* י—); but even when this is not the case, it makes no essential difference, provided the vowel is long by nature (§ 8, 4), e. g. צִדְקִים *just*, plur. צִדְקִים (*šād-dî-qîm*); יִירָא *he fears*, plur. יִירָאוּ *they fear*. Whether a defectively written *Chî'rěq* is long, may be best known from the grammatical origin and character of the form, but often also from the character of the syllable (§ 26), or at the same time from the position of *Méthěgh* (§ 16, 2) at its side, as in יִירָא (*yî-rěû*).

5. The short *Chî'rěq* (never written with י) is especially frequent in sharpened syllables (אֶמֶץ, קֶטֶל),¹ and in closed unaccented syllables (לִקְטֵל). It often comes from a shortening of *a*, as in בָּתִּי (*my daughter*) from בַּת, דְּבָרִי from דְּבַר, יִקְטֵל out of יָקַט; or it is an original *î*, lengthened by the tone to

¹ For this sharp *i* the LXX mostly use ε, ἰσχυρῶς, ἰσχυρῶς.

ē, as in אֵיבָהּ (*thy foe*) from אֵיב (orig. 'āyibh). Sometimes also it is a mere helping-vowel, as in בִּית for בֵּית (§ 28, 4).

The older grammarians call every *fully* written Chîrêq, *Chîrêq magnum*, and every *defectively* written one, *Chîrêq parvum*; but as to the sound, this gives a wrong distinction.

6. The longest ê, *Şê'rê* with Yôdh (יֵ—), is a blended sound of the diphthong ai יֵ— (§ 7, 1), which, in the Arabic and Syriac, stands for it, as הַיְכָל (*palace*), in Arab. and Syr. *haikal*. It is therefore a very long and firm vowel, longer even than יֵ—, since it approaches the quantity of a diphthong. This יֵ— is but very seldom written defectively (עֵי for עֵיִי Is. 3, 8), and then it retains the same value.

At the end of a word, יֵ— and יֵ— must be written fully. In the form קִשְׁלָהּ (§ 44, Rem. 4), the vowels belong to the marginal reading קִשְׁלָהּ, called the *Qerî* (§ 17).

7. The *Şê'rê* without Yôdh is the long ē of the second rank, always lengthened from a short ě, and it stands only *in* and *close by* the tone-syllable, like the ā above (p. 39) in No. 1, b. It stands in an open syllable *with* or *before* the tone, e. g. סֵפֶר (Arab. *sîphr*) *book*, שֵׁנָה (Arab. *sinät*) *sleep*; in a closed syllable only *with* the tone, as in בֶּן *son*, אֵלֶם *dumb*.

8. The *Sêghô'l*, so far as it belongs to the second class, is most generally a short obtuse ě, a shortening of the tone-long —, (this shortening having been occasioned by the weakening of the tone through the addition of a suffix or a word joined by *Mâqqê'ph*), as תֵּן from תֶּן (*give*), יֵצֵר from יִצֵר (*maker*), but also in the tone-syllable, as גַּרְזֵן גַּרְזֵן (Arab. *kärzîn*) *an axe*, אֶחָדָה (fem. of אֶחָד), and at the end of a word as in חֹזֶה chô-zê (*a seer*); it appears besides as a helping-sound, as in סֵפֶר for סֵפֶר, יֵגֵל for יֵגֵל (§ 28, 4).

On the rise of *Sêghô'l* out of other vowels see more in § 27, Rems. 1, 2, 4.

III. Third Class: U and O sound.

9. In the *third class* is found much the same relation as in the second. In the *U* sound we have:

1) the *long û*, whether a) fully written as *Shû'rêq* שֻׁ (answering to the יֵ— of the second class), e. g. גְּבוּל (*border*), or b) defectively written (analogous to the long — of

the second class) without the Wāw, as *Qibbū's* (—); viz., that which stands for Shū'rēq, and should more properly be called *defective Shū'rēq* (שְׁבִירֶק, שְׁבִירֶק), being in fact a long vowel like *Shū'rēq*, and only an orthographic shortening for the same.

2) The short ŭ, the proper *Qibbū's* (analogous to the short *Chī'rēq*), in an unaccented closed syllable, and especially in a sharpened one, as שֻׁלְחָן (*table*), סִבָּה (*booth*).

For the latter the LXX put *o*, e. g. שְׁבִירֶק, Ὀδολλάμ; but this only indicates on their part a defective pronunciation, since they also express the sharp *Chī'rēq* by *ε*, as Ἑμμήρ equals שְׁבִירֶק. Equally incorrect was the former custom of giving to both sorts of *Qibbū's* the Germ. *ü*, though it finds an apparent justification in Palestine, (comp. the Turkish *bülbül* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the Syrian pronunciation *dünjā* of the Arabic *dunja*.)

Sometimes also the short ŭ in a sharpened syllable is expressed by *י*, e. g. שְׁבִירֶק = שְׁבִירֶק (see § 27, Rem. 1 and *Delitzsch* Com. Ps. 31. 3).

10. The *O* sound stands in the same relation to *U*, as *E* to *I* in the second class. It has four gradations:

1) the longest *ô*, sprung from the diphthong *au* (§ 7, 1), and mostly written in full *ô* (*Chō'lēm plenum*), שֹׁט (*a whip*, Arabic *saut*), עוֹלָה (*evil*) from עוֹלָה; more rarely it is written defectively, as שְׂרָה (*thy bullock*), from שֹׁר;

2) The long *ô*, which has sprung from an original *â* (still found in Arab. and Aram.), usually written *fully* in a tone-syllable and *defectively* in a toneless one, as קָטַל (Arab. *qâtîl* and Aram. *qâtêl*); אֱלֹהִים (*god*), Arab. 'ilâh, and Aram. 'êlâh, pl. אֱלֹהִים; שֹׁק (*leg*), Arab. *sâq*; גִּבּוֹר (*hero*), Arab. *gābbār*; חוֹתָם (*seal*), Arab. *khâtām*; רִמּוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rūmmān*; שְׁלֹטוֹן (*dominion*), Aram. שְׁלֹטָן, Arab. *sultān*; שָׁלוֹם (*peace*), Aram. שָׁלָם, Arab. *sālām*. Sometimes both forms co-exist, as שְׂרָה and שְׂרִיָּה (*coat of mail*); comp. § 68.

3) The tone-long *ō*, which is lengthened by the tone from an original short *o* or *u*, and which becomes short again on its removal, as כָּל (*all*), כֹּל (*kōl*), כֹּלָם (*kūl-lām*), וְקָטַל, וְקָטַלָּה, וְקָטַלָּה (in this last instance it is shortened to vocal Sh'wâ, *yîq-î'elû'*, Arab. *yâq-tûlû*). In this case the *Chō'lēm* is *fully* written only exceptionally.

4) The *Qā'měṣ-chāṭû'ph* (—), always short and in the same relation to *Chō'lēm* as the *S'ghô'l* of the second class to the *Sē'rê*, כֹּל *kōl*, נַיִם *nāy-yā'-qōm*. On the distinction between this and *Qā'měṣ*, see below in this section.

11. The *S'ghô'l* also belongs here, so far as it arises out of *u* or *o* (No. 3), e. g. in נָאָם, נָאָם־כֹּל. See § 27, Rem. 4, *b*.
On the *half-vowels*, see § 10.

12. In the following table we give a scale of the vowel-sounds in each of the three classes, with respect to their quantity, from the greatest length to the utmost shortness. The table does not indeed suffice to exhibit all vowel transitions, which occur in the language, but yet it furnishes a view of those in more frequent use:—

First Class: <i>A</i> .	Second Class: <i>I</i> and <i>E</i> .	Third Class: <i>U</i> and <i>O</i> .
— longest <i>â</i> (Arabic אָ). — tone-long <i>ā</i> (from short <i>ă</i> or —) in and before the tone-syllable. — partly tone-long <i>è</i> , partly short <i>ě</i> (both inflections from <i>ă</i>). — short <i>ă</i> . — <i>ĩ</i> attenuated from <i>ă</i> . Greatest shortening to — <i>ā</i> , — <i>ě</i> or — <i>e</i> .	— <i>ē</i> diphthongal (from <i>ay</i>). — or — long <i>í</i> . — tone-long <i>ē</i> (from — <i>ĩ</i> or — <i>ě</i>) in and just before the tone-syllable. — <i>ě</i> accented <i>è</i> . — short <i>ĩ</i> . Greatest shortening to — or —.	<i>í</i> diphthongal (from <i>aw</i>). <i>í</i> or — obscured from <i>â</i> . <i>í</i> or — long <i>û</i> . — tone-long <i>ō</i> (from — <i>ĩ</i> or — <i>ě</i>) in the tone-syllable and in open syllables. — <i>è</i> (modified from <i>u</i>). — short <i>ō</i> . — short <i>ũ</i> specially in a sharpened syllable. Greatest shortening to — <i>o</i> or —.

ON THE DISTINCTION OF QĀ'MĚṢ AND QĀ'MĚṢ-CHĀTŪPH.¹

As an instance of incongruity in the vowel-signs, we may notice the fact, that the long *ā* (*Qā'-měṣ*) and the short *ō* (*Qā'-měṣ-chāṭû'ph*) are both represented by the same sign (—), e. g. קָם *qām*, כֹּל *kōl*.² The beginner who has as yet no

¹ This portion must, in order to be fully understood, be studied in connection with what is said on the syllables in § 26, and on *Méthëgh* in § 16, 2.

² For exceptional cases, see Note 1 on p. 35; but cf. *Bær-Del*. Job 17, 9.

knowledge of that surest of guides, viz., the grammatical derivation of the words he has to read, may, in order to distinguish between these two vowels, follow these two chief rules: viz. —

1. The sign (ֿ) is *ö* in a closed syllable which has not the tone (or accent); for such a syllable cannot have a long vowel (§ 26, 5). The examples are various:

a) When simple *Sh'wâ'*, as syllable-divider (§ 10, 3), follows, as in חֹכְמָה *chökh-mâ'* (wisdom), חֹלֶלֶת *'ökh-lâ'* (food); with a *Methëgh* on the contrary, the (ֿ) is *â* and closes the syllable, and then the following *Sh'wâ* is a half-vowel (vocal *Sh'wâ*), as in אָכְלָה *'â-khêlâ* (she ate), according to § 16, 2.

b) When *Dāghê'sh forte* follows, as in חֲנִינִי *chôn-né-ni* (pity me); but בָּתִּים the plural of בַּיִת, house, has its ֿ supported by *Methëgh* (§ 16, 2. b. ζ), and is therefore pronounced *bāttî'm*.

c) When *Māqqê'ph* follows (§ 16, 1), as כֹּל־הָאָדָמָה *köl-hā-'ādhā'm* (all men), thereby rendering the syllable toneless.

d) When the closed unaccented syllable is final, as וַיָּקֹם *wāy-yā'qōm* (and he stood up).—There are some cases where *â* in the final syllable loses its tone by *Māqqê'ph* (§ 16, 1) and yet remains unchanged, e. g. כְּתָב־הַדָּתָה Est. 4, 8, שֵׁנ־לִי Gen. 4, 25, 16, מְנַחֵם Ps. 16, 5. In such cases the *Methëgh* or a secondary accent generally stands by the (ֿ).

In cases like לָמָּה *lā'mma*, where the (ֿ) of the closed syllable has the tone, it is *â*, according to § 26, 6.

2. The sign (ֿ) as short *ö* in an open syllable is less frequent. It occurs:—a) when *Chātêph-Qā'mêš* follows, as פְּעֻלּוֹ *pö-'ölô'* (his deed); or simple vocal *Sh'wâ* as שִׁיבֵנִי *sting*;—b) when another *Qā'mêš-chātûph* follows, as פְּעֻלַּתְּךָ *pö-'öl'khâ'* (thy deed);—c) in two anomalous words, where it is also written with (ֿ), according to some manuscripts, viz., קְדָשִׁים *qö-dhā-shî'm* (sanctuaries) and שְׁרָשִׁים *shö-rā-shî'm* (roots).

In these cases (ֿ) is followed by *Methëgh*, which indicates that the *Massora* (comp. *Bær-Del.* Job VI.) read *â* thus: *pā-ölô*, *dā-rêbān*, *pā-öl'khā*, *qā-dāšîm*. This tradition though sustained by the *Babylon. Punct.* (§ 8, 2, Note) and by the orig. Jewish Grammarians, is not to be accepted without question. The *Methëgh* may orig. have had another meaning, or have been founded upon an error. It is better to divide and read: *pö-ölô* (f. *pö'-ölô*), *pö-öl'khā*, *qö-dā-šîm* (clearly orthogr. for *qö-dāšîm*). Quite as difficult would be *Methëgh* as a sign of *â* in בְּחַרְיָהוּ Ex. 11, 8, however possibly in בְּאֵנִי *bā-ōnâ*, in the fleet 1 K. 9, 27 where the *â* of the article is found under the ב.

§ 10.

THE HALF-VOWELS AND THE SYLLABLE-DIVIDER (SH^eWÂ).

1. Besides the full vowels, which § 9 chiefly treats of, the Hebrew has also a series of very slight vowel-sounds, which may be called *half-vowels*.¹ They are to be regarded in general as extreme shortenings, perhaps mere traces, of fuller and more distinct vowel-sounds in an earlier period of the language.

To them belongs, first, the sign —, which indicates the shortest, slightest, and most indistinct half-vowel, something like an obscure half *ë* (°). It is called *Sh^ewâ*,² and also *simple Sh^ewâ*, to distinguish it from the *composite* (see below in No. 2), and *vocal Sh^ewâ* (*Sh^ewâ mobilè*), to distinguish it from the *silent* (*Sh^ewâ quiescens*), which is merely a divider of syllables (see No. 3). This last can occur only under a consonant closing the syllable, and is thus distinguished from the vocal *Sh^ewâ*. Of the vocal *Sh^ewâ* we have again to distinguish two kinds,

1) the real *Sh^ewâ mobile*, beneath such consonants as are closely united (as a kind of *appoggiatura*), with the following syllable, whether—*a*) at the beginning of the word, as קָטַל *q^eṭōl*, מַמְלִיכָה *m^emāllep̄*; or—*b*) in the middle of the word, as קָטַלְתָּהּ *q^eṭaltā*, יִקְטְלוּ *yⁱq^eṭlū*, קִטְלָהּ *qⁱṭṭālū*,

2) the so-called *Sh^ewâ medium*, or *Sh^ewâ* wavering [*schwebende*] placed under such consonants as stand at the end of a syllable with a short vowel, and thus effect at least a slight close of the same, while at the same time they serve as *appoggiatura* to the following syllable. The *Sh^ewâ medium* therefore stands between the *Sh^ewâ quiescens* and the real *Sh^ewâ mobile*. With reference to pronunciation however, it must be

¹ In the table § 9, 12 on p. 43, the half-vowels have already been exhibited for the sake of a more complete view. We express them by very small letters.

² The name שׁוּׁא is written also שׁוּא, and its derivation and proper meaning are disputed.

The *Chātēph-Pāthäch* is thus found instead of *simple vocal Shewā*, especially *a*) under a doubled letter, since the doubling causes a more distinct utterance of the vocal *Shewā*, as שִׁבְלִי *branches* Zech. 4, 12, especially also where the sign of doubling has fallen away (*Del.* and *Guer.* Ztschr. Bd. 24, p. 499) יִתְאַלְצֶהוּ Judg. 16, 16; no less universally where after a consonant with (—) the same consonant follows (for sharper distinction) e. g. סִדְרִים Ps. 68, 7; קִלְלָהָ Gen. 27, 13 (except some special cases like הִנֵּי see me!) and finally under ר after the long vowel and before the tone e. g. בְּרָכִי Ps. 103, 1; *b*) under the initial sibilants after ה copulative e. g. וַיְהִי Gen. 2, 12; וַיִּשְׁקָה Gen. 27, 26, to give the *Shewā* more prominence; for the same reason under emphatic ק in וַיִּקְרֶב Ps. 55, 2 and under ר in וַיִּרְעַם Ps. 28, 9; *c*) under liquids, sibilants, or ק after י, e. g. אֶמְרוּ Ps. 12, 7, בִּסְבָּךְ Ps. 74, 5 for the same reason, as cases under *b*.

The *Chātēph-Qā'mēš* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, and stands frequently for *simple vocal Shewā* when an *O* sound was originally in the syllable, and requires to be partly preserved, e. g. רָאִי for רָאָה *vision* (§ 93, I. Rem. 6), יִרְדְּפָה for the usual יִרְדְּפָה Ez. 35, 6, from וַיִּרְדֵּה; קִרְקֶרִי *his pate* from קִרְקֶר. It is used, also, like (—) when *Dāghē'sh fortè* has fallen away, לִקְחָה for לָקַחָה Gen. 2, 23. Here, as in וַיִּסְדֶּה 1 K. 13, 7, and וַיִּצְעֲקֵי Jer. 22, 20, the choice of this *composite Shewā* is dependent on the following guttural and the preceding *U* sound; in וַיִּתְּחֶרֶ (u-tē'hör) additionally on the fol. *O* sound.

3. The sign of the *simple Shewā* (—) serves also as a mere *syllable-divider*, without expressing any sound, and therefore called in this case *silent Shewā* (Arab. *sukūn* rest). It stands in the midst of a word under every consonant that closes a syllable; at the end of words, on the other hand, it is omitted, except in *final* ד, e. g. מֶלֶךְ (*king*), and in the less frequent case where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant, as in נָרָה (*nard*), אַתָּה (*thou, fem.*), קָטַלְתָּ (*thou hast killed*), וַיִּשְׁקַן (*and he watered*), וַיִּשְׁבֶּה (*and he took captive*), אַל-תִּשְׁתֵּה (*drink thou not*).

The real difference between *simple vocal Shewā* and *silent Shewā* is dependent upon a correct understanding of the laws of syllable formation (§ 26). The beginner should early notice that (1) *Shewā* is always *vocal*: *a*) at the beginning of words (except in שְׁתִּי, שְׁתִּים § 97, 1, foot note, 1). *b*) under a consonant with *Dāghē'sh forte*, e. g. גִּיד־דֶּפְחִי. *c*) after another *Shewā*, e. g. יִקְטְלוּ (*yiqtelū*) (except at the end of words, vid. 3, above. (2) *Shewā* is *silent*. *a*) at the end of words (also in ה) *b*) before another *Shewā* (vid. c), above.

§ 11.

THE OTHER SIGNS WHICH AFFECT THE READING.

In intimate connection with the vowel-points stand the *reading-signs*, which were probably adopted at the same time. Besides the diacritic point of װ and ױ (p. 27), a point is used *in* a letter, in order to show that it has a stronger sound, or is even doubled; and, on the contrary, a small horizontal stroke *over* a letter, as a sign that it has *not* the strong sound. The use of the point *in* the letter is *threefold*: — *a*) as *Dāghē'sh fortè* or sign of *doubling* (§ 12); — *b*) as *Dāghē'sh lenè* or sign of the hard (not aspirated) sound (§ 13); — *c*) *Mappī'q*, a sign that the vowel-letter (§ 7, 2) especially the ף at the end of a word (§ 14, 1), has the sound of a consonant. The stroke *over* a letter, *Rāphè*, has a contrary effect, and is rarely used in the printed text (§ 14, 2).

§ 12.

DĀGHĒSH IN GENERAL, AND DĀGHĒSH FORTÈ IN PARTICULAR.

1. *Dāghē'sh* is a point written in the bosom¹ of a consonant, and is employed for two purposes; *a*) to indicate the *doubling* of the letter (*Dāghē'sh fortè*), e. g. קטל *qīṭ-ṭēl*; *b*) the *hardening* of the aspirates (§ 6, 3), i. e. the removal of the aspiration (*Dāghē'sh lenè*). Comp. Note p. 49.

The root דגש, from which דגשׁ is derived, signifies in Syriac to *thrust* or *bore through* (with a sharp iron). Hence the word *Dāghē'sh* is commonly supposed to mean, with reference to its figure merely, a *prick* or a *point*. But the names of all similar signs are expressive of their grammatical power, and in this case, the name of the sign refers both to its figure and its use. In grammatical language דגש means,— 1) *acuere* (*literam*), to *sharpen* the letter by doubling it;—2) to *harden* the letter by taking away its aspiration. Accordingly דגשׁ means *sharpening* and *hardening*, i. e. the sign of sharpening or hardening (like

The ך with *Dāghē'sh* is easily distinguished from *Shûrēq*, which never admits a vowel or *Shewâ* under or before the ך. Cf. *Grätz die mannigfache Anwendung u. Bedeutung des Dāgēsch*, *Monatsschr. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Juden*, 1887, p. 425 sq. and 473 sq. Cf. also *Stade's Hebr. gr.*, 1879.

Mäppi'q, מַפִּיק *proferens*, i. e. *signum prolationis*), and it was expressed in writing by a mere *prick* of the *stilus* (*punctum*). In a manner somewhat analogous, in textual criticism letters and words are represented as expunged (*ex-puncta*) by a *point* or *pointed instrument* (*obeliscus*) affixed to them.—The opposite of Dāghē'sh is רַפָּה *soft* (§ 14, 2).—That דְּגִישׁ, in grammatical language, is applied to a *hard pronunciation* of various kinds appears from § 22, 4, Rem. 1.

2. Its use as *Dāghē'sh forte*, i. e. for *doubling* a letter, is of chief importance (compare the *Sicilicus* of the ancient Latins, e. g. *Luculus* for *Lucullus*, and in German the stroke over *m* and *n*). It is wanting in the unpointed text, like the vowel and other signs.

For the cases where it stands, and for further particulars respecting its varieties, see § 20.

§ 13.

DĀGHĒSH LENE.

1. Dāghē'sh *lene*, the sign of *hardening*, belongs only to the aspirates (*literae aspiratae*) בְּגִדְכַּת (§ 6, 3)¹. It takes away their aspiration, and restores their original *slender* or *pure* sounds (*literae tenues*) e. g. מַלְךְ *mā'-lēkh*, but מַלְכוֹ *mal-kō'*; תַּפֵּר *tā-phā'r*, but יַתֵּר *yith-pō'r*; שְׁתָּה *shā-thā'*, but יִשְׁתָּה *yish-tè*.

2. Dāghē'sh *lene*, as shown in § 21, stands only at the beginning of words and syllables. It is thus easily distinguished from Dāghē'sh *forte*, which always follows a vowel, while Dāghē'sh *lene* never does. Thus the Dāghē'sh is *forte* in אָפִי, but *lene* in יִגְדֵּל.

3. When the Dāghē'sh *forte* stands in an aspirate, the doubling of itself excludes the aspiration since the second of the two consonants would have required a Dāghē'sh *lene*, e. g. אָפִי (for אָפִי) in reality *āp-pî*.

¹ Prof. Kautzsch notices here an anomalous application of the *Dāghē'sh lene* to other than the aspirates in order to accentuate the beginning of a new syllable. Examples of this are to be found in the corrected text of *Baer-Delitzsch*, e. g. בְּכַל־לְבִי Ps. 9, 2, מְחַסֵּי Ps. 62, 8, comp. *Delitzsch luth. Zeitschr.* 1863, p. 413, and his *Complut. Var. zu dem Alttest. Texte*, p. 12.

§ 14.

MAPPI'Q AND RĀPHÈ.

1. *Mäppî'q*, like *Dāghē'sh*, to which it is analogous, is a point in a letter. It belongs only to the vowel-letters ו, י, and א, ה (*literae quiescibiles*, see § 7, 2), and shows that they are to be fully sounded as *consonants*, instead of serving as vowels. It is at present used only in final ה, for in the body of a word this letter always has its consonant force, e. g. גִּבְהָה *gā-bhā'h* (to be high), אֶרֶץ אֲרָצָה 'ār-ṣā'h (her land), the *h* having its full consonant-sound (shortened from -hā), in distinction from אֶרֶץ אֲרָצָה 'ā'r-ṣā (land-ward), which ends with a vowel.

Without doubt such a ה was uttered with stronger aspiration, like the Arabic *He* at the end of the syllable. There are cases where the consonantal character of such an ה, and likewise the *Mäppîq*, are lost, so that it retains only the character of a vowel letter; cf. § 91, 1, Rem. 2, on 3 fem. sq.

The name מְפִיק signifies *proferens* i. e. a sign that requires the sound of the letter to be clearly expressed as a consonant. The same sign was selected for this and for *Dāghē'sh*, because the design was analogous; viz., to indicate the strong sound of the letter. Hence also *Rāphè* is the opposite of both.

In Mss., *Mäppîq* occurs also with א, ו, י, expressly to mark them as consonants; e. g. גִּי (*gōy*), קִי (*qāw*). In printed editions a point with א (א or א) is found in only four places: Gen. 43, 26; Lev. 23, 17; Ezra 8, 18; Job 33, 21 (רָאִי); here also the point may be understood only as an orthophonetic sign, but not with *King* as *Dāghē'sh forte*). Cf. *Delitzsch Com. zum Buch Hiob*, 2. Aufl., p. 439 sq.

2. *Rāphè* (רַפָּה i. e. *soft*), a horizontal stroke over the letter, is the opposite of both *Dāghē'sh* and *Mäppî'q*, especially of *Dāghē'sh lene*. In exact manuscripts especially an aspirate has either *Dāghē'sh lene* or *Rāphè*, e. g. מַלְלֶכְה *mā'lekh*, תַּפְרָה, תַּפְרָה; but in printed editions of the Bible (except of Baer-Delitzsch, v. Note, p. 49) it is used only when the absence of *Dāghē'sh* or *Mäppî'q* is to be expressly noted, e. g. *Dagh. f.* wanting in יְהוֹאֲכִיָּהּ for יְהוֹאֲכִיָּהּ Judg. 16, 16, and *Dāghē'sh lene* in מִשְׁתִּי v. 28, and *Mäppî'q* in Job 31, 22.

§ 15.

ON THE ACCENTS.

1. The design of the *accents* is, *principally*, to regulate to the smallest details the musical recitation (cantillation) of the sacred text. They are, therefore, above all, a kind of musical notes. Their signification as such has been lost in tradition, a few traces excepted. But, besides this original design, they serve for two objects, by which they are even now of the greatest importance to grammar (including syntax), viz. *a*) as *accents*, for the right accentuation of single words, and *b*) as *signs of interpunction*, to indicate the logical (syntactical) relation of each word to the adjoining ones, and thus to the whole sentence.

2. As a sign for marking the *tone* of a single word, the accent, whatever its rhythmical value besides may be, stands regularly (comp. Rem. 2, p. 54) with the syllable which has the chief tone in the word. In most words the tone is on the last syllable, less frequently on the last but one (*penultima*). In the first case, the word is called by the grammarians *mīl-rā'* (מִלְרָא' Aram. *from below*), e. g. קָטַל *qā-tā'l*; in the second, *mīl-ē'l* (מִלְעֵל Aram. *from above*), e. g. מָלַךְ *mā'-lēkh*. On the third syllable from the end (*antepenultima*) the chief tone never stands; but we often find there a secondary one, or by-tone, which is indicated by the *Méthëgh* (§ 16, 2). The Jewish grammarians accept also a proparoxytone in such cases as יְהוָה נִשְׁמָדָה Is. 50, 8.

3. The use of the accents as signs of *interpunction* is somewhat complicated, since they serve not merely to *separate* the members of a sentence, like our period, colon, semicolon and comma, but also as marks of *connection*. Hence they form two general classes, *Distinctives* (Domini) and *Conjunctives* (Servi). Again there is to be distinguished a double system of accentuation *a*) the *Prosaic*, found in 21 O. T. books (the so-called כ"א i. e. 21) and *b*) the *Poetical* in the three first

books of the *Hagiographa*, Psalms, Proverbs and Job. Comp. Note⁵ p. 22. The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the Prosaic.

The following list of the accents presents them in the order¹ of their value as *signs of interpunction*.

I. PROSAIC ACCENTS.

A. *Distinctives* (Domini).

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| I. <i>Imperatores</i> | { | 1. (,) סִלּוּ'q (Sillū'q, ² "end") with (:) סוף פסוק; |
| | | 2. (˘) אֲתַנָּח (Athnā'ch, "rest"); ³ |
| | | 3. (˘) סִגְלֹתָא (Sēghöltā, "bunch of grapes"); †† |
| | | 4. (˘) שַׁלְשֵׁלֹתוֹ (Shālshēlēth, "chain") with פסוק following; |
| II. <i>Reges</i> | { | 5. (˘) זָקָה קָטוֹן (Zāqēph qātōn, "slight suspension"); |
| | | 6. (˘) זָקָה גָדוֹל (Zāqēph gādhol, "great suspension"); |
| | | 7. (˘) רָבִיעַ (Rēbhîā, "square" or "reposing"); |
| III. <i>Duces</i> | { | 8. (˘) פָּשַׁטָא (Pāshṭā, "letting down"); †† |
| | | 9. (˘) יָתִיב (Yēthibh, "sitting still"); † |
| | | 10. (˘) טַפְחָא (Tīphchā, "palm of the hand"); |
| | | 11. (˘) תְּבִיר (Tēbhîr, "interruption"); |
| | | 12. (˘) זֶרְקָא (Zarqā, "dispersion"); †† |
| | | 13. (˘) גֵּרֶשׁ (Gērēsh, "expulsion"); |
| IV. <i>Comites</i> | { | 14. (˘) גֵּרָשִׁים (Gērāshim, "double Geresh"); |
| | | 15. (˘) לְגַרְמָהוּ (Lēgarmēh = מַרְיָה (see 21) with (ו) פָּסִיק (Pesiq, "cut off"); |
| | | 16. (˘) פָּזֵר (Pāzēr, "separator"); |
| | | 17. (˘) קָרְנֵי פָרָה (Qārñē-phārā, "heifer's horns"); |
| | | 18. (˘) תְּלִישָׁא גְדוֹלָה (Tēlishā Gēdholā, "great shield"); †; |

¹ This list has been tabulated and enlarged for the sake of clearness. The order here given is that adopted by Kautzsch, with the addition of the Hebrew names and their definitions as given by Stade (Lehrb. 1879), Ewald and others.—*Ed.*

² Only at the end of the verse and always united with (:) *Sēph-pāssū'q* which separates each verse, e. g. : רָאָה־יָיִן.

³ Usually under the tone-syllable of the last word in the first half of the verse.

⁴ For explanation of the signs † and †† see Rem. 2 below.

B. Conjunctives (Servi).

19. (,) מִירְכָא (*Mēr^ekhā*, "prolonging");
20. (,) מִירְכָא כְּפּוּלָא (*Mēr^ekhā kh^ephūla*, "m. doubled");
21. (,) מִנְחָא (*Mūnāch*, "at rest");
22. (,) דְּרָגָא (*Dārgā*, "progress");
23. (') קִדְמָא (*Qādhmā*, "beginning");
24. (,) מִהֲפָךְ (*Māhpāch*, "inverted");
25. (') תְּלִישָׁא קְטַנָּה (*T^elishā Q^etannā*, "little shield"); ††
26. (,) יָרַח בְּיָוֶמוֹ (*Yērāch ben Yōmō*, "moon a day old");
27. (,) מֵאַיְלָא (*Me^eailā*, "from afar").¹

II. POETICAL ACCENTS.

A. Distinctives.

1. (:) סְלִיּוּק *Silluq* (see above).
2. (,) מִירְכָא מְהַפָּךְ *Mēr^ekhā m^ehuppākh* or 'Ölèvjörēd, a stronger separator than
3. (,) אֲתַנָּח *Athnā'ch* (v. s.). In smaller verses *Athnāch* suffices as chief separator; in larger ones the *Mēr^ekhā m^ehuppākh* serves as such, and is then always followed by *'athnach* as greatest distinctive of the second half of the word,
4. (') רִבִּיעַ גְּדוֹלַ *Great Rēbiā*,
5. (') רִבִּיעַ מִגְרָשׁ *Rēbhī^a Mugrāsh*, i. e. *Rēbhī^a* with *Gē'rēsh* over the same word,
6. (') שְׁלִשְׁלָח *Shālshēlēth* (v. s.),
7. (') צִנּוֹר *Šinnôr* (*Zārqā*) ††;
8. (') קְטַנָּה רִבִּיעַ *Little Rēbhī^a*, immediately before *Mēr^ekhā m^ehuppākh*,
9. (,) דְּחִי *D^echī* or *tiphchā prepositive* †,
10. (') פִּזֵּר *Pāzēr* (v. sup.),
- 11a. (,) מִהֲפָךְ לְגַרְמָה *M^ehuppākh l^egarmēh*, i. e. *mahpakh* with *P^esiq*,
- 11b. (') אֲזִלָּא לְגַרְמָה *'Azlā l^egarmēh*, i. e. *Azlā* with *P^esiq*.

¹ To indicate the secondary tone in words which have *Silluq* or *'Athnā'ch*,

B. Conjunctives.

12. () מִירְכָּא *Mērēkhā* (v. s.),
13. () מִוְנָח *Mūnach* (v. s.),
14. (') עִלְוִי *Ilhūi* or *Munach Superior*,
15. () טָרְחָא *Tārchā* placed under the tone-syllable and thus easily distinguished from No. 9.
16. (\) גָּלְגַּל *Galgāl* (or *Yērāch* v. no. 26 supra.),
17. () מַהְפָּךְ *Māhpākh* (v. s.),
18. (') אֶזְלָא *Azlā* (v. s.),
19. (') שְׁלִשְׁתֵּי קִטְפָּה *Shalsheth q'tannāh* (little Sh.). The last three are distinguished from the distinctives of the same name by the absence of the *P'siq* stroke.

REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. As Signs of the Tone.

1. As in Greek and English (comp. εἰμί and εἴμι, *entrānce* and *ētrance*), so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants and vowel-signs are often distinguished by the accent, e. g. בָּנוּ *bā-nū* (*they built*), בָּנוּ *bā'nū* (*in us*); קָמָה *qā'mā* (*she stood up*), קָמָה *qāmā* (*standing up, fem.*).

2. As a rule, the accents stand on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. Some, however, stand only on the first letter of a word (*prepositive*), others only on the last letter (*postpositive*). The former are designated in the table by †, the latter by ††. These do not, therefore, clearly indicate the tone-syllable, which must be known in some other way.

3. The place of the accent, specially when it is on the penultima, is indicated in this book by the sign (—), e. g. קָמָה *qā-ṭā'l-tā*.

II. As Signs of Interpunction.

4. In respect to this use of the accent, every verse is regarded as a period, which closes with Sillū'q¹, or, in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a realm (*ditio*), which is governed by the great Distinctive at the end (*Imperator*). According as the verse is long or short, i. e. as the empire is large or small, so varies the number of *Domini* of different grades, which form the larger and smaller divisions.

¹ This has the same form with *Methēgh* (§ 16, 2); but they are readily distinguished, as *Sillūq* always stands at the last tone-syllable of a verse, while *Methēgh* never stands at a tone-syllable.

5. Conjunctives (*Servi*) unite only such words as are closely connected in sense, as a noun with an adjective, or with another noun in the genitive. For the closest connection of two or several words *Mäqqē'ph* is used (§ 16, 1).

6. In very short verses few conjunctives are used, and sometimes none; a small distinctive, in the vicinity of a greater, having a connective power (*servit domino majori*). In very long verses, on the contrary, conjunctives are used for the smaller distinctives (*fiunt legati dominorum*).

7. Without attempting here to explain¹ the laws of consecution, we may remark, to avoid misunderstanding, that in poetic accentuation, the *Rebhî^a* *Mugrāsh* before *Sillūq* and the *Dechî* before *Athnā'ch* must be changed into a conjunctive, unless at least two unaccented syllables precede the chief distinctives. Here *Sh^ewā mobile* after *Qā'mēš*, *Šērē* or *Chō'tēm* (with *Methēgh*) is considered as forming a syllable.

§ 16.

OF MÄQQĒPH AND MĒTHĒGH.

These are both closely connected with the accents.

1. *Mäqqē'ph* (מִקְּתָה *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between two words, which thus become so united that, in respect to tone and interpunction, they are regarded as one, and have but one accent. Two, three, and four words may be united in this way, e. g. כָּל־אָדָם *every man*, אֶת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב *every herb* Gen. 1, 29, אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לֹו *all which to him* (was) Gen. 25, 5.

Certain monosyllabic words, like אֶל *to*, עַל *on*, אֶת sign of the *Acc.*, כָּל *all*, are almost always thus connected. But a longer word may also be joined to a monosyllable, e. g. הַחֵהָרָה־נָּה Gen. 6, 9, וַיְהִי־יָמָיו Gen. 1, 7. 9; or two polysyllables, e. g. שִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר Gen. 7, 11. —Compare the Greek proclitics ἐν, εἰς, ἐκ, ἐξ, ὡς, οὐ, which as ἄτονα lean on the next word.

2. *Methēgh* (מֶתֶּחַךְ *a bridle*), a small perpendicular line on the left of a vowel, indicates a kind of check upon the influence of the accents as marking the tone-syllable, and shows

¹ The curious student is referred, for a full treatment of the Accents, to *Ewald's Lehrbuch d. hebr. Sprache*, §§ 97—100. See also Prof. A. C. Davidson's *Outlines of Heb. Accentuation*. Edinb. 1861, the appendix to *Delitzsch's* commentary on *Psalms*, and *Delitzsch's* review, in Curtiss' English translation of *Bickell's elements* (Leipz. 1877). It is to be noted that a thorough study of the accents can only be made with the aid of correct editions of the text, like those of *Baer-Delitzsch*, our ordinary texts being corrupt.

that the vowel, though not accented, should not be hastily passed over in pronunciation; (hence the other names of *Mèthëgh*: *Ma'rikh* (מַאֲרִיךְ), i. e. *lengthener*, or gā'yā (גָּאֵיָא) i. e. *raising of the voice*).¹

There has to be distinguished: 1) The *light Mèthëgh*. This is divided again into: *a*) the ordinary *Mèthëgh* of the secondary tone, as a rule on the second syllable before the tone, e. g. הָאָרָם; but also in the third when the second is closed, e. g. הָאָרְבָּיִים and, when the third cannot take it, even the fourth (open) syllable before the tone. This *Mèthëgh* may be repeated in the fourth syllable before the tone when it already stands in the second. Finally it is always added to the vowel of an open *ultima* which is joined by *māqqē'ph* to a word beginning with *Shewâ* pretonic, e. g. מִירְלָהּ שְׁלֹמֹה-הַבְּנִי to prevent the *Shewâ* from being regarded as *silent*.

This *Mèthëgh* never stands with the ו copulative; therefore not. וְבָנִים etc. (likewise not וְבָנִי etc.—contrary to *b*, α, below; although וְיָהּ etc. according to *b*, δ, comp. § 10, 2. Rem.)

b) the firm or indispensable *Mèthëgh*. α) with all long vowels which are followed by vocal *Shewâ* pretonic, e. g. קָטֹלָה etc. β) to emphasize a long vowel immediately before *Māqqē'ph*, e. g. שְׁתִּילִי Gen. 4, 25 (ā, not ö). γ) with *Şērê* which has lost its accent by the removal of the tone, to prevent its pronunciation as *Sēghôl*, e. g. אֶהָב (not 'ōhēbh). δ) with all vowels before composite *Shewâ* e. g. צִעֲקִים, וְעִמְדִי etc. except when the following consonant is doubled, e. g. יִקְבְּנוּ. Is. 62, 2, because the sharpening by *dāghē'sh* excludes the lengthening of the vowel by *Mèthëgh*. ε) In the initial syllable of all forms of הִיָּה *to be*, and הִיָּה *to live*, where the ה and ה stand with *silent Shewâ* (for greater distinctness of utterance) e. g. יְהִיָּה, תְּהִיָּה etc. ζ) with the *Qā'mēš* of the plural forms בָּתִּים *house* (thus בָּתִּים *bāttim* etc.) and with אָאָּ *prithēe!* to avoid the sounds *bōttim*, *ōnnā*.

Every kind of light *Mèthëgh* may in certain circumstance be changed into a conjunctive accent.

¹ Comp. as the source of the article on *Mèthëgh*, the thorough discussion of *S. Baer* upon the "Metheg-Setzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen" in *A. Merx*, Archiv für die wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. Test. Heft I (Halle 1867), S. 56, and Heft II (1868), S. 194.

2) The *grave Mèthëgh* (Ga'yā in a more limited sense) is not employed to lengthen, but only to give more importance to a short vowel or an initial *Shewā*, especially to the *Pāthäch* of the article or the prefixes ל, כ, ב, when followed by *Shewā*, e. g. הַמֶּסְלָה, לַמֶּסְלָה etc., but not before י (except יִרְהִי and יִרְהִי when they stand before *Mèthëgh* or with the accent *Pāshṭā*) nor before or after the ordinary *Mèthëgh*. It is also put with interrogative ה when it has *Pāthäch* and at the *right side* of it e. g. הֲאֵלֶּךְ (except before י, *dāghê'sh forte*, or the tone). The so-called *Shewā Ga'yā* is especially important in poetical accentuation, for purposes of musical recitation. It stands chiefly upon words whose principal tone is marked by a *Distinctive* without a preceding *Conjunctive*.

3) The *Euphonic Gā'yā*, for the distinct enunciation of such consonants as, in consequence of the loss of the tone, might easily be neglected, e. g. וַיִּשָּׁבַע לֵאמֹר Gen. 24, 9; פְּדֹתָהּ אֶרֶם 28, 2 etc.

Rem. 1. The *Mèthëgh* is of special service to the beginner, as indicating (according to letter *a*, above) the quantity of *Qāmëṣ* and *Chîrêq* before a *Shewā*. Thus in אֶכְלָה 'ā-khēlā' the *Mèthëgh* shows that the *Shewā* is here *vocal*; but the (—) in an open syllable before (—) must be *long* (§ 26, 3), consequently *Qāmëṣ*, not *Qāmëṣ-chātû'ph*. On the contrary, in אֶכְלָה 'ōkhlā without *Mèthëgh* the (—) stands in a closed syllable and is consequently *short* (*Qāmëṣ-chātû'ph*). Thus also יִרְאוּ (they fear) with *Mèthëgh* with a long î, *yî-rê'û*, but יִרְאוּ without *Mèthëgh* with short î, *yîr'û*; see also the rule about *Qāmëṣ* and *Qāmëṣ-chātû'ph* above in § 9.

Rem. 2. It should be said however that the Jewish Grammarians do not consider syllables lengthened by *Mèthëgh* as open. With them the *Shewā* is silent, in cases like אֶכְלָה (above), the כ belonging to the preceding syllable. Comp. *Baer*. *Torath 'Emeth* p. 9. and in *Merx's Archiv* I. p. 60. Rem. 1.

§ 17.

THE QERÊ' AND KETHIBH.

The margin of the Bible exhibits a number of various readings of an early date (§ 3, 2) called קרי (*read*), because in the view of the Jewish critics they are to be preferred

¹ On *Qerê* for *Qerî* cf. *Kautzsch*, *Gram. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 81, note.

to what stands in the text, and to be read instead of what is there written, hence called כתיב (*written*). Those critics have therefore attached the vowel-signs, appropriate to the marginal reading, to the corresponding word in the text; e. g. in Jer. 42, 6, we find in the text אָנֹךְ, in the margin אֲנַחְנוּ קִרִּי. Here the vowel-points in the text belong to the word in the margin, which is to be pronounced אֲנַחְנוּ *we*; but in reading the *Kethibh* אָנֹךְ, the proper vowels must be supplied, namely אָנֹךְ *we*. A small circle or asterisk over the word in the text always directs to the marginal reading. — With some words of frequent occurrence, that are *always* read otherwise than they are written, it has not been thought needful to put in the margin the word as read, but only to attach its vowels to the word in the text; and the word so pointed is called a *Qerê perpetuum*. So we find הָיָא (Q. הָיָא) in the Pentateuch wherever it stands as *feminine* (§ 32, Rem. 6); יִשְׁשַׁכָּר (Qerִי יִשְׁשַׁכָּר) Gen. 30, 18 *etc.* comp. *Gesen. Lex.* and *Baer-Delitzsch, Liber Genesis* p. 84, יְרוּשָׁלַם (Qerֶה יְרוּשָׁלַם), properly יְרוּשָׁלַם; יְהוָה (Qerֶה אֲדֹנָי the Lord), or יְהוָה (Q. אֱלֹהִים God) whenever אֲדֹנָי stands next before it in the text, but properly it is always יְהוָה *Yăh-wè* (comp. § 102, 2, Rem.). It occurs, however, in the cuneiform inscriptions in the form *Ja'ava*, according to to *Sayce* and *Pinches'* reading; cf. *Strassmaier's Babylonische Texte*, Heft VII, No. 307, line 2.

CHAPTER II.

PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLES AND THE TONE.

§ 18.

In order fully and rightly to comprehend the changes which the forms of the various parts of speech undergo, it is necessary first to get acquainted with certain general laws which govern those changes. These laws are founded

partly on the peculiarities of certain classes of letters, considered individually or as combined in syllables, and partly on certain usages of the language in reference to the syllables and the tone.

§ 19.

CHANGES OF CONSONANTS.

The changes occasioned among consonants by the formation of words, inflection, euphony, or certain influences connected with the progress of the language, are *commutation*, *assimilation*, *rejection* and *addition*, *transposition*.

1. *Commutation* takes place most naturally among letters which are *homorganic* or *homogeneous* (comp. § 6, Rem. 1 on page 29), e. g. עָלַז, עָלַם, עָלַץ to *exult*; לָהָה, לָאָה, Aram. לָאָה to *tire*; יָם— and יָן— (as plural ending); נָחַץ and נָחַץ to *press*; סָנַר and סָכַר to *close*; מָלַט and פָּלַט to *slip* or *escape*. In process of time, and as the language approximated to the Aramæan, hard and rough sounds specially were exchanged for softer ones, e. g. גָּאַל for גָּעַל to *reject*, שָׁחַק for צָחַק to *laugh*; and for the sibilants were substituted the corresponding flat sounds, as ד for ז, ט for צ, ת for ש; which latter cases may be regarded as a return to an earlier pronunciation.

This interchange of consonants affects the original forms of words more than it does their grammatical inflection; the consideration of it, therefore, belongs rather to the lexicon. Examples occur, however, in the grammatical inflection of words; viz., the interchange — *a*) of ת and ט in Hithpaél, (§ 54); — *b*) of ר and י in verbs *Pē Yôdh* (§ 69), as יָלַד for יָלַד (he begat).

2. *Assimilation* usually takes place when a consonant, at the close of a syllable, passes over into the one beginning the next syllable, so as to form with it a double sound, as *illustris* for *inlustris*, *affero* for *adfero*, συλλαμβάνω for συν-λαμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs—

a) most frequently with the slightly nasal נ, especially before harder consonants, e. g. מִשָּׁם (for מִנְשָׁם) *from there*,

נָתַתָּ (for מָנַתָּ) *from this*, יָתַן (for יָתַתָּ) *he will give*, נָתַתָּ (for נָתַתָּ) *thou hast given*. Before gutturals נ is commonly retained (except sometimes with ח); also after the prefix ל, as לִנְתָּנָה *etc.* and when the נ is the third letter of the stem, as שָׁכַנְתָּ *thou hast dwelt* (comp. however נָתַתָּ for נָתַתָּ); finally in isolated cases as תִּנְדָּה Ps. 68, 3 (here and elsewhere probably as intentional emphasis in long pause, comp. Is. 29, 1; 58, 3. Deut. 33, 9).

- b) less frequently, and only in special cases, with ל, ר, ת, ה, e. g. יִקַּח for יִלְקַח *he will take*; הִתְכַּוֵּן for הִתְכַּוֵּן *to be established*, שָׁלִי for אֲשֶׁר לִי *who to me* (§ 36); אָחֵת for אֶחָת.
- c) in isolated cases with אהרי e. g. בַּסֶּאֱסָא Is. 27, 8; אָא from נָא; finally ו and י mostly before sibilants in forms like יִצָּר for יִצָּר comp. § 71.

In all these cases, the assimilated letter is expressed by *Dāghē'sh forte* in the next following. In a consonant at the end of the word, however, as it cannot be doubled (§ 20, 3, a), the *Dāghē'sh* is omitted, e. g. אָא *nose* for אָאָא or אָאָה for תָּתָה (prop. תָּתָה) *to give*, לָתָה for לָתָה *to bear*; comp. τύψας for τύψας.

By way of assimilation backwards, we occasionally find a second weaker sound swallowed up by the stronger one before it; e. g. קָנְלָהוּ from קָנְלָהוּ (Rem. 3), מִמֶּנִּי for מִמֶּנִּי *from him* (§ 103, 2). With this may be reckoned יִסָּב for יִסָּב *he will surround* (§ 67, 5); אָסֶס for אָסֶס (§ 66, 2) is more like Aramaic.

3. The complete *rejection* or *falling away* of a consonant can only take place in the case of the weaker ones, viz. the breathings (א, ה), or vowel-letters (ו, י), or liquids (נ, ל). It happens—

- a) at the beginning of a word (*aphæresis*), when such a feeble consonant has not a full vowel, and its sound is easily lost upon the ear, as נָחֵנוּ and אָנְחֵנוּ (*we*), אָשֶׁר for אָשֶׁר (comp. No. 2, b, above), יָשָׁב (*sit thou*) for יָשָׁב; יָעָ for orig. יָעָ; יָעָ 2 Sam. 22, 41 for נָתַתָּ is an *aphæresis* of a weak consonant with a strong vowel. Perhaps also יָרָ Judg. 19, 11 for יָרָ, and יָשָׁב for יָשָׁב Jer. 42, 10; according to *Kimchi* also קָח Ezek. 17, 5 for לָקַח, and קָח Hos. 11, 3 for לָקַח.

- b) in the midst of a word (*syncope*) when the weak consonant has *Shewâ* before it; thus א e. g. חֹסֶם Gen. 25, 24, for חָסֶם, חָסֶם for חָסֶם (as a rule the א in such cases is orthographically retained e. g. רָאשׁוֹן for רֹאשׁוֹן); often with ה e. g. לְהַחֲלֹךְ for לְהַחֲלֹךְ (§ 23, 4, § 35 Rem. 2), יִהְיֶה for יִהְיֶה (§ 53. 1). — The syncope of א with *Shewâ* occurs in cases like בְּאֶרְצִי for בְּאֶרְצִי; in בְּבִיאֲמָה Is. 27, 8 (for בְּבִיאֲמָה) we have, through syncope of א, an open syllable artificially closed by *dag. forte*. In לְקַרְאָה for לְקַרְאָה we have syncope of א (yet orthographically retained) in the beginning of the syllable. Finally, to syncope belongs the elision of ו at the close of a syllable after a heterogeneous vowel, e. g. יָרֵךְ for יָרֵךְ as well as of the ו and י in verbs לֵה' (§ 75, 3).
- c) at the end of a word (*apocope*) e. g. יִקְטִילִי for orig. יִקְטִילִי; גִּלְגִּלִּי *prop. name* (comp. גִּלְגִּלִּי); וְיָרֵךְ (א orthographically retained). Upon the apocope of ו and י in verbs לֵה' see § 75.

4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation the *addition* of א (*Ā'leph prostheticum*), with its vowel, takes place sometimes at the beginning of a word, e. g. זְרוֹעַ and אֶזְרוֹעַ *arm* (comp. χθές, ἐχθές, Lat. *spiritus* = French *esprit*, Welsh *ysprid*).

5. *Transposition* seldom occurs in the grammar, as in הִשְׁתַּמֵּר for הִשְׁתַּמֵּר (§ 54, 2) because *sht* is easier to sound than *thsh*; but oftener in the province of the lexicon, as כֶּבֶשׂ and כֶּבֶשׂ *lamb*, שִׁמְלָה and שִׁמְלָה *garment*, מִלְחָמָה and מִלְחָמָה *tooth*; they are, however, chiefly confined to the sibilants and liquids.

6. *Softening* occurs, for example, in כֹּכַב *star*, from *Kaukabh-Kawkabh* for *Kabhkabh* (cf. Syr. *raurab* = *rabrab*); in מְטַפֹּחַ *armlets* or *fillets* for *taphtaphôt*; according to the usual view also אִישׁ from *'insh*; cf. § 96.

Rem. For other cases of softening, cf. § 24, 1, b, Rem.; § 47, 2, note 1; § 93, 1, Rem. 6, a and c; § 95, Rem.

§ 20.

THE DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS.

1. The doubling of a letter by *Dāghē'sh fortè* (§ 13) takes place, and is *essential*, i. e. necessary to the form of the word (*Dāghē'sh essential*)—

- a) when the same letter is to be written twice in succession, without an intermediate vowel—or *vocal Shewâ*; thus for נָתַתָּנוּ we have נָתַתָּנוּ *we have given*; for שָׂתַתִּי, שָׂתַתִּי *I have set*; for הִכְרַתִּי, הִכְרַתִּי *I have cut off*.
- b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19, 2), as יָתַן for יָתַן. In both these instances (a and b) it is called *Dāghē'sh compensative*.
- c) when the doubling of a letter originally single is characteristic of a grammatical form, e. g. לָמַד *he has learned*, but לָמַד *he has taught* (*Dāghē'sh characteristic*).

The double consonant is actually and necessarily written twice (without admitting the compensation), whenever a vowel sound, even the shortest (a vocal *Shewâ*), comes between. In the latter case according to the correct Massora, there should be a composite *Shewâ* preceded by *Methēgh* e. g. הָיָה לָהֶם, etc. (comp. § 16). The *compos. Shewâ* does not stand before the הָ, e. g. הָבִירָהָ Gen. 27, 4, but also here the first כ has *Vocal Shewâ* (otherwise the 2d כ would have naturally a *Dāghē'sh lene*). Also in cases where the first of the two consonants has already been doubled by *Dāghē'sh forte*, it can have no other than the *Vocal Shewâ* and therefore a further contraction is impossible. This holds true also there when the *Dāghē'sh forte* (v. below 3 b) has been omitted, e. g. in הָלַל really הָלַל=hal-lēlā. The form הָלַל Ps. 9, 14 (not הָלַל) may be explained as *Imper. Pi' ēl*=הָלַל; in the *Imper. Qāl* the insertion of a *Vocal Shewâ* under the first נ would be just as strange as in שָׁדַד Jer. 49, 28 and in the *Imperf.* שָׁדַד Jer. 5, 6.

2. A consonant is sometimes doubled merely for the sake of *euphony*. The use of *Dāghē'sh* in such cases (*Dāghē'sh euphonic*) is only occasional, as being less essential to the forms of words. It is employed—

- a) when two words are more closely united in pronunciation by doubling the initial consonant of the second (*Dāghē'sh fortē conjunctive*), 1) in the first letter of a monosyllable or of a word accented on the first syllable and closely united by *Maqqeph* to a preceding word which ends in accented הָ or הָ (except when the הָ is the ending of the 3. masc. sing. perf. of a verb לָ, or of a substantival infinitive) the so-called דְּחִיק *pulsum* of the Jewish grammarians. Some limit the use of the *dāchig* to the closest union of a monosyllable with a following

B'gadh'phath. However here belong also cases like וְהָיָה Jer. 23, 6 (for וְהָיָה is considered *one* accented syllable): לִקְהָה-וְזָאֵר Gen. 2, 23; וַיִּצְוֶה-לֵךְ Ps. 91, 11, and even with *Rêsh* מִצְוֶה-רֶשֶׁת Prov. 15, 1; וַיִּשְׁנֶה-רֶשֶׁת Gen. 43, 15. In all these cases the tone would be on the last syllable of the first word, if there were no *Maqqēph*.

Rem. 1. It is very doubtful whether the close attachment of the interrogative מָה (מַה) to the following word by *Dāghēsh forte* must also be counted here. According to *Olshausen* this *Dāghēsh* comes from assimilation of the really consonantal *Hê*. In favor of this hypothesis are *a*) the form מַה-וְהָיָה *etc.* in which the ה has been kept only orthographically (therefore also מַה-וְזָאֵר Exod. 4, 2 מַלְכֶם Is. 3, 15); *b*) the fact that the close union exists when no monosyllable or word accented on the first syllable follows, e.g. מַה-בְּרִצָּתָהּ Gen. 38, 29.

Rem. 2. By no means do such examples as the following belong here: וְזָאֵר-וְזָאֵר Ex. 15, 1, 21 (Comp. verse 11, בְּמַכָּה, v. 13 וְזָאֵר, v. 16, בְּזָאֵר). In all these cases the *Dāghēsh* can be nothing but *lene* v. § 21, 1. Rem.

2) in the first letter of a monosyllable or word accented on the first syllable, after a closely connected *Mil'ēl* terminating in *Qāmēs*, הָ or הֶ. Such a *Mil'ēl* is called by the Jewish grammarians אָתִי מְרַחֵק *veniens e longinquo* (i. e. as to accent). The attraction of the following tone syllable through *Daghesh forte conjunctive* has here its reason in a rhythmical pressure, e.g. שְׁבִיטָהּ שְׁבִי Ps. 68, 19; לְלִילָהּ הֶרְחִיקָהּ שְׁאוּל Is. 5, 14 (prefixes לְ, בְּ, לְ [exc. לְהֶ] and לְלִילָהּ Ps. 19, 3] receive no *Dāghēsh*). Forms like מְלָאָה שָׁחַר Ps. 26, 10; גַּעְמָדָה יָחַר Is. 50, 8, with a receding accent, are likewise considered *Mil'ēl*. The *Daghesh* is used even then when the attracted word does not begin with the principal accent, but with a syllable having *Méthēgh*, e.g. הָמָה יִירָשׁוּ Ps. 37, 9; אֵלֶּה יַעֲקֹב Is. 44, 21; עֲשִׂיתָ קַעְרָתִי Ex. 25, 29.

Rem. Exceptional are such cases as קָנָה Deut. 32, 6 and כָּשִׁית 32, 15; also because beginning with aspirates בָּאֵלִם Ex. 15, 11; תָּלַ- Josh. 8, 28; בְּרִיָּע Ps. 77, 16; בְּנִי-הָיָה Job 5, 27.

- b*) when a consonant with *Shewá*, preceded by a short vowel, is doubled in order to sharpen the syllable still more, and

to make the *Shewâ* more audible (*Dāghē'sh dirimens*), e. g. עֵנְבִי for עֵנְבִי *grapes* Deut. 32, 32; comp. Gen. 49, 10, Ex. 2, 3, Is. 57, 6, 58, 3, Job 17, 2, 1 Sam. 28, 10, Ps. 45, 10; Hos. 3, 2; Is. 9, 3. Several cases of this sort may be referred to the influence of a following consonant.¹

c) when the final tone-syllable of a clause or sentence (§ 29, 4), is to receive more strength and emphasis by the doubling, the *daghesh forte affectuosum*, e. g. נָתַנּוּ for נָתַנוּ *they gave* Ez. 27, 19, יָחֲלוּ for יָחֲלוּ *they waited* Job 29, 21, Is. 33, 12.

d) the doubling of liquids by the so-called *Daghesh forte firmativum* in the pronoun הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה and in לָמָּה *wherefore*, to give greater firmness to the preceding vowel.

3. The Hebrew omitted, however, the doubling of a letter by *Dāghē'sh fortè*, in many cases where the analogy of the forms required it; viz. —

a) *almost always* at the end of a word, because there the pronunciation, at least as handed down to us, does not easily admit of such a sharpening. Thus the syllable *all* would be pronounced, not as in German with a sharpened tone, but like the English *all*, *call*, *small*. Instead, therefore, of doubling² the consonant, they often lengthened the preceding vowel (§ 27, 2, b), as יָב (multitude) from רָבב; עָם (people) with a distinctive accent (§ 15, 3), for עָם from עָמם. The exceptions are very rare, as אַתָּה *thou f.*, נָתַתָּה *thou hast given* Ez. 16, 33 (see § 10, 3, Rem.).

b) *often* in certain consonants with *vocal Shewâ* in the body of a word (where the doubling of a letter is less audible, as in Greek ἄλλτο, Homeric for ἄλλετο). Under this rule come first ר and ר, as well as the liquids מ, נ and ל, and then the sibilants (except ש), especially when a guttural

¹ Kautzsch refers such cases chiefly to the nature of the consonant affected viz: *liquids, sibilants*, or the emphatic *Qôph*. Comp. however 3, b. — *Ed.*

² The doubling of a final letter is also omitted in Latin, as *fel* (for *fell*), gen. *fellis*; *mel*, gen. *mellis*; *ôs*, gen. *ossis*. In the Middle-High German, the doubling of consonants never took place at the end of a word, but always in the middle (as in the Old-High Germ.), as *val* (Fall), gen. *valles*; *svam* (Schwamm), etc.: Grimm's Deutsche Gramm. 2nd ed. I. 383.

follows, and finally the emphatic ק. Of the *Begadk'phat* ה is found only once (Is. 22, 10) without *Dāghē'sh*. Examples: עִירִים, יְהִי (so always the prefix י in the *Impf.* of the verb), לִמְנָצָה, הִנֵּי, הִלֵּל, יִשְׂאֵר, יִקְחֵי etc. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dāghē'sh* is indicated by the *Rāphē* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. Moreover the preceding short vowel, which would be lengthened in open syllables, indicates that at least a *virtual* doubling takes place by means of the *Dag. forte implic.* v. § 22, 1. Rem.

c) In the gutturals (see § 22, 1).

Rem. We sometimes find *Dāghē'sh* omitted, especially in the later books in an abnormal way by lengthening the preceding vowel which is usually *chîrêq* (comp. *mîle* for *mille*), as יִחַיֶּהֶם *he terrifies them* for יִחַיֶּם (Hab. 2, 17), יִקְוֶה Is. 50, 11 *fiery darts* for יִקְוֶה.

§ 21.

ASPIRATION: WHERE IT OCCURS AND WHERE NOT.

The *hard* but *thin* (*tenuis*) sound of (ת, פ, כ, ד, ג, ב) the six *aspirates* with *Dāghē'sh lenè* inserted, is to be regarded, agreeably to the analogy which languages generally exhibit in this respect, as their original pronunciation, from which gradually arose the softer and weaker aspirated sound (§ 6, 3 and § 13). The original hard pronunciation maintained itself in greatest purity when it was the initial sound, and after a consonant; but when it immediately followed a vowel or vocal *Shewâ*, it was softened and aspirated by the influence of the vowel, so פָּרֶץ *pāră'sh* becomes יִפְרֹץ *yîphrô'sh*; כֹּל *kôl*, לָכֹל *lakhôl*. Hence the *aspirates* take *Dāghē'sh lenè*:

1. At the beginning of words, a) without exception when the preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, as עַל-כֵּן *āl-kē'n* (*therefore*), עֵץ פֵּרִי *ē'sh p'ri* (*fruit-tree*, lit. *tree of fruit*), b) at the beginning of a chapter (בְּרֵאשִׁית *in the beginning* Gen. 1, 1), a verse, or even of a minor division of a verse (consequently after a distinctive accent, § 15, 3), even when the preceding word ends with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the influence of the vowel on the

following *tenuis*, e. g. **וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר** *it happened when* Jud. 11, 5 (on the contrary, **וַיְהִי־כֵן** *it was so* Gen. 1, 7); **וַיִּהְיֶה חֲרָבוֹ פָּנִי** *and lo! the face of the ground was dried up* Gen. 8, 13; **וַיִּפְּלוּ פָּנָיו** (with dist. accent) 4, 5, but in ver. 6 **נָפְלוּ פָּנָיו** (with conj. accent); **אֶחָדִי בְנֵי יַעֲקֹב** Gen. 35, 5; **שְׂטָרִי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** Ex. 5, 14.

Rem. 1. The vowel letters **א, י, ו, ה**, as such, naturally effect no close of syllable and are therefore followed in close connection by aspirates without *Dāghēsh*, e. g. **וַיִּמְצָא בָהּ** etc. On the contrary syllables are closed by consonantal **ו** and **י** as well as by **ה** with *Mappiq*, e. g. **פָּצוּ עָלַי פִּיהֶם** Ps. 22, 14. (*Dāghēsh lenè* is therefore regularly found after **והיה**, because **אֶיִנִּי** was read instead of it; § 17.)

2. In a number of cases the *Dāghēsh lenè* remains, although a vowel closely precedes. It is almost always so when the word begins with combinations of consonants like the following: **קָפ, קָב, בָּפ, בָּכ, בָּב** (i. e. the aspirates with *Shewâ* before another aspirate); **כָּנ** is uncertain; according to *David Kimchî* **כָּר, כָּד** and **כָּב** must remain aspirate. Sometimes the first letter in the above cases has a *Dāghēsh*, even when it is followed by a firm vowel instead of *Shewâ*. In all these cases an endeavor is shown to prevent too great an accumulation of aspiration. Doubly anomalous are the forms **כָּרְכָר** Is. 54, 12 and **כָּלְכַל** Jer. 20, 9.

2. In the middle of words after *silent Shewâ*, i. e. at the beginning of a syllable, immediately preceded by a vowelless consonant, e. g. **יִרְפָּא** *yîr-pā'* (*he heals*), **יִזְכֹּר** *he remembers*, **קָטְלֵתֶם** *ye have killed*. On the contrary, after *vocal Shewâ* the soft pronunciation obtains, e. g. **רָפָא** *r^ephā* (*heal thou*), **כָּבֵדָה** *she was heavy*.

On **קָטְלֵתֶם** and like forms see in § 10, 3.

Whether *Shewâ* be vocal and consequently cause the aspiration of the *tenuis*, depends upon the formation of the respective words. It is always vocal

- a) when it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e. g. **רָדְפוּ** *pursue ye* (not **רִדְפוּ**) from **רָדַף**; **מָלְכִי** (not **מִלְכִּי**) formed immediately from **מְלָכִים** *kings* (on the contrary, **מַלְכִּי** *māl-kî'*, because it is formed directly from **מָלַךְ** *mālk*); **בֵּיתָהּ** *house-ward* (not **בִּיתָהּ**) from **בֵּית**.
- b) With the **כ** in the suffixes of the 2d person (**־כָּ, ־כֵּ, ־כִּ**), in which *vocal Shewâ* is characteristic, see § 58, 3, b.

Rem. 1. The form **שֵׁלַחְתְּ** *thou (fem.) hast sent*, where we might expect the feeble pronunciation of **ר** on account of the preceding vowel, was originally **שִׁלַּחְתְּ**; and the sound of the **ר**, notwithstanding the slight vowel sound thrown in before it, was not changed. Comp. § 28, 4.

2. The hard or soft pronunciation of these letters does not affect the *signification* of the words (comp. in Greek *θρίξ*, *τριχός*); but this affords no ground to deny that such a distinction was made in the sound.

§ 22.

PECULIARITIES OF THE GUTTURALS.

The four gutturals, ה, ח, ע, א, have the following properties in common, which result from the pronunciation peculiar to them; yet א and ע, both having a weaker sound than ח and ה, differ from these in several respects.

1. The gutturals cannot really be doubled in pronunciation, although they may be strengthened and so they do not admit *Dāghē'sh fortè*. But we must here carefully distinguish between *a*) the complete omission of the doubling and *b*) the so-called *half*, or better *virtual* doubling. In the first case the syllable preceding the letter which omits *Dāghē'sh* becomes longer in consequence of the omission;¹ hence its vowel is commonly lengthened, especially before א (*always* after the article § 35); as a rule also before ע, less often before ח, and still less before ה. The second case admitted a sharpening of the syllable, though orthography excluded the *Dāghē'sh f*. (as the *ch* in the German *sicher*, *machen*, has the sharp pronunciation without being written double), and hence the short vowel almost universally maintains its place before these letters, or in some cases, when it is a *Pāthāch* followed by a guttural with *Qāmeṣ*, it is merely augmented into *Sēghôl*. This virtual doubling takes place most frequently with ח, usually with ה, more rarely with ע and very seldom with א.

Examples of *a*) מֵאֵן (f. מֵאֵן); הָאֵדָם f. הָאֵדָם; הָהָר; הָהָרָה (f. הָהָרָה). Of *b*) הַחֲדָשׁ, הָאֶחָד, הָחֵדָּשׁ (f. מְחֻדָּשׁ); הַחֲדָשׁ, הָחֲדָשׁ, הָחֲדָשׁ (on the contrary before ע as initial letter of the tone-syllable always *Qā'mēṣ* of the article, e. g. הָעֶרֶב and so mostly before ח,

¹ Comp. *terra* and the French *terre*; the Germ. *Rolle* and the French *rôle*; Germ. *drollig*, and Fr. *drôle*. In this omission we see an enervating of the language. The fresher and more original sounds of the Arabic (§ 1, 6), still admit always the doubling of the gutturals.

e. g. **הָרָר**, whilst **הָרַר** Gen. 8, 19 is an exception); **וַיֵּץ**, **וַיֵּץ** etc.—In all these cases of virtual doubling the *Dāghēsh fortè* is to be regarded at least as *implied* (therefore it is called *Dāghēsh fortè implicitum, occultum, delitescens*).

2. The gutturals are apt to take a short *A* sound before them, because this vowel is organically closely akin to them. Hence—

- a) Before a guttural, *Pă'thăch* is used instead of any other short vowel, such as *ĭ, ě* (*Chîrēq parvum, S'ghôl*), and even for the rhythmically long *ē* and *ō* (*Şērē* and *Chôlēm*); e. g. **זָבַח** *sacrifice* for **זָבַח**, **דָּבַח** *report* for **דָּבַח**. This is still more decidedly preferred when the form with *Păthăch* is the original one, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the *Imper.* and *Impf.* *Qāl* of verbs, **שִׁלַּח** *send thou*, **יִשְׁלַח** *he will send* (not **יִשְׁלַח**); *Perf.* **פִּעַל** *send* (not **שִׁלַּח**); **נָעַר** *a youth*, **יִחְמַד** (not **יִחְמַד**) *he will desire*. In the last 3 cases, *ă* is the original vowel.

Rem. But before the weak **א** final the **א** remains, e. g. **פָּרָא**, **הָשָׂא** etc.

- b) After a heterogeneous long vowel i. e. after all except *Qā'měš*, the hard gutturals (consequently not **א**) demand, when standing at the end of the word, the insertion of a hasty *ă* (*Pă'thăch furtive*) between them and the vowel. This *Pă'thăch* is placed under the guttural but sounded before it. It is merely an orthographical indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e. g. **רוּחַ** *rû^ăch* (*spirit*), **שָׁלוּחַ** *shā-lû^ăch* (*sent*), **רִיחַ** *rē^ăch* (*odour*), **רֵעַ** *rē^ă* (*companion*), **גְּבוּהָ** *gā-bhō^ăh* (*high*) when consonantal **ה** is final, it necessarily takes *Măppîq*, **הִשְׁלִיחַ** *hîsh-li^ăch*,¹ etc. But **הַמִּצִּיחַ** without *Pă'thăch furt.* and so with hard gutturals at the beginning of a syllable e. g. **רוּחִי** etc.

For the same reason the Swiss pronounces *ich* as *i^ăch*, *Buch* as *Bu^ăch*, and the Arabian **مَشِيح** as *mesî^ăch*, though neither writes the supplied vowel. The LXX write *ε* instead of *Păthăch furtive*, as **ΝΩε**, at times *α*, as **Ῥωε** 'Ιεδδούα (also 'Ιαδδούα).

¹ Compare with the above our use of a furtive *e* before *r* after long *ē, ī, ū* and the diphthong *ou*, e. g. *here* (sounded *hēer*), *fire* (*fīer*), *pure* (*pūer*), and *our* (*ouer*).—Tr.

Rem. 1. The guttural sometimes exerts an influence on the *following* vowel. But the examples (esp. with ח) are few, and are to be regarded rather as exceptions than as establishing a general rule, e. g. יָעַר *a youth* (not יַעַר), פָּעַל *deed* (not פֵּעַל); but also רָחם etc.

2. S'g'hól is used instead of Ch'i'rëq attenuated from Păthăch both *before* and *under* the guttural, but only in an initial syllable, as קחבש (also יחבש), קחנז, קחנז, קחנז, קחנז etc.

When, however, the syllable is sharpened by Dāghē'sh, the more slender and sharp Chîrēq is retained even under gutturals, as חִיָּה, חֵיל; but when the sharpening of the syllable ceases by the falling away of Dāghēsh, the S^ghōl, which is required by the guttural, returns, e. g. חֲזִין, const. state חֲזִינָה *meditation*; חֲזִינָה, constr. state חֲזִינָה *vision*.

3. Instead of *simple Sh'wâ vocal* (§ 10, 1), the gutturals take a *composite Sh'wâ* (§ 10, 2), e. g. אָהֲלִים, אָמַר, אָנְשֵׁל they have slain, יִשְׁחָטוּ they will slay. This is the most common use of the composite Sh'wâs.

4. When a guttural stands at the end of a (closed) syllable, in the midst of a word, it may retain its silent *Shewâ*, especially with ה or ע at the end of the tone-syllable, e. g. שָׁלַחְתָּ *thou hast sent*, but also before the tone (v. examples under No. 2, Rem. 2) and this also with ה and א. But more often it occurs that, *before* the tone, the closed syllable is artificially opened by giving to the guttural a slight vowel (one of the *composite Shewâs*), which has the same sound as the full vowel preceding, as יִחְשַׁב *he thinks* (also יִחְשֵׁב), פָּעֵלֹ *pō'lo* (f. פָּעֵלוֹ), רִחֹק (also רִיחֹק); this composite *Shewâ* is changed into the short vowel with which it is compounded, whenever the following consonant loses its full vowel in consequence of an increase at the end of the word, e. g. יִרְחֹקוּ, יִרְעֲבֻ *yō-ōbh'-dhû'* (from יִרְעֲבוּ), יֶאֱחָפְזוּ *yă-hăph'-khû'* (from יִאֱחָפְזוּ).

Rem. 1. The grammarians call *simple Shewâ* under the gutturals *hard* (קָדָשׁ), and the *composite Shewâs* in the same situation *soft* (רָפָה). See more in the observations on verbs with gutturals (§§ 62—65).

2. Respecting the choice between the three composite Sh'wâs it may be remarked, that—

a) ה, ה, ע, at the beginning of syll. prefer — , but מ prefers — , e. g. חמור *ass*, הרג *to kill*, אמר *to say*. But when a word receives an

increase at the end, or loses the tone, א also takes — (considered as lighter), as אֶלְךָ /o, but אֶלְיָכֶם to you; אֶכֶל to eat, but אֶכְל־ Gen. 3, 11. Comp. § 27, Rem. 5.

- b) In the middle of a word, the choice of a composite Sh^ewā is regulated by the vowel (and its class), which another word of the same form, but without a guttural, would take before the Sh^ewā; as *Perf.* *Hiph'il* הִפְעִיל (after the form הִקְטִיל), *Inf.* הִפְעִיר (after הִקְטִיר), *Perf.* *Höph'al* הִפְעִיל (after הִקְטִיל).

For some further vowel changes in connection with gutturals, see § 27, Rem. 2.

5. The ר, which in sound belongs also to the gutturals (§ 6, 4), shares with the other gutturals only the characteristics mentioned above in No. 1, and a part of those given in No. 2; viz.—

- a) The exclusion of Dāghē'sh fortè; in which case the vowel before it is always lengthened, as בִּרְךָ *he has blessed* for בִּרְךָ; בִּרְךָ to *bless* for בִּרְךָ.
- b) The use of *Päthäch*¹ before it, in preference to the other short vowels, though this is not so general as in the case of the other guttural sounds, e. g. וַיִּרְא *and he saw*, while the full form וַיִּרְאָה is in use; וַיִּסָּב for וַיִּסָּב *and he turned back*, and וַיִּסָּב for וַיִּסָּב *and he caused to turn back*.

Rare exceptions to the principle given under letter *a* are מַחַר *mör-räth* (trouble) Prov. 14, 10; לֹא-קָרַח שְׂרָפָה *lô khörrä'th shör-rē'kh* (thy navel was not cut) Ez. 16, 4, (cf. Pr. 3, 8); שְׂרָפָה Cant. 5, 2 הִקְטִירָהּ 1 Sam. 10, 24 (the Arab. and Samar. retains this doubling, and the LXX write שְׂרָפָה Σάραφα). A case of virtual doubling (after מ for כן) is found in Is. 14, 3 מְרִנָּה and in 1 Sam. 23, 28 מְרִנָּה (for מְרִנָּה), comp. 2 Sam. 18, 16.

§ 23.

OF THE FEEBLENESS OF THE BREATHINGS א AND ה.

1. The א, a light and scarcely audible breathing in the throat, regularly loses its feeble power as a consonant (i. e.

¹ The preference of *r* for the vowel *a* is seen also in common Greek, e. g. in the feminine of adjectives ending in *pos*, as φανερά for φανερή from φανερός.—*Tr.*

quiesces), whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then serves merely to prolong the preceding vowel (like the German *h* in *roh, geh, nahte*), as in מָצָא *he has found*, מָלָא *he was filled*, מָצָא *to find*, בָּלָא, מָצָאתָ, בָּלָאתָ (from מִצָּאתָ), תִּמְצָאתָ. In cases like שָׂרָא, וְיָרָא etc. the א has only an orthographical significance.

2. On the contrary א retains, generally, its power as a consonant and guttural in all cases where it begins a word or syllable, as אָמַר *he has said*, מָאָסוּ *they have rejected*, or in a closed syllable with silent *Shewâ* e. g. נָאָדָר *nědār*, or where it is protected by *Chātēph* in a slightly closed syllable e. g. לֶאֱכַל *for to eat*. Yet even in this case it sometimes loses its consonant sound, *a*) when it follows with a long vowel, a half-vowel (*vocal Shewâ*) in the middle of a word; for then the vowel under א is shifted back, to the place of the *Shewâ*, as in ראָשִׁים (*heads*) for רָאשִׁים, בָּרָאם for בָּרָאם Neh. 6, 8, מֵאָתִים (*two hundred*) for מֵאָתִים; א is orthogr. in ראָשׁוֹן for רָאשׁוֹן (chôṭîm) for חֲטָאִים 1 Sam. 14, 33. Sometimes this causes a still greater change in the syllables, as מֵלָאָה for מְלָאָה, לְקָרָאת for לְקָרָאת or with silent *Shewâ* יִשְׁמַעְעָל for יִשְׁמַעְעָל; *b*) when it stands with (—) or (—) preceded by their corresponding firm vowel, the latter is sometimes lengthened and retains א only as a vowel letter (or merely orthographically), e. g. וְיִאָּצֵּל Num. 11, 25 for וְיִאָּצֵּל, יִאָּכַל modified from יִאָּכַל for יִאָּכַל; לֵאמֹר for לֵאמֹר etc. An elision of the *Chātēph* and retention of the short vowel occurs in יְאֹדָי *and my lord* for יְאֹדָי, יְאֹדָי for יְאֹדָי (§ 102, 2) וְיָאֵת Is. 41, 25, etc.

Instead of א in such a case, there is often written one of the vowel letters ו and י, according to the nature of the sound, the former with *ô* and the latter with *ê* and *î*; e. g. בָּאָר for בָּאָר (*cistern*), הָיִם (*buffalo*) for הָיִם, רִישׁוֹן (*first*) for רִישׁוֹן in Job 8, 8; comp. לֹא for לֹא (*not*) 1 Sam. 2, 16 in *Kethâbh*; at the end of a word ה also is written for א, as יִמְלֵא (*he fills*) for יִמְלֵא Job 8, 21.

3. When א is thus quiescent, it is sometimes entirely dropped, e. g. יָצֵאתִי (*I went forth*) for יָצֵאתִי, מָלֵאתִי (*I am full*) for מָלֵאתִי Job 32, 18, אָמַר (*I say*) constantly for אָמַר, מָלֵא for מָלֵא Ezek. 28, 16, לְהַשׁוֹת (*to lay waste*) 2 K. 19, 25 for לְהַשׁוֹת (*Keth.*) comp. Is. 37, 26.

Rem. 1. In Aramæan the **š** becomes a vowel much more readily than in Hebrew; but in Arabic, on the contrary, its power as a consonant is much firmer. According to Arabic orthography **š** serves also to indicate the lengthened *ā*; but in Hebrew the examples are very rare, in which it is strictly a vowel-letter for the long *ā* sound, as in קָאם Hos. 10, 14 for the usual קָם *he stood up*, רָאשׁ poor Prov. 10, 4, 13, 23 for רָשׁ (comp. § 7, 2). Hebrew orthography generally omits, in this case, the vowel-letter (§ 8, 3).

2. In Syriac **š** even at the beginning of words cannot be spoken with a half vowel (*vocal Sh'wâ*), but always receives then a full vowel, usually *E*, as Aram. אֶכְל in Syr. ܐܬܠܐ. Accordingly in Hebrew, also, instead of a *composite Sh'wâ* it receives, in many words, the corresponding long vowel, as אֶזְרִי אֶזְרִי *girdle* for אֶזְרִי אֶזְרִי *tents* for אֶזְרִי אֶזְרִי *stalls* for אֶזְרִי אֶזְרִי *bake ye* Ex. 16, 23 for אֶזְרִי אֶזְרִי.

3. We may call it a mode of writing common in Arabic, when at the end of a word an **š** (without any sound) is added to a final *û*, *î* and *ô*, as אֶלְכֻם for אֶלְכֻם (they go) Josh. 10, 24; אֶבְיָא (they are willing) Is. 28, 12; also נָקִיָּא for נָקִי *pure*, לֵא if, אֶפְּא then, רַבִּיא for רַבִּי *myriad* Neh. 7, 66, 72. As to the **š** in הִיא and הִיא, see also § 32, Rem. 6.

4. The **h** is stronger and firmer than the **š**. It never loses its consonantal sound (*quiesces*) in the middle of a word;¹ at the end it is always a vowel letter, and only consonantal when it takes *Mäppîq* (§ 14, 1). Yet at times the consonant sound of **h** at the end of a word is given up, and **h** (without *Mäppîq*, or rather with *Rāphê* **h**) takes its place to indicate better the softening, e.g. לָהּ (*to her*) Num. 32, 42 for לָהּ, Job 31, 22, Ex. 9, 18. Often an elision of **h** occurs through so-called *syncope*; a) by transferring its vowel to the place of the preceding *vocal Sh'wâ* (v. § 23, 2, a, with **š**) e. g. (the **h** of the article) לְבֹקֶר (at the morning) for לְבֹקֶר, בְּאַרְץ (in the land) for בְּאַרְץ; יִפְקִיד (Impf. Hiph.) for יִפְקִיד, יִהְיֶה contracted יִהְיֶה. b) by contraction of the vowels preceding and following the **h**, e. g. סוֹסוֹ (also written סוֹסָה) from סוֹסָהוּ ($a + u = ô$).—In other cases, however, the vowel under **h** is displaced by the one before it, as בָּם (*in them*) from בָּהֶם.

¹ Only seeming exceptions are *proper names*, as עֲשָׂהָל, פְּדָהָזִיר, which are compounded of two words, and therefore sometimes written separately (also forms like חֲזָהָל for חֲזָהָל). So also רַפְּהָפְּהָ acc. to many MSS. instead of רַפְּהָפְּהָ in the printed text of Jer. 46, 20, artificially separated by *Maqqeph*.

According to this, the so-called *quiescent* ה at the end of a word stands, sometimes, in the place of the consonant ה. But usually it serves quite another purpose, viz., to represent final \bar{a} , as also \bar{o} , \bar{e} and \acute{e} (S^ghō'l), e. g. אָשָׁה, גָּלָה, גָּלָה, גָּלָה, רָגְלָה. See § 7, 2, and § 8, 3.

Rem. In connection with \bar{o} and \bar{e} , ה is occasionally changed for ו and י (רָאָה=רָאָה, חָפַי=חָפַי Hos. 6, 9), and in all cases for א according to later and Aramæan orthography, particularly with \bar{a} , e. g. שָׁנָא (*sleep*) Ps. 127, 2 for שָׁנָה, נָשָׂא (*to forget*) Jer. 23, 39 for נָשָׂה, etc., which shows that the so-called vowel letter, ה final, has chiefly an orthographical importance.

§ 24.

CHANGES OF THE FEEBLE LETTERS ו AND י.

The ו *w* and the י *y* are as consonants so feeble and soft, approaching so near to the corresponding vowel-sounds *u* and *i*, that they easily turn into these vowels in certain positions. On this depend, according to the relation of the sounds and the character of the grammatical forms, still further changes which require a general notice in this place, but which will also be explained in detail wherever they occur in the inflection of words. This is especially important for the form and inflection of the feeble stems, in which a ו or י occurs as a stem consonant (§ 69 etc., § 85, III.—VI, and § 93).

1. The cases where ו and י lose their power as consonants and turn into vowel-sounds, are principally only in the middle and end of words, their consonant sound being nearly always heard at the beginning. (Respecting the use of ו for י *and*, see § 26, 1, and § 104, 2, c.) These cases are chiefly the following:—

- a) When ו or י stands at the end of a syllable with a *silent Shewâ* immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel. The feeble letter has not strength enough, in this position, to maintain its consonant sound but blends with its homogeneous vowel. Thus הוֹשֵׁב *it has been inhabited* for הוֹשֵׁב or הוֹשֵׁב, יִקְוֶה *he awakes* for יִקְוֶה, בִּיהֲדָה for בִּיהֲדָה; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עֲבָרִי *'ibh-rî'*

(properly *-riy*, hence fem. עִבְרִיָּה *'ibh-rīy-yā'*) a *Hebrew*; עָשָׂה (*made*) Job 41, 25 for עָשָׂה (comp. עֲשִׂייתָ 1 Sam. 25, 18 in *Kethibh*). Thus the vowel substance of ו and י is blended with the preceding vowel into *one* (necessarily long) vowel, but they are mostly retained orthographically as quiescent letters. But after a heterogeneous vowel they sound as consonants (according to § 8, 5), as in שָׁלֵן *quiet*, מַי *May* (*month*), גּוֹי *nation*, נִגְלִי *disclosed*. Yet with a preceding short *ă* the ו and י mostly form a diphthongal *ô* and *ê*; see below, No. 2, *b*.

b) When ו or י is preceded by *vocal Shewâ*, and such syllables are formed as *qewom*, *bewo*. Hence בּוֹא *to come* for בּוֹא, קוֹם *to arise* for קוֹם. When ו and י preceded by *Shewâ* come to stand at the end of a word, they are either entirely dropped and orthographically replaced by ה (e. g. בָּקָה from בָּכָי, though we have also the regularly formed בָּכִי *fletus*; comp. § 93) or they are likewise softened into their vowel sound. In the latter case the י, with its homogeneous *Chîreq*, also attracts the tone and the preceding vowel becomes *Shewâ*, as e. g. פָּרִי from פָּרִי, really פָּרִי; ו changed into ו is often without the accent (e. g. תוֹהוּ from תוֹהִי).

c) Very seldom when the feeble letter has a full vowel both before and after it; as קוֹם *surgendo* for קוֹם, קוֹם for קוֹם. Comp. in latin *mihi*=*mî*, *quum*=*cum*.

In Syriac, where these letters flow still more readily into vowel-sounds, י is sounded, even at the beginning of words, merely as *i*, not as ו or י (like *e* for א § 23, 3, Rem. 2); and so in the LXX יְהוּדָה is written 'Ιουδᾶ, יִצְחָק 'Ισαάκ. Hence may be explained the Syriac usage, examples of which occur also in Hebrew, which shifts the vowel *i*, belonging to the feeble letter, forward to the preceding consonant, which should properly have simple *Shewâ*, e. g. בְּיָחַד as the *superiority* for בְּיָחַד Ec. 2, 15, יִיחָד (in some editions) for יִיחָד Job 29, 21 (acc. to *Kimchi* יִיחָד=*iktol* and the 1. pers. is punct. אֶתְחַד to avoid confusion; in fact the Babylonian punct. has always *i* instand of *e*).

2. After such a contraction has taken place, the vowel-letter quiesces (see No. 1, *a* above) regularly in a *long* vowel. Respecting the *choice* of this vowel, the following rules may be laid down:—

- a) When the vowel is short and homogeneous with the vowel-letter (ו or י) they are contracted into their corresponding long vowel, as יִיטֵב *he is good* for יִיטֵב (analogous to יִכְבֵּד, יִהְיֶה for יִהְיֶה).
- b) When a short *ă* stands before י and ו, then we get diphthongal *ê* and *ô* (according to § 7, 1); thus מִיטֵיב becomes עוֹלָה, עוֹלָה; הוֹשִׁיב, הוֹשִׁיב; מִיטֵיב *doing good*.
- c) But when the vowel is heterogeneous (*ä*), while the character of the form prevents contraction to a diphthong, especially at the end of words, the above mentioned dropping of ו and י (No. 1, b), or the substitution of ה occurs. So especially in the so-called ל"ה verbs, e. g. orig. יָגַל = גָּלָה = (י)גָּלָה, whilst *ä* after the rejection of י comes to stand in an open syllable, and must be lengthened to *ā*. ה stands orthographically for the long vowel; in the same way שָׁלָה for שָׁלָה.² On the origin of יָגַל from יָגַל v. § 75, 1; upon קָם as perf. of קוּם § 72, 2; upon נָלַךְ etc. from נָלַךְ § 69, 1.

§ 25.

IMMOVABLE OR FIRM VOWELS.

What vowels in Hebrew are firm and not removable, can be known, certainly and completely, only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and from a comparison with the Arabic, in which the vowel-system appears purer and more original than in Hebrew. This holds, especially, of the *essentially long* vowels in distinction from those which are long only *rhythmically*, i. e. through the influence of the tone and of syllabication, and which, having arisen out of short vowels,

¹ Instances in which no contraction takes place after a short *a* are מְיָרִים *using the right hand* 1 Chron. 12, 2; אֲכִיזֵם *I chastise them* Hos. 7, 12; שְׁלֵיחִי *I am at ease* Job 3, 26. At times both forms are found, as עוֹלָה and עוֹלָה *evil*; חַי *living*, constr. state חַי. Analogous is the contraction of מוֹת (ground-form מוֹת) *death*, constr. מוֹת; עֵינִי (ground-form עֵינִי) *eye*, constr. עֵינִי.

² The Arab. often writes in this case (etymologically) גָּלָה, but speaks *gālā*, So the LXX write סְלִי as Σιῶ. But in Arabic شَلَا is written for شَلَى and sounded *shālā*.

readily become short again or become *Shewâ* by a change in the position of the tone and in the division of the syllables. The beginner may be guided by the following specifications: —

1. The essentially long and hence hardly changeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class, viz., *î*, *û*, *ê*, *ô*, are mostly expressed in the text by their vowel-letters, *î* and *ê* by ו, *û* and *ô* by ר, with their appropriate vowel signs; thus וִי, וֵי, וּי, וֹי, as in וַיַּעַבְדֵּהּ *he does well*, הַיְכָל *palace*, גְּבוּל *boundary*, קוֹל *voice*. The *defective* mode of writing these vowels (§ 8, 4) is frequent enough; e. g. וַיַּעַבְדֵּהּ for וַיַּעַבְדֵּהּ, גְּבוּל for גְּבוּל, קוֹל for קוֹל; but this is merely a difference of orthography, by which nothing is essentially changed in the nature and quantity of such a vowel, and the *û* in גְּבוּל is as essentially long as in גְּבוּל; comp. § 8, 4.

It is an exception, when now and then a merely tone-long vowel of these two classes is written *fully*, e. g. the *ô* in וַיַּעַבְדֵּהּ for וַיַּעַבְדֵּהּ.

2. The essentially long and immovable *â* (so far as it is not become *ô*; see § 9, No. 10, 2) has in Hebrew, as a rule, no representative among the consonants, though in Arabic it has, viz., the *ā*, which occurs in Hebrew but very seldom (§ 9, 1, § 23, 3, Rem. 1). For ascertaining, therefore, whether *ā* is long by nature (*â*) or only tone-long (*ā*), there is no guide but a knowledge of the forms (see § 84, Nos. 6, 13, 28).

Cases like מִצָּע (§ 23, 1) do not belong here.

3. Unchangeable is also a short vowel in a sharpened syllable (§ 26, 6), followed by *Dāghēsh fortè*, e. g. גַּנֵּב *thief*; likewise in every closed syllable (§ 26, 2, c) which is followed by another closed syllable, e. g. מַלְבָּשׁ *garment*, אֲבִיּוֹן *poor*, מִדְבָּר *wilderness*.

4. Such are also the vowels lengthened because a *Dāghēsh fortè* has been omitted on account of a guttural, according to § 22, 1 (or ר see § 22, 5), e. g. מִיָּאן for מִיָּאן *he has refused*, בֵּרַךְ for בֵּרַךְ *he has been blessed*.

§ 26.

OF SYLLABLES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE QUANTITY OF VOWELS.

To obtain an adequate view of the laws, according to which the long and short vowels are chosen or exchanged one for another, a previous acquaintance is required with the *theory of the syllable* on which that choice and exchange depend. The syllable may then be viewed with reference, partly to its commencement (its *initial* sound) as in No. 1, and partly to its close (its *final* sound) as in Nos. 2—7.

1. With regard to the *commencement* of the syllable, it is to be observed, that every syllable must begin with a *consonant*; and there are no syllables in the language which begin with a vowel. The single exception is ו (and), in certain cases for ו, e. g. in וְהָלַךְ (§ 104, 2, c),¹ The word וְהָלַךְ is no exception, because the ו has here its consonant force as a light breathing.

2. With regard to the *close* of a syllable, it may end—

a) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in קָטַלְתָּ qā-tā'l-tā the first and last are open. See No. 3.

b) With one consonant, and called a *closed* or *mixed* syllable, as the second in קָטַלְתָּ לֵב, לֵב qā-tā'l, לֵב lē-bhābh. See No. 5.

Here belongs also the *sharpened* syllable, as the first in קָטַלְתָּ qā-tā'lt. See No. 6.

c) With two consonants, as in קֹשֶׁת קָטַלְתָּ qōshet, קָטַלְתָּ qā-tā'lt; comp. § 10, 3.

We shall now (in Nos. 3—7) treat in particular of the vowels that are used in these various kinds of syllables.

3. The *open* or *simple* syllables have, as a rule, a *long* vowel,² whether they have the tone, as in בָּהּ in thee, סֵפֶר book,

¹ It may be questioned whether ו in the above position be a real exception; for וְהָלַךְ ought probably to be pronounced wūmā'lēkh (not ūmālēkh), the ו retaining its feeble w sound before the Shûrēq.—Tr.

² In opposition to the fundamental law in Hebrew (long vowel in open syllable) the Arabic, and partly also the other Semitic languages retain every-

קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary*, or not, as in קֵטֶב, עֵנֶב *grape*, יִרְאוּ *they will fear*. Usually there is a long vowel (*Qā'mēṣ*, less frequently *Sē'rē*) in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel), e. g. לָהֶם, רָקוֹם, קֵטֶל, לֵבָב.¹

Short vowels in open syllables occur more or less apparently:—

- a) In dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel (§ 28, 4) from monosyllables (*Sēgholates*), as נָחַל *brook*, בַּיִת *house*, יָרַב *let him increase*, from the crude forms נָחַל, בַּיִת, יָרַב. But the helping vowel cannot be taken strictly as a full vowel, i. e. it does not effect a complete close of the syllable. Forms like נָחַל (*arab. nachl* etc.) are therefore to be taken as *one* closed syllable.
- b) The so-called union-vowel (§ 58, 3) in certain forms of the *suffixes*, as קָטַלְנִי (*Arab. qātālānī*).²
- c) Sometimes before the so-called *He local* (ה—), which has not the tone (§ 90, 2), e. g. מִדְבָּרָה *towards the wilderness*; however only in the construct state (1 K. 19. 15), because the character of the form is unchanged, elsewhere it is מִדְבָּרָה.

In all these cases the short vowel is supported by the chief tone of the word.³ Elsewhere it has at least the support of *Methēgh*, viz.—

- d) In these combinations, —, —, —, as טַעַם *his taste*, יָאֶסֶר *he will bind*, פַּעַל *his deed*. In all these cases there really at first existed a closed syllable, but the guttural had caused the *Chateph*, and with it the opening of the syllable (comp. however יָאֶסֶר 1 K. 20, 14). For cases like יִדְרֶר comp. § 104, 2.

where the orig. short vowels in open syllables. The above Heb. words in their Arabic forms sound as *bikā, sifr, qūds, qātālā, 'ināb*. Undoubtedly therefore the Hebrew had also short vowels in open syllables. Still it would be very hazardous to suppose that the present pronunciation is derived from the solemn, slow and chanting way of reading the Old Testament in the synagogues for with this hypothesis, facts like the very ancient lengthening of *ā* and *ū* in the open syllable to *ē* and *ō* would remain unexplained.

¹ The Arabic has for this pretonic vowel constantly a short vowel (*lāhūm, yāqūm*, etc.); the Aramaic only a vocal *Shewa*, לְהוֹן, רִקוֹם, קֵטֶל, לֵבָב, which is the case also in Hebrew, when the tone is shifted forward (§ 27, 3, a). But this pretonic vowel must not be regarded as if it had been adopted, perhaps in place of *Shewā*, on account of the tone on the following syllable; but it originally was a short vowel, and the circumstance of its standing before the tone-syllable only lengthens it, whilst it is reduced to a vocal *Shewā* upon the shifting forward of the tone.

² But as ך is often Dagheshed, we may presume that the accented *Pāthāch* causes a sharpening of the following liquid which is equivalent to the closing of the syllable.

³ Compare the effect of the *Arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

e) In some other forms, as יָחֻזְקִי *yě-chě-z^eqû'* (*they are strong*), פְּעֻלָּה *pō ōl^ekhā'* (*thy deed*). These cases had originally a closed syllable (therefore also יָחֻזְקִי; the other case originally sounded *pō^el^ekhā*).

The first syllable in יְחַזְקֵהוּ, יְחַזְקֵהוּ, and similar forms, does not belong here (cf. No. 6); neither does accented — (fr. *ā*) in suffix as יְחַזְקֵהוּ, on יְחַזְקֵהוּ and קָדְשִׁים (ō for —) comp. p. 44, No. 2.

4. The above described independent syllables with the firm vowel are often preceded by a consonant with *vocal Shewā* (simple or composite). Such consonants with *vocal Shewā* have never the value of an independent syllable, and they constantly lean on to the stronger syllable that follows, e. g. לָחִי (*cheek*) *l^echî*, יָלוּמְדִי *yil-m^edhû'*, חָלִי (*sickness*) *ch^olî*, פְּעֻלָּה *pō^el^ekhā'* (*his work*). The so-called prefixes ו, ב, כ, ל, especially belong here. See § 102. It is true, these *vocal Shewā's* have sprung from an originally firm vowel (e. g. יִקְטֹלִי, Arab. *yāqtūlū*, בָּה, Arab. *bikā* etc.); from this however it cannot be concluded that the Masorites should have considered them as a kind of open syllable, for this would be in contradiction of their fundamental law requiring a long vowel in an open syllable, much more so than the exceptions cited in No. 3 above. Nor does the placing of the Mèthègh by the *Shewā* in certain cases (v. § 16, 2) prove that the Masorites considered these as open syllables.

5. The *closed* syllables, ending with one consonant, have necessarily, when *without* the tone, *short* vowels, both at the beginning and at the end of words,¹ as מַלְכָּה *queen*, חִשְׁבֹּן *understanding*, חֵכְמָה *wisdom*, נָחַס *and he turned back*, רָקַם.

When *with* the tone, they may have a long-vowel just as well as a short, e. g. חָכֵם *wise* and חָכֵם *he was wise*; yet of the short vowels only *Pā^ethäch* and *S^eghôl* have strength enough to stand in such a tone-syllable.² The accented closed penult permits only the *tone* long vowels (*ā, ē, ō*), not the *longest* vowels (*î, ê, û, ô*). Thus with יִקְטֹלִי (3d pl. impf. masc.

¹ There are some exceptions, when a word loses the tone through *Maqqēph*, as כֶּתֶב־חֵבֶה (kethābh) Esth. 4, 8. In such cases the *Mèthègh* prevents a wrong pronunciation.

² See § 9, 2. Short *Chîrēq* (ǝ) occurs only in the particles אֵם, מֵן, אֵם, which, however, are often toneless, because followed by *Maqqēph*.

Hiph.) we have the fem. תִּקְטְלֶהָ, the *î* being reduced to *ē*; with קִימָה (2d pl. imperat. *Qāl*) the fem. is קִמְּהָ (*û* contracted into *ō*).

6. A peculiar sort of *closed* syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those which end with the same consonant with which the following syllable begins, as אָמִי 'im-mi', כֻּלֹּךְ *kül-lô'*. Like the other closed syllables, these have, when *without* the tone, short vowels, as in the examples just given, when *with* the tone, either a short vowel, as הִנֵּנִי, סָבִי, or a long, as הִמָּה, שָׁמָּה.

Sharpened syllables are wholly avoided at the end of words; see § 20, 3, *a*.

7. Closed syllables, ending with two consonants, occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, as קִטְלָהּ, וְיִשָּׁב, yet sometimes also *Sērê*, as בָּרַךְ, נִרְבֶּךְ, and *Chōlēm*, as קִשָּׁב. But compare § 10, 3. Most commonly this harshness is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28, 4).

§ 27.

CHANGES OF VOWELS, ESPECIALLY IN RESPECT TO QUANTITY.

The changes which the Hebrew language has undergone, with respect to its sounds, before arriving at the state represented in the Massoretic text (see § 2, 4), have especially affected its vowel system, so that, for the better comprehension of the vowel changes occurring in the O. T. language, it is of importance to go back to the corresponding states and relations of the language in that earlier period, and, at any rate, to compare that which is preserved in the Arabic. In general it is to be observed especially:—

1) That the language has now in an originally open syllable often preserved only a half-vowel (vocal *Shewā*), where a full, short vowel stood; this is the case in the second syllable of the noun, and the first of the verb, before the tone, e. g. עֲגָלָה (original form 'ägälät) *waggon*, צִדְקָה (original form šādäqät) *righteousness*, קִטְלִי (Arab. qätälû);

2) That vowels originally short have now, in the tone-syllable, as also in open syllables before the tone, passed

over into tone-long vowels, *ă* into *ā*, *ĭ* into *ē*, *ŭ* into *ō* (see § 9, No. 1, 2. No. 7 and No. 10, 3). These, again, either return to their original shortness, when the tone is shifted or made lighter, or they become still more shortened even to half-vowels (vocal *Shewās*), at a greater distance from the tone, or are entirely dropped in consequence of a change in the relations of the syllables. E. g. מֵטֶר (Arab. *māṭār*) *rain*, in construction with a following genitive (in the *construct state*, § 89) מֵטֶר, pl. מֵטְרוֹת, *constr.* מֵטְרוֹת; עֵקֶב (Arab. *‘āqīb*) *heel*, dual עֵקְבָיִם, עֵקְבָיִי; יָקְטֹל (Arab. *yāqtūl*), pl. יָקְטֹלוּ (Arab. *yāqtūlū*).

The vowels, with the changes of which we are chiefly concerned here, have been given in the vowel-table § 9, No. 12. According to that threefold classification, we have the following graduated scale to describe the process of lengthening or shortening:

<i>A-class</i> <i>ă</i> (ĕ) <i>ā</i> .	Shortening: <i>ā</i> (ĕ) <i>ă</i> , attenuation from <i>ă</i> to <i>ĭ</i> .
<i>I-class</i> <i>ĭ</i> (ĕ) <i>ē</i> .	„ <i>î ē ě ĭ</i> .
<i>U-class</i> <i>ŭ</i> (ō) <i>ō</i> .	„ <i>ô û</i> (as obs. from <i>ô</i>) <i>ō ō ŭ</i> .

Here also occurs in all the three classes the reduction of the original strong vowel (especially also the tone-lengthened or pretonic *ā ē ō*) to simple *Shewā mobile*.

Agreeably to the principles of § 26, the following changes occur:—

1. A tone-long vowel is changed into the original or kindred short one, when a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26, 5). Thus, when the tone is moved forwards, יָד *hand* is יֶד, as יְדֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים *hand of God*; בֶּן *son*, בְּנֵי־הַמֶּלֶךְ *son of the king*; כָּל *a whole*, כָּל־הָעָם *the whole-of-the-people*; also when the tone is moved backwards, e. g. רָקַם, וָרָקַם, וָלֵךְ. So also, when an open syllable with a tone-long vowel becomes by inflection a closed one, e. g. סֵפֶר *book*, סִפְרִי *my book*; קָדֹשׁ *sanctuary*, קִדְשִׁי *my sanctuary*. In these cases *Šērē* (*ē*) passes over into *Chirēq* (*ĭ*) or *Sēghôl* (*ĕ*), *Chōlēṃ* (*ō*) into *Qāmēṣ-chāṭūph* (*ō*). But

when a closed syllable with a long vowel becomes a sharpened one, i. e. ending with a doubled consonant, *Ṣērê* is changed back into *Chîrêq*, and *Chôlêm* into *Qibbûṣ*, as **אִמּ** *mother*, **אִמִּי** *my mother*; **חֹק** *statute*, plur. **חֻקִּים**.

2. On the contrary, a short vowel is changed into a corresponding long one,—

- a) When a closed syllable, in which it stands, becomes an open one, i. e. when the word receives an accession beginning with a vowel, to which the final consonant of the closed syllable is attached, as **קָטַל** *he has killed him*; **סוּסוֹתִי** *my mare* from **סוּסָה** = **סוּסָה**.
- b) When a syllable, which should be sharpened by *Dāghē'sh fortè*, has a guttural or **ר** for its final consonant (see § 22, 1), or stands at the end of a word (see § 20, 3, a).
- c) When it meets with a feeble consonant (according to § 23, 1, 2, § 24, 2), as **מָצָא** for **מָצָא** *he has found*, for the **א**, losing its value as a consonant, loses also the power to close a syllable, and the open syllable demands a long vowel.
- d) When the syllable is in *pause*, i. e. is the tone-syllable of the last word in a sentence or clause (§ 29, 4).

3. When a word increases at the end, and the tone is at the same time shifted forward, full vowels (long and short) may, according to the division of syllables, either pass over into a half-vowel (vocal *Shewâ*), or may even be entirely *dropped*, so that only the syllable-divider (silent *Shewâ*) supplies their place; e. g. the first is the case in **שֵׁם** (*name*), pl. **שִׁמוֹת**, which become **שְׁמִי** (*my name*), and **שְׁמוֹתָם** (*their names*); the second in **בְּרָכָה** (*blessing*), *constr.* **בְּרַכָּה**. Whether the full vowel remains, or is changed into a half-vowel, or is altogether dropped (**דָּם**, **דְּמִי**; **שֵׁם**, **שְׁמִי**), and which of the two vowels disappears in two successive syllables, must be determined by the nature of the word; but in general it may be said, that in the inflection of nouns the first vowel is mostly shortened in this manner, while the second, when it stands immediately before the tone-syllable (as a pretonic vowel), remains, as **יָקָר** (*dear*), *fem.* **יְקָרָה** *yēqārā'*; in the in-

flexion of verbs, the second, as יָאָר (he was dear), fem. יִאָרָה *yāq'ra'*. Thus we have a half-vowel in place of—

- a) *Qā'mēš* and *Sērē* in the first syllable (principally in the inflection of nouns), as דְּבָר word, plur. דְּבָרִים *great*, fem. גְּדוּלָה; לֵב heart, plur. לְבָבִי my heart; תָּשׁוּב she will return, תִּשְׁוֹבֵיהֶם they (fem.) will return.
- b) The short or merely tone-long vowels *a, e, o*, in the last syllable, especially in the inflection of verbs, e. g. קָטַל, fem. קָטְלָה *qāṭelā'*; קָטַל, plur. קָטְלִים *qôṭlīm*; יִקְטֹלוּ, fem. יִקְטְלוּ *yīqṭlū'*. The *Sēghôl* as a helping vowel is entirely rejected (becomes silent *Sh'wâ*), e. g. מָלַךְ (grdf. מְלֹךְ), מַלְכִי. If there be no shifting of the tone, the vowel will remain notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, as רָשׁוּב, רָשׁוּבוֹ, כְּרָמָל, כְּרָמָלָה.

Where the tone is advanced two places or syllables, *both* the vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, so that the first becomes *î* and the second becomes *Sh'wâ*. From דְּבָר we have in the plur. דְּבָרִים, and with a *grave suffix* (i. e. one that always has a strong accent) this becomes דְּבָרֵיהֶם *their words* (comp. § 28, 1). On the shortening of *ā* into *î*, see especially in Rem. 3, below.

Some other vowel changes, chiefly also with respect to quantity, are exhibited in the following remarks:—

Rem. 1. The diphthongal *î ô* (from *au*), as also the *ô* derived from the firm *ā* (§ 9, 10, 2), is longer than *î û*; and therefore, when the tone is moved forward, the former is often shortened into the latter; e. g. נָקִים, נְקִיּוֹת (see Paradigm M. *Niph.*); מְנוּסָה *flight*, fem. מְנוּסָה, with suff. מְנוּסָי *sweet*, fem. מְנוּסָה. The *î* stands sometimes even in a sharpened syllable, as in הוֹכֵחַ Ps. 102, 5, בּוֹלֵם Jer. 31, 34, חוֹקֵר Ez. 20, 18, יוֹזֵר Judg. 18, 29. Nearly the same relation exists between diphthongal *î—ê* and long *î—î*; see examples in § 75, 2.

NB. On the contrary, *î û* is shortened into *ô*, which in the tone-syllable appears as a tone-long *ô* (*Chôlēm*), but on the removal of the tone it becomes again *ô* (*Qāmēš-chāṭûph*), as יָקִים (he will rise), יָקָם (jussive, let him rise), וַיָּקָם (and he rose), see Parad. M. *Qal.* So also יָ— becomes a tone-long *Sērē* (*ē*), as יָקִים (he will set up), יָקָם (let him set up), and in the absence of the tone, *S'ēghôl* (*ē*), as in וַיָּקָם (and he set up); see Parad. M. *Hiph'îl.*

2. From a *Pāthāch* (ǎ) in a closed syllable there arises a *Seghōl* (ě), acc. to § 9, 3, through an obscuring of the sound.

- 2) in a closed antepenult, e. g. אֲבִיתָר (*pr. n.*) for אֲבִיתָר; also in a closed penult, e. g. יָדְךָ, and in a loosely closed penult, e. g. יָדְכֶם *your hand* for יָדְכֶם. The influence of surrounding consonants affects all these cases; in יָדְכֶם is seen the tendency to assimilate the vowels.
- o) regularly before a guttural with *Qamēṣ* when *Dāghēsh fortè* is wanting (unless *Pāthāch* must be lengthened into *Qāmēṣ*); e. g. אָחָיו *his brothers* for אָחָיו *false* for פָּחַשׁ; הָחִי *the living* (with art. הֵ) and so always before הֵ. Before הֵ and גֵ *Seghōl* stands only on the 2d syll. before the tone; e. g. הַהָרִים *the mountains*; הָעֵוֹן *the misdeed*; immediately before the tone *Pāthāch* is lengthened into (pretonic) *Qāmēṣ*, e. g. הָהָר, הָעֵם. Before אֵ and רֵ (§ 22, 1, 5) occurs the lengthening of *Pathach* to *Qāmēṣ*, e. g. הָאָב *the father*, pl. הָאָבוֹת; הָרָאשׁ *the head*, pl. הָרָאשִׁים (exception הָרָה *mountainward* Gen. 14, 10 in accented syllable for הָרָה; בְּרִכְיָהוּ *prop. n.* for בְּרִכְיָהוּ); on הֵ instead of the interrogative הֵ (הֵ) v. § 100 4; on קָה for קָה (קָה) § 37, 1. Finally here also belongs in part אֲכָלְךָ, Ex. 33, 3 for אֲכָלְךָ through omission of *Daghes*.

- c) in the first class of the so-called *segholate* forms, when a helping vowel is inserted after the 2nd cons. (§ 28, 4); thus from קָלֵב with helping *Seghōl*, קָלֵב (Arab. *kelb*, and the LXX, Μελαχισσόδωχ for מִלְכִּיצְרָק) with helping *Pāthāch*, קָלֵב. Thus in verbal forms like קָלֵב (*Jussive* of the *Hiph.* of קָלֵב) with a helping *Seghōl* for קָלֵב.

3. In a closed syllable, which loses the tone, ǎ is often attenuated into ĩ, e. g. a) with firm closing: מִדּוֹ *his measure* for מִדּוֹ (sharpened); מִדּוֹתִי *I have begotten*, מִדּוֹתֶיךָ *I have begotten thee*,¹ cf. Ez. 38, 23, Lev. 11, 44; b) with a loose closing: דְּמָכֶם *your blood* for דְּמָכֶם; so with numerous *segholate* forms (*grdf.* קִטְלָה) e. g. צִדְקָרִי for צִדְקָרִי *constr. st. pl.* of בְּגִדִּי (בְּגִדִּי).

4. The *Seghōl* arises, not only in the cases given above, in Rem. 1 and 2, but also—

- a) From the obscuring in isolated cases of ā (*Qāmēṣ*) final (הֵ for הֵ): Ps. 20, 4, Is. 59, 5, 1 Sam. 28, 15.
- b) Even from the obscuring of u, as אָתָם (*you*) from the original 'āttum (Arab. 'āntūm), see § 32, Rem. 5 and 7; לָהֶם (*to them*) from the original (also Arab.) lahūm. Comp. § 8, Third Class of vowels, p. 35.

5. Among the *Chatephs* (ֿֿֿ) counts for shorter and lighter than (ֿֿֿֿ), and the group (ֿֿֿֿֿֿ) than (ֿֿֿֿֿֿֿֿ), e. g. אֶדֹם *Edom*, but אֶדְמוֹ *Edomite*; אֶמֶת (*emēth*) *truth*, אֶמְתִּי *his truth*; נֶעְלָם *hidden, plur.* נֶעְלָמִים; יְהִי־עֲבֹדָתִי, יְהִי־עֲבֹדָתִי.

¹ Analogous to this attenuating of ǎ into ĩ, is the Latin *tango, attingo; laxus, prolixus*; and to that of ā into ě (in Rem. 2), the Latin *carpo, decerpo; spargo, conspergo*.

§ 28.

RISE OF NEW VOWELS AND SYLLABLES.

1. When a word begins with a so-called Appoggiatura (§ 26, 4), i. e. with a consonant which has a vocal Sh^ewâ, and there comes another consonant with Sh^ewâ before it, then this latter receives, instead of the Sh^ewâ, an ordinary short vowel. This vowel is almost always *ī* (*Chī'rēq*). In most cases this is probably a weakened *ă* (*Păthăch*), and not a mere auxiliary vowel. In other cases analogy may have led to the choice of the *ī*. Thus the prefixes ב, כ, ל, before a consonant with (—) become ב, כ, ל, e. g. בַּפֶּרִי, כַּפֶּרִי, לַפֶּרִי; בִּיהוּדָה (from בִּיה' according to § 24, 1, *a*); the same with *Waw copulative* וִיהוּדָה for וִיה'. This restoration of the original vowel i. e. of *ă* (or *ī* weakened from *ă*) occurs frequently in certain appoggiatura in the formation of verbs which elsewhere (that is to say before consonants with a firm vowel) are pronounced simply with *Sh^ewâ*. At times the first appoggiatura after the restoration of the short vowel combines with the second into a firmly closed syllable, as לִפְּל *lîn-pōl* Num. 14, 3, in isolated cases also with כִּ: כְּזָכַר Jer. 17, 2.

2. When the second of the two consonants is a guttural with *composite Sh^ewâ*, then the first takes, instead of the simple Sh^ewâ, the short vowel with which the other is compounded, so that we obtain the groups —, —, — e. g. כָּאֶשֶׁר *as*, לַעֲבֹד *for to serve*, לֶאֱכֹל *for to eat*, לַחֲלִי *for sickness*, for כָּאֶשֶׁר, לַעֲבֹד, לֶאֱכֹל, לַחֲלִי. The new vowel has *Méthēgh*, according to § 16, 2, *a*. Sometimes also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case the consonant of the half-syllable retains the short vowel which belonged to the suppressed *Chāṭēph*, e. g. לַחֲטֹב *for לַחֲטֹב*; לֶאֱסֹר (but also לֶאֱסֹר; and even וְעֶצֶר Job 4, 2). In the verbs הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live* a simple *Sh^ewâ* vocal is maintained under the gutturals after a prefix, e. g. לִהְיוֹת *to be*, and וְהָיָה *and be ye!* (comp. וְהָיָה *and be thou!* and וְחָיָה *and live!* with *S'ghô'l* of the prefix, for וְהָיָה)

3. By the same analogy a *Chāṭēph* (especially under a guttural) before a vocal *Shwâ*, in the midst of a word is changed into the short vowel with which it is compounded, e. g. יַעֲמִדוּ *yă'ămēdhû'* for יַעֲמִדוּ *they will stand*, נִהְפְּכוּ *nēhēphēkhû'* for נִהְפְּכוּ *they have turned themselves*, פֹּעֲלֶה *pō'ōlēkhâ'* (*thy work*). Comp. § 26, 3, e. The division should be *yă'ă-mēdhû'*, and the 2d *ă* treated like helping – in נֶעֱרַר.

4. At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two consonants (§ 10, 3, § 26, 7); yet only when the last of these is a consonant of strong sound, ט, ק, or an aspirate with its hard sound (*tenuis*), viz. ב, ד, ך, ך¹, e. g. יָשֹׁט *let him turn aside*, וַיִּשָּׂא *and he caused to drink*, קָטַלְתָּ *thou (fem.) hast killed*, וַיִּבֶךְ *and he wept*, וַיִּרְדּוּ *let him rule*, וַיִּשָּׁב *and he took captive*. This harsh combination of letters is, however, avoided in general by supplying between the two consonants a *helping-vowel*, which is mostly *Sēghô'l*, but *Păthäch* under gutturals,² and *Chîrēq* after ר, e. g. וַיִּגְלַל *and he revealed* for וַיִּגְלַל *let it increase* for וַיִּרְבּ, קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary* for קֹדֶשׁ, נָחַל *stream* for נָחַל, שָׁלַחְתָּ³ *thou f. hast sent*, בַּיִת *house* for בֵּיתָה. These helping-vowels have not the tone, and they are dropped when-

¹ There is hardly an instance of a similar use of ג and ה, which would in that case likewise require *Dāghē'sh*. The use of הוֹסִיף in Prov. 30, 6 (shortened from הוֹסִיפָה) is the only exception, and in some MSS the ה has not *Dāghē'sh* here, but the omission is an error.

² With the exception, however, of the א, as אָרָא *wild ass*, רִיחָא *fresh grass*. Elsewhere the א loses its consonant power and is merely retained orthographically as in חָטָא *sin*, גֵּיאָ *valley* (also גֵּי), שָׂיָא (Job 15, 31 *Kethibh* שָׂיָא).

³ In this form (§ 65, 2) *Dāghē'sh lenè* remains in the final *Tāw* just as if no vowel preceded (§ 22, 2), in order to indicate that the helping *Păthäch* is not a full vowel but merely an orthographical indication of a hasty sound. (Accordingly לָקַחְתָּ *thou hast taken* is distinguished also in pronunciation from לָקַחְתָּ *for to take*.) The false epithet *furtive* given to this helping-vowel, in connection with the notion that such a vowel must be sounded *before* the consonant, caused the decided mistake, which long had its defenders, viz., that שָׁלַחְתָּ should be read *shalāacht*; although such words as שָׁחַל, נָחַל were always correctly sounded *shāchāth*, *nāchāl* not *naächl*. Quite analogous is יַחַד *yichād* in Job 3, 6 (from יַחַד *to rejoice*, see § 75, Rem. 3, d).

ever the word increases at the end, as בֵּיתָה house-ward, קִדְשִׁי my sanctuary.

These helping-vowels have inappropriately been called *furtive*, a term which should be restricted to the *Päthäch* sounded before a final guttural, according to § 22, 2, *b*.

5. Full vowels rise out of *simple Shewâ* also by reason of the *Pause*; see § 29, 4.

§ 29.

OF THE TONE AND ITS CHANGES; AND OF THE PAUSE.

1. The principal tone, indicated by the accent (§ 15, 2), rests on the final syllable of most words, e. g. קָטַל, דָּבָר; דְּבָרָיו, קִדְשָׁיו, קִטְלָתָם (and as the last four examples show, even on additions to the stem); less frequently on the penultima, as in מָלַךְ, לַיְלָה night, קִטְלָתָם, קָמוּ, עָבְדוּ.

Connected with the principal tone is *Méthëgh*, a kind of secondary accent (§ 16, 2). Words which are united by *Mäqqē'ph* with the following one (§ 16, 1), can have at the most a secondary tone.

It is not necessary here to single out the words accented on the penultima (*voces penacutæ*); for the sake, however, of calling attention to these words, they are chiefly marked in this book with —, put over the tone-syllable.

In Arabic the tone is more on the penultima, and even on the antepenultima. The Aram. also accent mostly the penultima; and the Hebrew is pronounced thus, contrary to the accents, by the German and Polish Jews, e. g. בְּרֵאשִׁיָּה בֹרָא, which they pronounce *brëshis bóro*.

2. The original tone of a word frequently shifts its place on account of changes in the word itself, or in its relation to other words. If the word is increased at the end, the tone is thrown forward (*descendit*) one or two syllables according to the length of the addition, as דָּבָר word, דְּבָרִים words, דְּבָרֵיכֶם your words; קִדְשׁ sanctuary, קִדְשִׁים sanctuaries; קִטְלָהוּ, קִטְלָתָהוּ. On the effect of this in the changes of the vowels, see § 27, 1, 3.

3. On the contrary, the original tone is shifted from the final syllable to the penultima (*ascendit*)—

- a) When the syllable נִי (§ 49, 2) is prefixed to certain forms of the Imperfect, as יֵאמֹר *he will say*, וַיֵּאמֶר *and he said*; יֵלֶךְ *he will go*, וַיֵּלֶךְ *and he went*.
- b) For rhythmical reasons, when a monosyllabic word, or one with the tone on the 1st syllable follows, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables.¹ This rhythmical shifting back of the tone (קְסוּגָה אַחֲרֵי *retrogression* as it is called by the Jewish grammarians) takes place however only on condition that the penult which now receives the accent, be an open syllable,—with long vowel,—while the last syllable, which loses the accent, must be an open one with a long vowel, or a closed one with a short vowel. Only *Še'rē* can be kept in a closed unaccented *ultima*, but it is then, in correct editions, provided with a retarding *Mèthēgh* in order to prevent its pronunciation as *Sēghô'l*, e. g. לְבַעַר קֶן Num. 24, 22. In other instances the shortening into *Sēghô'l* really takes place, e. g. פָּעַם הָרִאשׁוֹן *beating the anvil* Is. 41, 7, for פָּעַם הָרִאשׁוֹן , Gen. 1, 5, 3, 19, 4, 17, Job. 3, 3, 22, 28, Ps. 5, 11, 21, 2.
- c) In *pause*. See No. 4 below.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (*letter b*) is avoided in another way, viz., by writing the words with *Mäqqēph* between them, in which case the first wholly loses the tone, as וַיִּכְתֹּב שָׁם *and he wrote there* Josh. 8, 32.

4. Very essential changes of the tone, and consequently of the vowels, are effected by the *Pause*. By this term is meant the strong accentuation of the tone-syllable of the word, which closes a verse or clause of a verse, where a great *distinctive accent* stands (*Sillûq*, *Athnāch*; also *Ôlê weyôrēd* in poetical accentuation); apart from these principal pauses there also occur often pausal changes with smaller distinctives (espec. with *Zäqqēph-qātôn*, *Rebiâ*, *Pāzēr*, even with *Tiphchā* etc.) The changes are as follows:—

- a) When the syllable in *pause* has a short vowel, it becomes long; as קָטַל , קָטַל ; מִים , מִים ; קָטַלְתָּ , קָטַלְתָּ ; קָטַר (orig. form

¹ Even the prose of the Hebrews proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of Iambic rhythm. That the authors of the system intended to secure this object is evident, particularly from the application of *Mèthēgh*.

קִשְׁר) *conspiracy*, קִשְׁר 2 K. 11, 14; אָרַץ, אֶרֶץ Jer. 22, 29. דִּבֶּר becomes in pause דִּבְר.

Yet sometimes the sharper *ă* is intentionally retained in Pause, especially if the closing consonant has *Dāghē'sh forte implicitum*, the vowel thus being really sharpened e. g. בּוֹ Is. 8, 1 etc. but also elsewhere, e. g. עֵד Gen. 49, 27.

- b) When a full vowel in an accented final syllable has lost its tone and become *Shewâ* before an affirmative, it is restored again in *pause*—if it was a short vowel—lengthened e. g. קָטַל *fem.* קְטָלָה (*qāl'ālā*) in *pause* קְטָלָה (*qāl'ālā*); שִׁמְעוּ (*šim'e'û*) *pause*: שְׁמְעוּ (from sing. שָׁמַע); מִלָּאָה, מִלָּאָה; רָקַטְלוּ, רָקַטְלוּ (sing. רָקַטַל). In segholate forms like לָחִי, פָּרִי (*grdf.* לָחִי, פָּרִי) the orig. *ă* returns at least as accented *Seghōl*, thus לָחִי, פָּרִי; orig. *i* as *ē*, e. g. חָצִי, in *pause* חָצִי; orig. *ö* (*ũ*) as *ō*, e. g. חָלִי (*grdf.* חָלִי), in *pause* חָלִי. In analogy with forms like לָחִי etc. the shortened *impf.* יָהִי and יָהִי would become in *pause* יָהִי and יָהִי (because in the full forms like יָהִי *he will be*, and יָחִיָּה *he will live* the *Chîrêq* is attenuated from orig. *ă*). Here belongs also שֵׁכֶם *the neck*, in *pause* שֵׁכֶם (*grdf.* שֵׁכֶם) and the pronoun אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי, as well as the restoration of orig. *ă* as *ě* before the suff. הָ—*thou, thee* e. g. דְּבָרְךָ *thy word*, in *pause* דְּבָרְךָ; וְשִׁמְרָךְ, in *pause* וְשִׁמְרָךְ (on the other hand after the prepositions בְּ, לְ, אֶת), בָּךְ, לָךְ, אֵתְךָ become in *pause* בָּךְ, לָךְ, אֵתְךָ).

- c) This tendency to place the tone on the *penultima* in *pause* shows itself, moreover, in several words, as אֲנִכִּי *I*, אֲנִכִּי; אַתָּה *thou*, אַתָּה; עַתָּה *now*, עַתָּה; and in special cases, like פָּלוּ Ps. 37, 20 for פָּלוּ, and also לָעִי Job 6, 3 for לָעִי, from לָעִי.

Of other influences of the pause we have still to mention 1) the transition of an *ē* (lengthened from *ĩ*) into the sharper *ă* (v. supra. Remark to letter a) e. g. הָיוּ for הָיוּ Is. 18, 5; קָמַל Is. 33, 9; הָפִיר Gen. 17, 14 etc. mostly before liquids or sibilants (yet also הָשִׁב Is. 42, 22 and without the pause הָרַר Lam. 3, 48). The pausal of הָלַךְ (shortened from הָלַךְ) is הָלַךְ; comp. Lam. 3, 1 הָלַךְ; Judg. 19, 20 הָלַךְ for הָלַךְ. 2) the

¹ Such a pause-syllable is sometimes strengthened further by doubling the following consonant, § 20, 2, c.

transition from *ā* into *ē* in the ultima; so always in the expression **וְעַד לְעוֹלָם וָעַד** (for *ēd*) for *ever and ever*. 3) the *pausal Qāmeṣ* of the *Hithpael* form (for *Ṣērê*) e. g. **יִתְחַלֵּף** Job. 18, 8. for **יִתְחַלֵּף**. 4) the restoration of a vowel which had become *Shewâ* to a pretonic vowel. e. g. Job. 21, 11 **יִרְבְּרוּן** for **יִרְבְּרוּן**. 5) the restoration of the *ı* dropped from the end of the stem with its preceding vowel e. g. **בְּעִירִי**, **אַחֲרִי** Is. 21, 12 (for **בְּעִירִי**, **אַחֲרִי**, the latter word found thus also outside of the pause Is. 56 9, 12); Comp. Job. 12, 6 and the same occurrence even in a word before the pause Deut. 32, 37; Is. 21, 12. 6) The transition of *ō* into pausal *ā*; **שְׂאֵלָה** Is 7, 11, so far as it is a locative (from **שְׂאֵל**): **שְׂכֵלְתִי** Gen. 43, 14 (for **שְׂכֵלְתִי**); **עֹלֵי** Gen. 49, 3; **יִטְרֹף** Gen. 49, 27, perhaps also **שְׂרֵן** 1 Kings 22, 34, Isaiah 59, 17. On the other hand, the regular pausal form **יִחַפֵּן** (except the usual imperf. **יִחַפֵּן**) corresponds wholly with the perf. **חִפֵּן** (see § 47, 3, Rem. 2.)

Several other changes occasioned by the *pause* will be noticed farther on, when treating upon the inflections of verbs and nouns.

N.B. The supposition of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the pause spring merely from liturgical considerations, i. e. "to develop conveniently the *musical value* of the final accents by the aid of fuller forms" at Divine service, is at variance with the fact that similar phenomena may be observed even at the present day in the vulgar Arabic, where they can be based only upon rhythmical reasons of a general character.

PART SECOND.

OF FORMS AND INFLECTIONS, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

§ 30.

OF THE STEM-WORDS AND ROOTS (BILITERALS, TRI- LITERALS, QUADRILITERALS).

1. The stem-words of the Hebrew and of the other Semitic languages have this peculiarity, that by far the most of them consist of *three consonants*, on which the meaning essentially depends, while its various modifications are expressed by changes in the vowels, e. g. עֵמֶק *he was deep*, עֶמֶק *deep*, עֲמֻק *depth*, עִמְקָא *valley*. Such a stem-word may be indifferently either a verb or a noun, and usually the language exhibits both together, as זָרַע *he has sown*, זֶרַע *seed*; חָכַם *wise*, חֵכֶם *he was wise*. Yet it is customary and of practical utility for the beginner to consider the *third pers. sing. mas. of the Perf.* in *Qāl* (i. e. one of the most simple forms of the verb), as the stem-word, and the other forms of both the verb and the noun (both substantive and adjective), together with most of the particles, as derived from it, e. g. צָדִיק *he was righteous*, צִדְקָא *righteousness*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, etc. Sometimes the language, as handed down to us, exhibits only the verbal stem, without so simple a form for the cognate noun, as סָקַל *to stone*, נָהַק *to bray*; and occasionally the noun is found without the corresponding verb-stem, e. g. נָגַב *south*, אֶבֶן *stone*. Yet it must be supposed that the language, as spoken,

often had the forms now wanting, since they still exist in several of the other Semitic dialects, e. g. for אָבֶן the Arabic has the verb-stem 'ābīnā to become hard (for גָּבֵב Aram. nēgab^h).

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem-word, i. e. the 3. pers. sing. masc. of the Perf. in Qāl the *root* (שֹׁרֶשׁ), for which the Latin term *radix* is often used; and hence the three consonants of the stem are called *radical letters*, in contradistinction from the *servile* (or *formative*) letters (viz. א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, ט, י, כ, ל, מ, נ, ס, ע, פ, צ, ק, ר, ש, ת, forming the mnemonic expression וְקָלָב מֹשֶׁה וְצִיִּי *Ethan, Moses and Caleb*), which are added in the derivation and inflection of words.¹ We, however, employ the term *root* in a different sense, as explained here, in No. 3.

2. Many etymologists give the name *root* to the three stem-consonants, viewed as vowelless and unpronounceable, from which the stems for both the verbs and the nouns are developed, as in the vegetable kingdom (from which the figurative expression is taken) the stems grow out of the concealed root. Thus for example—

Root: מִלֵּךְ (*ruling in general*).

Verb-stem: מָלַךְ *he has reigned.* Noun-stem: מֶלֶךְ *king.*

This supposition of an unpronounceable root is, however, an abstraction, and the term *root* instead of *stem* is liable to mislead and it is better, at least for the historical mode of treatments, to consider the concrete verb (3. pers. sing. masc. Perf. Qāl) as the stem-word.

3. These trilateral stems now generally form two syllables, as מֶלֶךְ. But among them are reckoned also such as have for their middle letter a ʾ, and by contraction (§ 24, 2, c) become one syllable, e. g. מָלַךְ for מָלֵךְ; also, as a rule, stems whose second and third consonant are identical, e. g. צָרַר with צָרָר. But the original forms were doubtless trisyllabic, and became dissyllabic by dropping the final vowel, as מָלַךְ from qātālā (still so in Arab.); קָם (קָמַם) from qāwāmā (already dissyllabic in Arab. qāmā).

2. The use of three consonants in the stems of the verbs and nouns is so prevalent a law in the Semitic languages, that sometimes there is a semblance of artificial effort to preserve the trilateral form (e. g. יָדַם for יָדָם in verbs עָשָׂה). Even such monosyllabic nouns as might be deemed originally monosyllables (*biliteral roots*), since they express the first, simplest, and commonest ideas, as אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother*, אָח *brother*, show by inflection that they also are mutilations of a trilateral stem. However the verbal stem has not been found for all such cases.

¹ See more in § 81, Rem. 1.

3. Yet, on the other hand, stems with three consonants may be traced back to two consonants, which, in themselves unutterable are pronounced with a vowel between them and form a sort of *root-syllable*, to designate which grammarians use the sign $\sqrt{\quad}$, e. g. $\sqrt{\text{כר}}$. Such root-syllables are called *primary* or *biliteral* roots. They are very easily distinguished when the stem has a feeble consonant, or the same consonant in the second and third place. Thus the stems $\sqrt{\text{דב}}$, $\sqrt{\text{דק}}$, $\sqrt{\text{דב}}$ have all the meaning of *to beat* and *to break in pieces*, and the two stronger letters $\sqrt{\text{דך}}$ *dakh* (comp. Eng. *thwack*, Sans. *tag* = $\theta\iota\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$, L. *tago* (*tango*) = E. *touch*) constitute the monosyllabic root. The augmentation into a stem may also take place however by the addition of a strong consonant, which may be either a sibilant, liquid or guttural. To such a monosyllabic root there often belongs a whole series of trilateral stems, which have two radical letters and the fundamental idea in common.

Only a few examples of this sort:—

From the root $\sqrt{\text{קץ}}$, which imitates the sound of *cutting*, are derived immediately $\sqrt{\text{קצ}}$, $\sqrt{\text{קצה}}$ *to cut off*, and metaph. *to decide, to judge* (hence $\sqrt{\text{קצין}}$ Arab. *qâdhî*, a judge); then $\sqrt{\text{קצב}}$, $\sqrt{\text{קצט}}$, $\sqrt{\text{קצר}}$, with the kindred significations *to shear, to mow*. Related to this is the syllable $\sqrt{\text{קש}}$, $\sqrt{\text{קס}}$, from which is derived $\sqrt{\text{קסס}}$ *to cut into*, $\sqrt{\text{קטש}}$, $\sqrt{\text{קטוה}}$ *to pare*. With a lingual instead of the sibilant $\sqrt{\text{קט}}$, $\sqrt{\text{קד}}$; hence $\sqrt{\text{קטב}}$ *to cut down, destroy*, $\sqrt{\text{קטל}}$ *to hew down, to kill*, $\sqrt{\text{קטף}}$ *to tear off, to pluck off*, $\sqrt{\text{קדר}}$ *to hew asunder, to split*. A softer form of this radical syllable is $\sqrt{\text{כס}}$; hence $\sqrt{\text{כסה}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{כסס}}$ *to cut off, to shear off*, $\sqrt{\text{נכס}}$ Syr. *to sacrifice or to slay a victim*. Still softer are $\sqrt{\text{גז}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{גר}}$; hence $\sqrt{\text{גזז}}$ *to mow, to shear*, $\sqrt{\text{גזזה}}$ *to hew stones*, $\sqrt{\text{גזם}}$, $\sqrt{\text{גזל}}$, $\sqrt{\text{גזר}}$ *to hew off, to cut off, to eat off, to graze*; and so $\sqrt{\text{גדר}}$ *to cut, to cut off*; compare also $\sqrt{\text{גדרה}}$, $\sqrt{\text{גדרה}}$. With the change of the palatal for the guttural sound, $\sqrt{\text{חצב}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חטב}}$ *to hew stones or wood*, $\sqrt{\text{חצץ}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חצה}}$ *to split, divide*, $\sqrt{\text{חץ}}$ *arrow* ($\text{ח}^{\text{ז}}$), $\sqrt{\text{חדר}}$ *to sharpen*, $\sqrt{\text{חזיר}}$ *arrow, lightning*, also $\sqrt{\text{חזה}}$ *to see* (comp. $\sqrt{\text{חרל}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חרק}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חרר}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חרש}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חיס}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חיץ}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חסל}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חס}}$, $\sqrt{\text{חסה}}$ — $\sqrt{\text{חט}}$ in Ges. Lex.).

The syllable $\sqrt{\text{הם}}$ expresses the *humming* sound made with the mouth closed ($\mu\omega$); hence $\sqrt{\text{המה}}$, $\sqrt{\text{נהם}}$ ($\text{נ}^{\text{א}}$), Arab. *hama* *to hum, to buzz*. To these add $\sqrt{\text{בהם}}$ *to be dumb*; $\sqrt{\text{רהם}}$ *to become mute, to be astonished*.

The root-syllable $\sqrt{\text{רע}}$, of which both letters have a trilling sound, means *to tremble*, in the stemwords $\sqrt{\text{רעז}}$, $\sqrt{\text{רעל}}$, $\sqrt{\text{רעם}}$, $\sqrt{\text{רעש}}$; then it is expressive of what causes thrilling motion or agitation, as *thunder* ($\sqrt{\text{רעם}}$), the act of *shattering or breaking in pieces* ($\sqrt{\text{רעע}}$, $\sqrt{\text{רעין}}$). Comp. $\sqrt{\text{פר}}$.

See also what is said in the Heb. Lexicon about the root-syllables **גב** with the idea of *elevation, curving upward* (*gibbous*) **פר** to *break*; **לע**, **לה** to *lick, to sip up*, under the articles **גָּבַב**, **פָּרַר**, **לִיץ**.

From further consideration of this subject, the following observations occur:—

- a) These roots are *mere abstractions* from stems in actual use, and are themselves *not* in use. They merely represent the hidden germs (*semina*) of the stems which appear in the language. Yet the latter have, now and then, so short a form, that they exhibit only the elements of the root itself, as **הָם** to *be finished*, **קל** *light*. The determination of the root and its signification is of the highest importance to the lexicographer. Another much contested question is whether there has ever been a period in the development of the Semitic languages when merely bi-literal roots, either rigidly isolated or already augmented by inflection, have served for the communication of ideas. If so, it must have been at a stage in its progress, when the ideas conveyed were extremely few and elementary and the gradual enlargement of words was required by the influx of stronger shades of thought. No historical evidence of such a transition has been clearly established.
- b) Many of these monosyllabic roots are imitations of natural sounds, and sometimes coincide with like-meaning roots of the Indo-Germanic stock (§ 1, 4); e. g. **תַּפַּח** (comp. E. *tap, thump, dump*), **טָטַט** (**טָטַט**), **רָפַח** (**רָפַח**) (comp. Welsh *rhâff* = G. *Reif* = E. *rope* = *ribbon*), **פָּלַח** (**פָּלַח**) (comp. E. *club, clap*). Of other roots it is evident that the Semitic linguistic instinct regarded them as onomatopoeic, whilst the spirit of the Indo-Germanic languages refuses to accept them as imitations.
- c) The stems with hard, strong consonants are to be regarded, according to the general progress of language (§ 6, 4), as the *oldest*, while the feebler and softer consonants distinguish forms of a later period, which consequently are more frequently used for the derivative and metaphorical significations; e. g. **קָרַח** and **גָּלַח** to *be smooth, to be shorn, to be bald*; and even **גָּלַח** to *be bare*. Comp. **פֹּזַר** and **בֹּזַר**, **צָחַק** and **שָׂחַק**, **צָעַק** and **זָעַק**, **עָלַץ** and **עָלַץ** (**עָלַץ**), **רָקַק** and **רָקַק**, and also the almost universal softening of initial **ח** and **ר**. In other instances however harder stems have been adopted at a later period from the Aramaic, (e. g. **טָעַח**, Hebr. **תָּעַח**). Sometimes the harder or softer sound is essential to the imitative character of the word, as **גָּלַל** to *roll* (spoken of a ball, of the rolling of waves), but **גָּרַר** more for a rough sound, as made in the act of *scraping* = **σαίρω**, **σύρω**, *verro*; so in **חָצַב** to *cut stones or wood*, we find a stronger sound than in **חָצַב** to *cut grass, to mow*.
- d) It appears also that those consonants, which *resemble* each other in strength or feebleness, are commonly associated in the formation of root-syllables, as **קָץ**, **בָּס**, **גָּז**, **גָּר** (never **בָּץ**, **גָּץ**, **גָּס**); **פָּץ**, **בו** (seldom **פו**); **גָּר**, **קָט** (not **גָּט**). Rarely if ever are the first two radicals the same

in the (trilateral) stem. The seeming exceptions come from the reduplication of the root, e. g. דרה Arab. راء or from other reasons. Comp. בבה in the Lexicon. The first and third consonants may be identical only in the so-called hollow stems (with middle ך or ך), e. g. צרץ, צרץ. On the contrary, the last two are very often the same (§ 67).¹

- e) The tendency to substitute smooth for harsh sounds (see letter c) is sometimes so great, that *l, n, r*, especially when used as middle stem-letters, are even softened to vowels, as אץץ, אץץ (comp. אים) to *press*, אץץ, אץץ, and many others. Comp. *salvare*, French *sauver*; *calidus*, Ital. *caldo*, in Naples *caudo*, French *chaud*; *falsus*, It. *falso*, in Calabria *fauzu*, French *fauz*; and the pronunciation of the English words *talk*, *walk*. Comp. § 19, 5, Rem.

- f) The cases where the trilateral stems cannot safely be traced back to a biliteral root, may have arisen in part from a combination of two roots, by which were created corresponding expressions for complicated ideas.

A fuller development of this active change in the primitive elements of the language belongs to the Lexicon.

4. To a secondary development (or later stage) of the language belong stem-words of *four*, and, in the case of nouns, even of *five*, consonants. These are, however, comparatively far less frequent in Hebrew than in its sister dialects, especially Ethiopic. They spring from the extension of the trilateral stem. This extension of the form is effected in two ways:—*a*) by adding a fourth stem-letter;—*b*) in some cases probably by combining into one word two trilateral stems, by which process even *quinteliteral*s are formed. Such lengthened forms as arise from the mere repetition of one or two of the three stem-letters, as קטלטל from קטל, סכסס from סכך, are not regarded as quadrilateral, but as variations in the so-called conjugation forms (§ 55). So likewise the few

¹ Letters which are not found associated as radicals are called *incompatible*. They are chiefly such as too strongly resemble each other, as קץ, קץ, כץ, כץ. Some letters, however, have been falsely considered *incompatible*, as ל, ר, which are found associated, e. g. in קרל and קרל, softened from the harsher forms קרר, קרר. Comp. γαπτός along with γράβδην, όατώ along with όγδοος, and much that is analogous in Sanskrit.

words which are formed by prefixing ש, as שְׁלֵהֶבֶת *flame* (from לָהֵב), Aram. conj. *Shāphēl* שְׁלֵהֵב.

Rem. on a). Some forms are made by the insertion particularly of *l* and *r* between the first and second radicals; as שָׂרַס, שָׂרַס to *shear off*, to *eat off*; שֵׁבֶט = שֵׁבֶט *sceptre* (the form with ר very frequent in Syr.); by the insertion of *l* we have from זָרַח to *glow*, זָרַח *hot wind*, שָׁלֵחַ *tranquil* (from שָׁלַח Job 21, 23, possibly also גָּלַח from גָּלַח but comp. *Delitzsch* in Is. 49, 21. Comp. the Aramaic שָׂרַל to *roll*, as an expansion of the *Pa'ēl* conjugation (corresponding to the Hebrew *Pi'ēl*) שָׂרַל. In Latin there is a corresponding strengthening of the stem; as *findo*, *scindo*, *tundo*, *jungo* (in Sanskr., Class. VII.) from *fid*, *scid*, *szedāw* (=Eng. *scatter*), *tud* (=Eng. *thud*), *jug* (=Eng. *yoke*=Welsh *iau*). Additions are also made at the end, principally of *l* and *n*; as גָּרַן *axe*, from גָּרַר to *cut* (comp. *graze*); פָּרַח *orchard*, from פָּרַח *flower-cup*, from פָּרַח *cup*; חָרַל to *hobble* which *Ges.* derived from חָרַג is by *Dietrich* referred to חָרַל with the insertion of ר, v. Lex.

Rem. on b). So probably are compounded צִפְרִיץ *frog* Ex. 8, 1 ff., and חֲבַצְלֵה *meadow-saffron* (or *crocus*, comp. *Delitzsch* on Is. 35, 1) Cant. 2, 1, although this explanation is not altogether certain. [Comp. *Ges. Lex.* 8th Ed. where צִפְרִיץ is not regarded as a compound but, according to *Dietrich*, a derivation from the Arabic form of the word (ضَفْدَع) as the older, and this from the usual stem expansion]. Many words of this class may prove to have been taken from other languages (§ 1. 4) and therefore not appropriately considered here.

5. To a special class as derived from an earlier stage of the language, in which other laws prevailed, or from mutilations of already developed word-stems belong the *pronouns*. At all events their very irregular mode of formation requires a special treatment (§ 32). In like manner the *interjections* (§ 105), as an immediate imitation of natural sounds stand outside of existing formative laws.¹ On the other hand all the so-called particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) have in Hebrew, arisen from the fully developed nominal-stem, although in some instances, on account of their very great abbreviations, the original form is no longer distinguishable, see § 99.

¹ Comp. *Hupfeld's System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung und der damit zusammenhängenden Pronominal- und Partikelbildung*, in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. II, S. 124 ff. 427 ff.

§ 31.

OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE.

1. The formation of the parts of speech from the stems, and their inflection, are effected in two ways:—*a*) internally by changes in the stem itself, particularly in its vowels;—*b*) externally by the addition of formative syllables before or after. On the other hand the expression of grammatical relations through separate words by periphrasis (as in expressing the comparative degree and several relations of case), belongs rather to the syntax than to that part of grammar which treats of *forms*.

The second mode of forming words, viz., by agglutination, which is exemplified in the Egyptian, appears on the whole to be the more ancient of the two. Yet other languages, and particularly the Semitic, had early recourse also to the first mode, viz., internal modification of the stem, and in the period of their youthful vigour developed a strong tendency to follow this process; but in their later periods this tendency continually diminished in force, so that it became necessary to use syntactical circumlocution.—This is exemplified in the Greek (including the modern), and in the Latin with its branches (called the *Romance dialects*).

2. Both methods of formation and inflection are found together in Hebrew. That which is effected by vowel changes exhibits considerable variety (קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל; קָטַל, קָטַל, etc.). To this is joined in numerous cases the external formation (הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל, etc.), and even the formative additions undergo, also often, the inner transformation, e. g. הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל. The addition of formative syllables occurs, as in almost all languages, in the formation of the persons of the verb, where also the import of these annexed syllables is still, for the most part, perfectly clear (see §§ 44, 47); moreover, it occurs in the distinction of gender and number in the verb and the noun. Of case-endings, on the contrary, there appear in Hebrew only imperfect traces (§ 90).

CHAPTER I. OF THE PRONOUN.

§ 32.

OF THE PERSONAL OR SEPARATE PRONOUN.

1. The personal pronoun (as well as the pronouns generally) belongs to the oldest and simplest component parts of the language (§ 30, 5); and therefore it here claims our first attention, because it lies at the foundation of the inflection of the verb (§§ 44, 47).

2. The separate and primary forms of the personal pronoun, which, as in Greek and Latin, serve to express more emphatically the subject-nominative, are the following:—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>com.</i> אֲנִי, in <i>pause</i> אֲנִי; } <i>I</i>		1. <i>com.</i> אֲנַחְנִי, in <i>pause</i> אֲנַחְנִי } <i>we</i>
אֲנִי, in <i>pause</i> אֲנִי }		(נַחְנִי, p. נִחְנִי, (אֲנִי) }
2. { <i>m.</i> אַתָּה (אַתָּה) in <i>p.</i> אַתָּה } <i>thou</i>		2. { <i>m.</i> אַתֶּם }
or אַתָּה }		{ <i>f.</i> אַתְּמָה (אַתְּמָה; אַתֶּן, אַתְּנָה) } <i>ye</i>
{ <i>f.</i> אַתְּ (אַתְּ, pr. אַתְּ) <i>p.</i> אַתְּ }		
3. { <i>m.</i> הוּא } <i>he, also it</i>		3. { <i>m.</i> הֵם (הֵם), הֵמָּה } <i>they</i>
{ <i>f.</i> הִיא } <i>she, also it</i>		{ <i>f.</i> הֵנָּה (הֵן, הֵן) }

The forms included in parentheses seldom occur. A complete view of these pronouns, with their shortened forms (*suffixes*), is given in Paradigm A at the beginning of this Grammar. Comp. also § 121.

REMARKS.

I. *First Person.*

1. The form אֲנִי is less frequent than אֲנִי which is probably shortened from it. The former is found in the Phœnician, Moabitic and Assyrian, but in no other kindred dialect;¹ from the latter are

¹ In Phœnician and Moabite (§ 2, 2) it is אֲנִי, without the ending אֲנִי, and in Punic *anec* (Plaut. Pœn. 5, 1, 8) or *'anekh* (Plauti Pœnulus, 5. 2, 35, comp. Schröder, Phœn. Sprache, S. 143); in Assyrian, *anaku*. In ancient Egyptian, ANEK, Coptic *anok, nok*.

formed the *suffixes* (§ 33). אָנְכִי prevails chiefly in the Pentateuch. In the Talmūd אָנְכִי has almost entirely disappeared and in some later books wholly. The *ō* is probably an obscuring of orig. *a* (comp. Aram. אָנְכִי, Arab. 'āna).

2. The formation of the plural in this and the following persons, though analogous with that of nouns, exhibits (as also in the pronoun of other languages) much that is peculiar and irregular. The short form אָנִי, which resembles the suffix (§ 33), occurs only in Jer. 42, 6 (*Kethîbh*). The form אָנֹכִי is found only six times; e. g. Num. 32, 32. (Gen. 42, 11 in pause אָנֹכִי). In the Mischna the form אָנִי alone appears; in Arab. *nachnu* is the standard form.

3. The first person only is always of the *common gender*, because one that is present speaking needs not the distinction of gender, as does the second person addressed (in Greek, Latin, English etc., the distinction is omitted here also), and as the third person spoken of which needs it still more (but see Rem. 6).

II. Second Person.

4. The forms אָתָּה, אַתָּה, אַתָּם, אַתְּהֶנּוּ, are contracted from אַתְּהוּ, etc., and the kindred dialects have still the *n* before the ה, Arab. *ānta*, f. *ānti* thou, plur. *āntum*, f. *antūnna* ye. In Syriac אַתְּהִי, fem. אַתְּהִי is written, but both are pronounced *at*; in the Western Aramaic אַתְּהִי stands for both genders.

אַתָּה without ה occurs only five times, e. g. Ps. 6, 4, and each time as *Kethîbh* with אַתְּהִי as *Qerî*. As the vowels of the text belong to the *Qerî* (§ 17), the reading of the *Kethîbh* may have been אַתָּה, as an abbreviation from אַתְּהִי (acc. to Aram., see above), for אַתָּה actually serves twice for masc., as in Num. 11, 15, Deut. 5, 24, Ezek. 28, 14.

The feminine form was originally pronounced אַתְּהִי, as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is still found in seven instances as *Kethîbh* (e. g. Judg. 17, 2, 1 K. 14, 2), and shows itself also in the corresponding personal ending of the verb (see § 44, Rem. 4), specially before suffixes (אֶתְּהִינִי § 59, 1, c). The final *î* sound, however, was gradually given up (in Syriac also it was at length only written, not pronounced), and the ה therefore dropped, so that the Jewish critics, even in those seven passages, place in the *Qerî* אַתָּה, the *Sh'wâ* of which stands in the punctuation of the text (אַתְּהִי, § 17). The same final ה appears, moreover, in the rare forms of the suffix, אַתְּהִי, אַתְּהִי (§§ 58, 91).

5. The plurals אַתְּהִי, אַתְּהִי (אַתְּהִי), are blunted forms (comp. 27, Rem. 4, b) of אַתְּהִי (Arab. *āntum*, Aram. אַתְּהִי, אַתְּהִי), and אַתְּהִי or אַתְּהִי (Arab. *antūnnā*, Aram. אַתְּהִי, אַתְּהִי). Hence doubtless the fact that the *suff.* of the 2d pers. pl. perf. is added to the ending הִי (instead of הִם or הֵן). אַתְּהִי is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, being found only in Ez. 34, 31 (so *Kimchi*,

others אֵתָךְ), and אֵתָהּ (for which MSS have also אֵתָהּ) occurs only four times, viz., in Gen. 31, 6, Ez. 13, 11, 20, 34, 17 (13, 20 together with אֵתָם for *fem.*).

III. Third Person.

6. At the end of הוּא *hû* and הִיא *hî*, the ם seems to be only an orthographic finish for the long open syllable, as in לֵוִי, לֵוִיָּהּ, (§ 23, 3, Rem. 3), yet the writing with ם is constant in the separate pronoun, and הוּא becomes הוּ (but הִיא becomes הִי) only as a toneless suffix (§ 33, 1).¹ (In Arab., as in Syr., they write הוּ and הִי but speak *hûwa*, *hûa*, *hû*, and *hîya*, *hî*). However this Arab. pronunciation alone would decide nothing, as the vowel complement may be derived from the more copsonantal pronunciation of the ו and י; but the Æthiopic *wêtû* for הוּא, *yêlî* for הִיא, shows that originally the ם indicated a vowel termination (comp. Nöldeke, Ztschr. der DMG Bd. XX, S. 459).

The form הוּא stands in K^ethîbh in the Pentateuch (except in 11 cases) also for the *fem.* הִיא as if similar to the epicene use of נֶעֱר for boy and girl (see § 2, 5, Rem.). But the punctators, whenever it stands for הִיא, give it the pointing הוּא, and require it to be read הִיא (comp. § 17).²

7. The plural forms הֵם (הֵמָּה) and הֵנָּה (after *pref.* הֵן. הֵן) are derived from הוּא and הִיא in the same manner as אֵתָם from אֵתָהּ. In Arab., where they are sounded *hûm*, *hûnna*, the obscure vowel-sound is retained, for which in Hebrew S^eghô'l stands also in the suffixes הֵם and הֵן (comp. § 27, Rem. 4, b). The הֵ- in both forms (הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה) is of *demonstrative* nature, but without observable effect of the sense. In West Aram. (הֵמָּנִי, הֵמָּנִי), Syr. *henûn*, Arab. *hûmû*, (archaist. for *hum*) and Ethiop. (*ôtmû*) there is an *ô* or *û* appended, which appears in Hebrew in the poetical forms מוּ, מֵ-מֵ, מוּ (§ 58, 3, Rem. 1). In some passages הֵמָּה stands as feminine (Zech. 5, 11; Cant. 6, 8; Ruth 1, 22). The quite anomalous עֲדֵיהֶם 2 K. 9, 18 should probably be read עֲדֵיהֶם.

8. The pronouns of the third person הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵן, refer to *things* as well as persons. On their *demonstrative* meaning, see § 122, 1.

¹ In the inscription of Mēsha' (see § 2, 2), הוּא stands for הוּא in line 6.

² Kautzsch does not accept the common opinion (v. Lex. 8th ed.) that this use of הוּא for הִיא is an archaism,—since the epicene use *a*) lacks analogy in Sem. dialects, *b*) is not in oldest texts outside the Pent., *c*) is wanting in the kindred text of Joshua, and since *d*) הִיא occurs 11 times (Gen. 38, 25 together with הוּא),—but regards it as an orthographic peculiarity arising from some revision of the text of the Pentateuch. He cites as deserving of consideration, the supposition of Levy that originally הוּא was written for both forms (as it is found on the Moabite stone, see note above) and was then enlarged into הוּא without regard to gender.—*Ed.*

§ 33.

THE SUFFIX PRONOUN.

1. The full forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronouns*), as given in the foregoing section, express only the nominative (but comp. § 134, 3): the accusative and genitive, on the contrary, are expressed mostly by shorter forms (or fragments) of them which are joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*suffix pronouns*, or usually *suffixes*); e. g. הוּ (without accent) and וְ *him* and *his* (from הוּא *he*), thus קָטַלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him*, קָטַלְתָּהוּ or (with *āhû* contracted to *ô*) קָטַלְתָּהוּ *thou hast killed him*, סוּסָהוּ and סוּסוֹ *his horse*.

The same method occurs in all other Semitic tongues, as also in the Egyptian, Persian, Finn, Tartar and others; but in Greek, Latin and German, we find only slight traces of it, as πατήρ μου for πατήρ ἐμοῦ, Lat. *eccum* in Plautus for *ecce eum*, Germ. *er gab's* for *er gab es*.

2. As to the *cases* which these suffixes indicate, let it be remarked that—

- a) When joined to verbs, they denote the accusative (but comp. § 134, 4), as in קָטַלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him*.
- b) When joined to substantives, they denote the genitive (like πατήρ μου, *pater ejus*), and then serve as *possessive pronouns*, as אָבִי (*ābh-i'*) *my father*, סוּסוֹ *his horse* (answering to the Latin *equus ejus* or *equus suus*, comp. § 137, 1, b).
- c) When joined to particles, they denote either the genitive or the accusative, according as the particle involves the meaning of a noun or a verb, e. g. אִתִּי (prop. *my vicinity*) *with me*, like Lat. *mea causa*, on the contrary הִנֵּנִי *behold me*, Lat. *ecce me*. בֵּינִי literally *interstitium mei* “between me.”
- d) The Indo-Germanic dative and ablative of the pronoun are expressed by combining with the suffixes the prepositions, that are signs of these cases (לְ to sign of the dative, בְּ *in*, מִן *from*, § 102), as לוֹ *to him* (Lat. *ei* and *sibi*), בּוֹ *in him*, מִמֶּנִּי *from me*.

3. The suffixes of the 2d person (ךָ—, etc.) are formed with the *k* (and not *t*) sound, based on an exchange of these two sounds exemplified also elsewhere.¹

So likewise in all the Semitic tongues; but in Ethiopic also the verbal form is *qatalka* (thou hast killed)=Heb. קָטַלְתָּ.

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative), and the *suffix of the noun* (the genitive), are mostly the same in form, but sometimes they differ, e. g. יָרִי—*me*, יִי—*my*.

Paradigm A at the beginning of this Grammar, gives a view of all the forms of the *pronoun*, both *separate* and *suffix*; fuller explanations about the *suffix to the verb* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in §§ 58—61, about the *suffix to the noun* in § 91, about *prepositions with suffixes* in § 103, about *adverbs with suff.* in § 100, 5.

§ 34.

THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN.

1. *Sing. m.* זֶה² } *this.* *Plur. com.* אֵלֶּה (rarely אֵל) } *these.*
 f. זֹאת (זֹה, זֹה) }

1. The feminine form זֹאת is (*ô* obsc. fr. orig. *â*) for זֹאת (comp. זֹאת = זֶה; for the feminine ending *ת*, see § 80), and the forms זֹה, זֹה, which are both of rare occurrence, come from זֹאת by dropping *ת*. In Ps. 132, 12 זֹה is used as *relat.*, v. Lex. For זֹאת is found Jer. 26, 6 in *Kethibh* זֹאתָ (with article and demonstrative הַ—). אֵל and אֵלֶּה are plural by usage, and not by grammatical form. The former (אֵל) occurs only in the Pentateuch and then always with the article as הָאֵל and 1 Chr. 20, 8, (without הַ). Both the singular and the plural is applicable to things as well as to persons.

2. In connection with prepositions to represent the *casus obliqui* לְזֶה *to this* (m.) (cf. on לְ § 102, 2, c), לְזֹאת, לְזֹה *to this* (f.), לְ or לְאֵלֶּה *to or for those*, etc., cf. זֶה כִּחַיר *pretium hujus*, 1 K. 21, 2.

¹ That a palatal (*k*) and lingual (*t*) are liable to be exchanged, is manifest from the speech of young children, who frequently confound them, as *likkie* for *little*. Obvious instances of this exchange are found in many languages, as Gr. δαίω = καίω, Gr. τίς = Aeol. κίς, Lat. *quis*, and in the Hebrew itself שָׁתָה = שָׁקָה *to drink*.

² In many languages the demonstratives begin with *d*, hence called the *demonstrative sound*, which is, however, interchanged with a *sibilant* (as in Heb. הֵן) or a rough breathing. Thus in Aram. דָּה, דִּי, דִּן, דִּן *this*, Arab. *dhû*, *dhi*, *dhá*.

2. A secondary form **הַ** is used only in poetry. It stands mostly for the relative (like Eng. *that* for *who*), and serves alike for the sing. and plur. and for both genders, like **אֲשֶׁר** (§ 36). Cf. § 136.

Rem. 1. This pronoun receives the article (**הַ**, **הָ**, **הֶ**, **הִ**) according to the same rules as the adjectives, § 111, 2 and § 132, 1.

2. Rarer secondary forms, with stronger demonstrative force, are **הַזֶּה** Gen. 24, 65, 37, 19; **הַזֵּה** fem. Ez. 36, 35, and shortened **הֵזֶה** masc. in Judg. 6, 20, 1 Sam. 14, 1, 17, 26; but fem. in 2 K. 4, 25. In Arabic there is a corresponding form *'allādhī*, as relative pronoun.

3. Also the personal pronouns of the 3d person often have a demonstrative force, see § 135, 1. Some other pronominal stems occur among the particles, § 99—105.

§ 35.

THE ARTICLE.

1. By nature the article is a demonstrative pronoun, akin to the pronoun of the 3d person. It nowhere occurs in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connection with the word before which it stands; and it usually takes the form **הַ**, with a short sharp-spoken *ă* and a doubling of the following consonant (by *Dāghē'sh fortè*), e. g. **הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ** *the sun*, **הַיָּאֵר** *the river* for **הָיָאֵר** (see § 20, 3, b).

2. When, however, the article (**הַ**) stands before a word beginning with a guttural, which (according to § 22, 1) cannot be doubled, then the short and sharp *ă* (*Pă'thăch*) is mostly heightened into *ā* (*Qā'měš*) or *ē* (*Sēghôl*).

But to be more particular:—

1) Before the weakest guttural **א** and before **ר** (§ 22, 1 and 5, comp. § 27, Rem. 2, b) the vowel of the article is always heightened into *Qā'měš*, as **הָאָב** *the father*, **הָאֲחֵר** *the other*, **הָאִמָּה** *the mother*, **הָאִישׁ** *the man*, **הָאֹר** *the light*, **הָאֵלֶּהֱרִים** *the foot*, **הָאֶרֶץ** *earth* becomes **הָאֶרֶץ**, **הָרֹאשׁ** *the head*, **הָרָשָׁע** *the evil-doer*.

2) For the other gutturals there occurs either a sharpened syllable (virtual doubling § 22, 1),—especially with **ח** and **ה**, less often with **ע**— or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the

first case the article retains —, the syllable remaining virtually closed; in the second, the *Pä'thäch* is either slightly lengthened to — or fully to —. The following cases are to be distinguished:—

A) When the guttural is followed by any other vowel than \bar{a} (—) or \bar{o} (—), then—1) before the stronger ה and ה, the article regularly remains ה, as הַחַיִּים *that*, הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחֵלֶל *the force*, but with some rare exceptions as in הַחַיִּי Gen. 6, 19, הַחַיִּים Is. 17, 8 and always in הַחַיִּים, הַחַיִּים *those*;—2) before ע *Pä'thäch* becomes generally Qā'mēs, as הַעֵיִן *the eye*, הַעִיר *the city*, הַעֲבָד *the servant*, pl. הַעֲבָדִים. (Exceptions in Is. 24, 2; 42, 18, Jer. 12, 9; Prov. 2, 17; 2 Sam. 5, 6, 8; Isa. 65, 11).

B) But when the guttural is followed by \bar{a} (—), then—1) before ה and ע the article is always ה, provided it stands immediately before the tone-syllable, else it is ה, e. g. הָעָם *the people*, הַהָר *the mountain*, הָעֵין (in *pause*), הָרָהָר *towards the mountain*, on the contrary הַהָרִים *the mountains*, הָעֹון *the guilt*;—2) before ה the article is always ה, without regard to the place of the tone, as הַחָכָם *the wise*, הַחֹזֶק *the strong*, הַחַג *the festival*, הַחַיִּי *the live* Lev. 16, 20; so also—3) before ה, as הַחֲלִי *the sickness*, הַחֲדָשִׁים *the months*. On the contrary הַחֲכָמָה according to A, 1; also before ע; הַעֲמָרִים Ruth 21, 15.

Gender and number, as in English and Welsh, have no influence on the form of the article.

Rem. 1. The form of the Hebrew (also the Phœnician) article ה seems to have originated from הַל, the ל of which however has been constantly assimilated to the next letter (as in הַלְקָה from הַלְקָה § 19, 2). This assimilation is to be accounted for from the enclitic nature of the article. In the Arabic it sounds هـ (pronounced *hal* by the modern Bedāwīn), the ل of which is likewise assimilated, at least before all letters like *s* and *t*, and before *l*, *n* and *r*; e. g. 'al-Qor'ân but 'as-sana (Bed. *has-sana*)=Heb. הַשָּׁנָה *the year*. The Arabic article itself occurs also in the Old Testament prob. in the Arabic name אֱלֹהֵימִידֶר Gen. 10, 26, in אֱלֹהִים 1 K. 10, 11, 12 (also אֱלֹהִים 2 Ch. 2, 7, 9, 10, 11) perhaps

¹ D. H. Müller in Ges. Wörterbuch, 11te Aufl. and Nöldeke in Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad. 1882, p. 1186, finds here the name of a God אֱל rather than the original article.

sandal wood (acc. to Ges. fr. Sansk. *mocha*, but comp. Lex. 11th ed.), and perhaps also in אֵלֶּכְבֶּרֶשׁ *ice*, *hail*=קֶבֶרֶשׁ (Arab. *gîbs*) Ez. 13, 11, 13, 38, 22, and perhaps also אֶלְכָשׁ in Prov. 30, 31.

2. When the prepositions **בְּ**, **לְ**, and the **בְּ** of comparison (§ 102, 2, *b*) come before the article, the **ה** is dropped by contraction, and the preposition¹ takes its points (§ 19, 3, *b*, and § 23, 4), as **בַּשָּׁמַיִם** *in the heaven* for **בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם**, **לְעַם** *to the people* for **לְהָעָם**, **בְּהָרִים** *in the mountains*. Exceptions appear almost exclusively in the later books (Ezr. Eccl. Neh. Chr.; yet comp. 1 Sam. 13, 21, Ps. 36, 6. Elsewhere e. g. 2 K. 7, 12 the Massora, in *Qerē* requires the Syncope). But in 8 places with **בְּ**, the **ה** remains in **בְּהַיּוֹם** Gen. 39, 11, etc. but oftener without **ה**, as **בַּיּוֹם** Gen. 25, 31, 33. But see 1 Sam. 13, 21, Ps. 36, 6.—With **וְ** (*and*), the **ה** always remains, as **וְהָעָם** *and the people*.

3. The words פֶּר, עֵם, חֵג, הָר, אֶרֶץ always appear after the article with a long vowel הַפֶּר, הָעֵם, הַחֵג, הָהָר, הָאֶרֶץ.

§ 36.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN.

The relative pronoun is the same for all *genders* and *numbers*, viz., ךְּ *who, which*. In the later books, (esp. Eccl. Lam. and the late Psalms) as well as in Canticles constantly and in Judges occasionally, instead of this full form we have ךְ (with the ך elided and the ך assimilated, § 19, 2, 3), more rarely ךְ Judg. 5, 7, Cant. 1, 7, once ך before ך Judg. 6, 17 (else ך before gutturals), and before ך even ך² Eccl. 3, 18, and according to some (e. g. *Kimchi*) also 2, 22. On the mode of expressing the *cases* of the relative, see § 138, 1.

¹ The prep. מן, if prefixed before the article (as rarely happens, § 102, 1), does not take its place, but becomes מ, as in מַהֲשָׁמַיִם in 2 Ch. 7, 1, for the usual מן הַשָּׁמַיִם *from the heavens*.

² In Phœnician the full form 𐤔𐤕𐤔 does not occur, but 𐤔, esp. in the later Ph. (*Plaut. Pœn.*) pronounced *sa, su, si*, and 𐤕𐤔 (pron. *asse* = 𐤕𐤔, *esse* but also *as, es, is, us, ys*), *Schröder's Phön. Sprache*, p. 162-66. Comp. above in § 2, 7. Also in modern Hebrew the *𐤔 has become quiet predominant.

§ 37.

THE INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

1. The interrogative pronoun (about persons) is **מִי** *who?* and (about things) **מָה** *what?*

According to Olshausen **מָה** *what?* was originally **מַה**, which in close connection (v. below) was assimilated with the following consonant. The forms **מַה**, **מַ** etc. (with *Dāghē'sh fortè conj.*) can however be sufficiently explained from the close uttering of the words. It should be further remarked that *a*) in closest connection stands **מַה** *mā* with *Mäqqē'ph* and *Dāghē'sh fortè conjunctive* (§ 20, 2) as **מַה-לָּךְ** *what to thee?* and even in one word, as **מַה-לָּכֶם** *what to you?* Is. 3, 15. **מַה** *what is this?* Ex. 4, 2;—*b*) before gutturals in close connection with *Mäqqē'ph* or a conjunctive accent it either likewise receives *Päthäch* with the *Dāghē'sh* implied in the guttural (§ 22, 1)—so especially before **ה**, and (Gen. 31, 36, Job 21, 21) before **ה**,—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either *ā* is lengthened into *Qā'mēs* comp. § 35, 1,—so always before **א** and **ר**,—or only slightly lengthened into *Sēghō'l*, especially before **נ**, **ה**, **ה** (before **ה** however also **מָה**). The omission of the implied doubling also occurs, as a rule, with the hard gutturals, when they have no *Qā'mēs* and then it stands **מָה** or **מַה** the latter especially before **ה**, **ע** when *Mäqqē'ph* follows. The longer forms **מַה** and **מָה** also remain before non-gutturals if the connection does not take place through *Mäqqē'ph*, but by a simple conj. accent. As a rule then **מָה** stands, but, by a wider separation from the chief tone we have also **מַה** Is. 1, 5. Ps. 4, 3 (upon **מָה** in the combination **בְּמַה**, **בְּמַה** and even **לְמַה** 1 Sam. 1, 8, comp. § 102, 2, *d*). *c*) in great pause **מָה** stands without exception, also generally with smaller *distinctivi*, and almost always before gutturals (**מַה** in very rare cases only). On the other hand **מָה** stands also occasionally before letters that are not guttural, as **מָה קוֹל יְגִוִּי** *what voice, etc.?* 1 Sam. 4, 6, 2 K. 1, 7, but only when the tone of the clause is far removed from the word; moreover, in the form **בְּמַה**, **בְּמַה** (see under **מָה** in the Heb. Lexicon).

2. Both **מִי** and **מָה** occur also as indefinite pronouns, in the sense of *whoever*, *whatever*; see § 137, 3.

CHAPTER II.

THE VERB.

§ 38.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. The verb is, in the Hebrew, the most elaborated part of speech as to inflection, and also the most important, inasmuch as it mostly contains the *word-stem* (§ 30), and its various modifications are, to a great extent, the basis for the forms of the other parts of speech.

2. Verbal stems are either original or derived. They may be divided, in respect to their origin, into three classes,—

- a) *Primitives*, representing the simple stem, e. g. מֶלֶךְ *to reign*.
- b) *Verbal derivatives*, those derived from *primitives*, e. g. צָדַק *to justify*, הִצְטַדֵּק *to justify one's self*, from צָדַק *to be just*; usually called *conjugations* (§ 39).
- c) *Denominatives*, those derived from nouns (both primitive and derivative), e. g. אָהַל and אָהַל *to pitch a tent*, from אֹהֶל *tent*; הִשְׁרִישׁ *to take root* and שָׁרַשׁ *to root out*, from שָׁרֵשׁ *a root*.

The noun, from which the denominative verb comes, is in most cases itself derivative; though the meaning shows that the orig. stem is nominal and not verbal, e. g. לָבָן *to be white*, hence לִבְנָה *a brick*, and hence again לָבַן *to make bricks*; from הִנָּה *to be prolific* comes דָּג *a fish*, and hence again דָּגַג *to fish*.

§ 39.

1. The 3d person singular of the *Perfect*, in the simple form of the primitive verbs (i. e. in Qāl, see No. 4) is generally regarded as the stem or ground-form of the verb, as קָטַל *he*

has killed, *הָרַג* *he was heavy*, *הָקַטַּן* *he was little*.¹ From this are derived the other persons of the Perfect, and also the *Participle*. Another stem-form, more simple still, is the *Infinitive*, as *קָטַל*, also *קָטַל*, with which the *Imperative* and the *Imperfect* (see § 47) connect themselves.

Both groundforms contain the idea of a noun (§ 44, 1) and both have therefore this analogy in noun forms. More closely considered the second ground-form, which is generally monosyllabic (Arab. *qātl*, *qātl*, *qūtl*) may be called the abstract, and the first, consisting of two syllables (Arab. *qātālā*, *qātīlā*, *qātūlā*), the concrete. The same analogy prevails in the division of nouns into abstract and concrete.

In verbs whose second radical is *י*, the full stem appears only in the Infinitive form which is accordingly adopted to represent the verb; e. g. Inf. *שָׁיב* *to turn*, of which the 3d person Perf. is *שָׁב* *he turned*; also most stems with middle *י*, e. g. *דָּיַן* *to judge*.

2. From the simple form of the primitives, viz., *Qāl*, are formed, according to an *unvarying analogy* in all verbs, the *verbal derivatives*, each distinguished by a specific change in the form of the stem, with a corresponding definite change in its signification (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative; reflexive, reciprocal, partly with corresponding passive forms); e. g. *לָמַד* *to learn*, *לָמַד* *to cause to learn, to teach*; *שָׁבַב* *to lie*, *הִשְׁבִּיב* *to cause to lie, to lay*; *שָׁפַט* *to judge*, *נִשְׁפָּט* *to contend in judgment, to litigate*. In other languages such words are regarded as new, *derivative verbs*, e. g. G. *fallen*, *fällen* = E. *to fall, to fell*, G. *trinken*, *tränken* = E. *drink, drench*, L. *lactāre* (*to suck*), *lactāre* (*to give suck*); *jacēre* (*to throw*), *jacēre* (*to lie down*); *ῥίνομαι*, *ρεννάω*. But in Hebrew, where these formations are incomparably more regular than (e. g.) in the German, Latin and Greek, they are usually called, since the time of Reuchlin, *conjugations*² (the Heb. grammarians call them *בְּנֵי יָם* i. e. *formations*, more correctly *species*) of the primitive form, and both in the grammar and lexicon are always treated of in connection, as parts of the same verb.

¹ For brevity's sake the sense of the Heb. stem is expressed in the Infinitive, in most of our grammars and lexicons, thus *לָמַד* *to learn*, prop. *he has learned*.

² The term *conjugation* must therefore be taken here in a totally different sense from what it bears in Greek and Latin grammar.

3. The changes of the primitive form consist partly in varying its vowels, and doubling the middle consonant (קָטַל, קָטַל; קוּטַל, קוּטַל); comp. G. *liegen, legen; fallen, fällen*. E. *to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell*; partly in the repetition of one or two stem consonants קָטַל, קָטַל and finally in the addition of formative letters or syllables (נִקְטַל, comp. E. *to speak, to bespeak; to count, to recount; to bid, to forbid*), to which sometimes the first is united, as הִתְקַטַּל. Comp. § 31, 2.

In the Aramæan this is effected less by the change of vowels than by the addition of formative syllables; so that, for instance, all the passives are formed as reflexives by the prefix syllable אָח, אָח. The Arabic is rich in both methods, while the Hebrew holds also here the middle place (§ 1, 6).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number* and *arrangement* of these so-called conjugations. The common practice, however, of giving to them still the old technical designations, prevents any error. The simple form is called *Qāl* (קָל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (נִבְרִים *heavy*, because weighted as it were with formative additions) take their names from the Paradigm (or pattern) used by the old Jewish grammarians, viz. פָּעַל *he has done*.¹ Several of them have passives which distinguish themselves from their actives by more obscure vowels. The most common conjugations (including *Qāl* and the passives) are the *seven* following; but only a few verbs exhibit them all:—

	Active.	Passive.
1. Qāl,	קָטַל <i>to kill</i> .	(wanting)
2. Niph'āl,	נִקְטַל <i>to kill one's self; also passive</i> . ²	

¹ This verb, on account of the guttural which it contains, is unsuitable for a Paradigm, and has been exchanged by some for פָּעַל, which has this advantage, that all its conjugations are actually in use in the Old Testament. but the disadvantage, that there is some indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, as in פָּעַל, פָּעַל. The Paradigm קָטַל, in common use since the time of Danz, obviates this inconvenience, and is especially adapted to the comparative treatment of the Semitic languages, inasmuch as it is found with a slight change (Arab. and Ethiop. קָח) in them all. In Hebrew, it is true, it occurs only a few times in *Qāl*, and that only in poetry; yet it may be retained as a *type* or model sanctioned by usage.

² Comp. § 51, 2 d.

*Active.**Passive.*

- | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 3. Pí'ē'l, | קָטַל to massacre. | 4. Pū'ā'l, | קָטַל. |
| 5. Hīph'ī'l, | הִקְטִיל to cause to kill. | 6. Hōph'ā'l, | הִקְטַל. |
| 7. Hīthpā'ē'l, | הִתְקַטַּל to kill one's self. | (Hōthpā'ā'l, | הִתְקַטַּל.) |

There are *several other less frequent* conjugations, of which some, however, are more common than these in the kindred languages; and in the weak (see § 41) or irregular verb in Hebrew they sometimes take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55).

In Arabic there is a greater variety of forms, and their arrangement is more appropriate. Arranged after the Arabic manner, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus:—1. *Qāl*. 2. *Pí'ē'l* and *Pū'ā'l*. 3. *Pō'ē'l* and *Pō'a'l* (§ 55, 1). 4. *Hīph'ī'l* and *Hōph'ā'l*. 5. *Hīthpā'ē'l* and *Hōthpā'ā'l*. 6. *Hīthpō'ē'l* (§ 55, 1). 7. *Nīph'ā'l*. 8. *Hīthpā'ē'l* (§ 54, Rem. 2). 9. *Pīl'ēl* (§ 55, 2). The more appropriate division is into *three* classes:—1. The intensive *Pí'ē'l*, with the analogous form *Hīthpā'ē'l*;—2. The causative *Hīph'ī'l*, and its analogous forms *Shāph'ē'l*, *Tīph'ē'l*;—3. The reflexive and passive *Nīph'ā'l*.

§ 40.

1. It is chiefly from these *conjugations* or derivative forms, that the Hebrew verb obtains a certain affluence and compass. In *moods* and *tenses* however it is poor, having only two tenses, the *Perfect* (or *Preterite*) and the *Imperfect* (or *Future*),¹ besides an *Imperative*, (active) an *Infinitive* (with two forms), and a *Participle*. All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms alone (hence the diversity in the senses of the same form, §§ 106–112), or by syntactical combination. The *Jussive* and the *Optative* are partly indicated by expressive modifications of the *Imperfect* (see § 48).

¹ The terms *Preterite* and *Future* formerly used to designate the relations of tense in the Hebrew verb are manifestly inadequate to convey a just view of the Semitic idea of time, and are therefore replaced in this grammar by the terms *Perfect* and *Imperfect*. These latter designations, however, must be taken in a much more comprehensive sense than is attached to them by English or classical grammarians. Comp. note¹ to § 47 (p. 118) and §§ 106–112.—ED.

2. In the *inflection* of the Perf. and Impf. as to the persons, the Hebrew differs from the Western languages, since it has distinct forms for both *genders* (in most instances), *just as in the personal pronoun, by whose incorporation with the verb-stem the personal inflection of these tenses is formed.*

As a preliminary view for the beginner, we exhibit here in a Table the formative syllables (*affirmatives* and *preformatives*) of both tenses. Fuller information concerning them will be found in §§ 44—47, in connection with the Paradigms.

Perfect.

<i>Sing.</i>				<i>Plur.</i>			
3 m.	.	.	.	3 c.	וְ	.	.
3 f.	הָ	.	.				
2 m.	תָּ	.	.	2 m.	תֶּם	.	.
2 f.	תְּ	.	.	2 f.	תֶּן	.	.
1 c.	תִּ	.	.	1 c.	נָה	.	.

Imperfect.

<i>Sing.</i>				<i>Plur.</i>			
3 m.	.	.	י	3 m.	וְ	.	י
3 f.	.	.	תְּ	3 f.	נָה	.	תְּ
2 m.	.	.	תְּ	2 m.	וְ	.	תְּ
2 f.	וְ	.	תְּ	2 f.	נָה	.	תְּ
1 c.	.	.	א	1 c.	.	.	נ

§ 41.

The general analogy in the inflection of verbs, which is normally exhibited in the stems with strong and firm consonants, holds good for all verbs; and the deviations which occur from this model of the *strong* or *regular verb*, are only modifications owing to the peculiar nature and the feebleness of many consonants, viz. —

- a) When one of the stem-letters or radicals is a guttural, which occasions various vowel (not consonant) changes, according to § 22 (*guttural verb*, §§ 62—65).

- b) When a stem-letter disappears by assimilation (§ 19, 2) or contraction (*contracted verb*, §§ 66, 67), as in **קָטַב, נָגַשׁ**.
- c) When one of the radicals is a feeble letter (§§ 23, 24), so that many changes appear through its commutation, omission or quiescence (*quiescent or feeble verb*, §§ 68—75), as in **נָלַה, מָצָא, קִים, רָשַׁב**.

NB. The letters of the old Paradigm **פָּעַל** are used in naming the letters of the stem, ■ denoting the first radical, פ the second, and ל the third. Hence the expressions, *verb פ"א* for a verb whose first radical is א (*primæ radicalis* א); *verb פ"ה* for one whose third radical is ה (*tertiæ radicalis* ה); *verb פ"י* for one whose second letter is י (*mediæ radicalis*); *verb פ"ע* (פ doubled) for one whose second and third radicals are the same (*mediæ radicalis geminatæ*).

I. THE STRONG VERB.

Paradigm B.

E. G. **רָצַח** to kill, **כָּבֵד** to be heavy, **קָטַן** to be small.

§ 42.

As the rules for the inflection of the strong or regular verb apply, with only occasional modifications, to all the weak or irregular verbs, it will be most convenient, and at the same time set the subject in the clearest light to the learner, if while treating of the former, we present whatever belongs to the general analogy of the verb.

Paradigm B (together with the above Table of the formative syllables in § 40, 2) exhibits a complete view of the usual and normal forms. Full explanations are given in the following paragraphs (§§ 43—55), where every subject is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus, under *Qāl* the inflections of the *Perfect*, and of the *Imperfect* with its modifications, are minutely explained with reference also to the other conjugations; and under the strong verb are given the forms and significations of conjugations which apply also to the weak, etc.

A. THE PURE STEM, OR QĀL.

§ 43.

ITS FORM AND SIGNIFICATION.

The common form of the 3d person *Perf.* in *Qāl* is **קָטַל**, with a short *ä* (*Päthäch*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive* verbs. There is also a form with *ē* (*Šé're*), and

another with *ō* (*Chō'lēm*), in the second syllable; the two latter are usually found with *intransitive* meaning, and serve for expressing states and qualities, e. g. כָּבֵד *to be heavy*, קָטַן *to be small*. Sometimes the transitive meaning is distinguished from the intransitive of the same stem by the aid of vocalization, as מָלֵא *to fill* (Est. 7, 5), מֵלֵא *to be full* (comp. § 47, Rem. 2); but also with the same (intrans.) sense for both forms, as קָרַב and קָרַב *to approach*.

In Paradigm B a verb *middle A*, a verb *middle E* and a verb *middle O* are given side by side. The second example כָּבֵד shows, at the same time, the effect of inflection in the setting of *Dāghē'sh lenè*.

Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal one, and hence the distinction between the transitive and intransitive¹ meaning depends on it. The *Qā'mēš* of the first syllable is lengthened from original *ā* (comp. Arab. *qātālā*) but it can be maintained in Hebrew only before the tone,—or at most with the secondary tone or *Mèthēgh*—; in other places, like all so-called pretonic vowels (*ā*, *ē*) it becomes vocal *Sh'wā* on the shifting of the tone, as קָטַן. In Aramæan it wholly disappears in the root itself, as קָטַן=Heb. קָטַן.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in Qāl:—חָמַר *to cover with pitch*, from חָמַר *pitch*; מָלַח *to salt*, from מָלַח *salt*, v. § 38, 2, c.

§ 44.

PERFECT OF QĀL AND ITS INFLECTION.

1. The inflection of the Perfect, in respect to person, number and gender, is effected by the addition of fragments of the personal pronouns and signs of 3 fem. sing. and 3 pl. (*affirmatives*) to the end of the ground-form, which expresses the predicate idea. In explaining this connection, we may treat the ground-form as a *participle*² or a *verbal adjective*, but ex-

¹ The intransitive forms are in Arabic *qātūlā*, *qātūlā*; consequently, in Hebrew (after rejecting the closing vowel) י in the accented syllable is regularly lengthened to *ē*, *ū* to *ō*.

² On the intimate connection between the Perfect and the Participle or verbal adjective, see what has been already said in § 39, 1. In intransitive verbs they have the same form, as מָלַח *he was full*, and *full*; קָטַן *he was small*, and *small*. In transitive verbs the participle presents, indeed, a different form (קָטַן), but yet with מָלַח may be compared the nominal form מָלַח, though generally it is expressive of quality, as חָכָם *wise*, זָהָב *gold* (§ 84, 1).

pressing by itself the 3d pers. sing. masc. Perfect; as קָטַל *he has killed*, קָטַלְתָּ *thou hast killed* (as it were *killing-thou*, or *killer-thou*, a killer wast thou, קָטַל אַתָּה), יָרָא *he was fearing*, יָרָאוּ *fearing were ye* (for (יָרָא אַתֶּם)). In the second pers. sing. and pl. this is readily seen as well as in קָטַלְנוּ *we have killed* for קָטַל אָנֹכִי. In the first person sing. קָטַלְתִּי *we have* תִּי, which probably by virtue of an exchange of כ for ת (comp. § 33, 3) has come directly from אָנֹכִי.¹ In the third person, ה— (originally ת—, comp. Rem. 4) is a mark of the feminine (as in the noun § 80, 2), and ו (orig. וָ, as still in Deut. 8, 3, 16, Is. 26, 16; comp. *ûnā* as termination of the masc. pl. of nouns in written Arabic) is ■ sign of the plural.

In the Indo-Germanic tongues, the personal inflections originated in the same manner, by appending pronominal forms, as is shown in Sanscrit and Greek; e. g. from the stem, *as* (to be) Sans. *asmi*, εἰμὶ, Doric ἐμῆ (for ἐσῆμῆ) I am, where the ending μῆ belongs to μοί and μέ; Sans. *asi*, Dor. ἐσσί thou art, where σι is identical with σύ; Sans. *asti*, ἐστί he is, where τί answers to the pronoun τό, etc.

2. The characteristic *Pǎthäch* of the second syllable becomes *Shewá* before an affirmative beginning with a vowel, because it then would stand in an open syllable (thus קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; but in pause קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ).¹ Before an affirmative beginning with a consonant, the *Pǎthäch* remains in the tone syllable (קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; in pause קָטַלְתָּ etc.) as well as before it. In the latter case however the *Qǎmēs* of the first syllable, standing no longer before the tone, is reduced to *Shewá*, thus: קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; comp. § 27, 3 and § 43, Rem. 1.

Rem. 1. Verbs *middle E*, falling back in their inflection to the type of verbs *middle A*, generally lose in Heb. as in Ethiopic (but not in Arabic and Aramaic), the *E* sound, which passes over into *Pǎthäch*, as the Paradigm shows. This tendency comes from the laws

¹ That here instead of the usual lengthening of the *ǎ* before the accent, a still further attenuation takes place is to be explained, according to *Praetorius* (in *Stade's Zeitschr.*, 1883, p. 21), only by the fact that the accent originally rested on the antepenult; cf. Arab. *qátalat*, *qátalu*.

of vocalisation of the accented closed penult, which does not easily take *Sērê*, and not at all the *Chî'rêq* shortened from *Sērê*. The original *E* appears, however, in open syllable; regularly so in the feeble stems ל"א (§ 74, Rem. 1); in strong stems only in *pause*, e. g. שֶׁבַע *she cleaves* (not שֶׁבַע, Job 29, 10; comp. 2 Sam. 1, 23, Job 41, 15; even in a *closed* pausal syllable, e. g. שֶׁבַע Deut. 33, 12 (but שֶׁבַע without the pause Is. 32, 16).

2. In some feeble stems *middle A*, the *ă* under the second radical sometimes passes over into (—), in one example also into (—), when the syllable is closed and toneless. Thus שָׁאַלְתִּי *I have asked him* 1 Sam. 1, 20, שָׁאַלְתֶּם *ye have asked* 1 Sam. 12, 13; 25, 5; Job 21, 29; שָׂרַשְׁתֶּם *ye possess* Deut. 4, 1, 22; וִירַשְׁתָּה Deut. 17, 4; וִירַשְׁתֶּם Deut. 19, 1; וְיִלְדִיתִיךָ *I have begotten thee* Ps. 2, 7 (comp. Num. 11, 12, Jer. 2, 27, 15, 10); וַיַּשְׁתֵּם Mal. 3, 20. The *š* in these forms may be simply an attenuated *ă* (§ 27, Rem. 2, 3), which is also favored by the following sibilant or labial and esp. sustained by the consimilation of the vowels; but see § 64, Rem. 1, § 69, Rem. 4 and Davies' Heb. Lex. on a secondary form *Med. E*.

3. In verbs *middle O*, Chô'lêm is retained in the inflection where it has the tone, as תָּרַחְתָּ *thou hast trembled*, רָכַלְתָּ in *pause* for יָכַלְתָּ *they could*. But when the tone is thrown forward, Chô'lêm becomes Qâ'mêš-châ'tû'ph, as יָכַלְתִּי *I have prevailed over him* Ps. 13, 5, וְיָכַלְתָּ (see § 49, 3) *and thou wilt be able* Ex. 18, 23.

4. Uncommon forms:¹ *Sing. 3. fem.* in ת— (as in Arab., Ethiop., Aram.), e. g. אָזְלָת *it has gone* Deut. 32, 36. Before suffixes this is the prevailing form (§ 59, 1, a); so with stems ל"ה partly in the form ת— (as often w. verbs ל"א § 74, Rem. 1) partly with disapp. of — bef. the pleon. ending ת—, e. g. גָּלְתָה § 75, Rem. 1.—In Ez. 31, 5 גָּבְהָה acc. to Aram. orthog. for גָּבְהָה.—2. *masc.* תָּח (differing only orthographically) for תָּה, as תָּבַחְתָּ *thou hast been unfaithful* Mal. 2, 14; comp. Gen. 3, 12.—2. *fem.* sometimes has still ■ Yôdh at the end, especially in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as תָּלַכְתִּי Jer. 31, 21 (which really means תָּלַכְתִּי pointed as if without י, cf. אָחָה in § 32, Rem. 4). Thus we have the form תָּלַכְתִּי always before suffixes (§ 59, 1, c).—1. *com.* sometimes without Yôdh, as יָדַעְתָּ in Ps. 140, 13, Job 42, 2, 1 K. 8, 48, Ezek. 16, 59. This, however, is found only in the K'thîbh and is probably only a curtailed form anal. w. 2. fem. קָטַלְתָּ (comp. Aram. 1st pers. קָטַלְתִּי); the Q'rê has the full form.—*Plur. 2. fem.* תָּה (according to others תָּה) Amos 4, 3 (as תָּה follows it may be merely *dittography*; but cf. אָחָה § 32, Rem. 5).—3. *com.* 3 times with the old plural ending תָּ (but often in Aram. and Samar.), as יָדְעוּ *they know* Deut. 8, 3, 16 (probably to avoid a hiatus) and Is. 26, 16, or with a superfluous א (according to Arabic orthography

¹ Almost all these forms, which in Hebrew are infrequent, are the usual ones in the kindred dialects, and they may be called Aramaisms, Syriasms, and Arabisms. It should be understood however that they have not been taken from these dialects but merely indicate a return to more original forms.

§ 23, 3, Rem. 3), as **הִלְכִּי־נָא** Josh. 10, 24, Is. 28, 12. For the Impf. with **וְ** see § 47, Rem. 4.

5. With the affirmatives **וְ** (וְ), **וְ** (וְ), **וְ** (וְ), which are generally unaccented the word is *Mil'êl* (e. g. **הִלְכִּי־נָא**); with the others it is *Milra'* (§ 15, 2). The place of the tone is shifted,—a) by the *pause* (§ 29, 4), where it is moved backwards, and at the same time the vowel of the second syllable, if it has become a *Shewâ* (—), is restored, as **הִלְכִּי־נָא** for **הִלְכִּי־נָא** (**הִלְכִּי־נָא** f. **הִלְכִּי־נָא**), **הִלְכִּי־נָא** for **הִלְכִּי־נָא** (**הִלְכִּי־נָא** f. **הִלְכִּי־נָא**);—b) in certain cases after *Waw consecutive of the Perfect* (see § 49, 3).

6. Contraction of a final **וְ** with the affirmative **וְ** takes place e. g. in **וְ** Hag. 2, 5; of a final **וְ** with the affirmative **וְ** in **וְ** Gen. 34, 16, etc.; with the affirmative **וְ** in *Imperfect Qāl* Ezek. 17, 23; Pī'el Ps. 71, 23, etc., etc.

§ 45.

THE INFINITIVE OF QĀL.

1. The Infinitive, strictly a verbal substantive, has two forms, a shorter and a longer. The shorter form (*Infinitive construct*), in *Qāl* **קָטַל**, is used in various ways, partly in connection with the pronominal suffixes, and as governing the genitive as well as the accusative of the object (§ 114), partly in connection with prepositions before it, as **לְקָטַל** for *to kill* (§ 114, 2) and finally in dependence upon substantives (as genitive) or upon verbs (as accusative of the object). The longer form (*Infinitive absolute*), in *Qāl* **קָטַל**, is limited to the expression of the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently, when added to a finite verb of the same stem, as an adverbial accusative (see § 113).

To the flexibility and variety in the uses of the Infin. constr. and the inflexibility of the Infin. absolute corresponds also their vocalisation. The latter has *Chô'lêm* unchangeable, but the former has *Chô'lêm* changeable (hence with suff. **קָטַלִּי** *qôtlî*).

Besides **קָטַל**, the Infin. Qāl has also the following unusual forms:—

- a) **קָטַל**, e. g. **שָׁכַב** to lie down Gen. 34, 7, **שָׁפַל** to sink Ec. 12, 4 especially with verbs which have *ā* in the second syllable of the imperfect or with those whose second or third stem consonant is a guttural (frequently in addition to the usual form). Before suffixes the form **קָטַל** becomes **קָטַל** or by attenuating *ā* into *ī* **קָטַל**, e. g. **בָּלַעִי** Job 7, 19.

- b) קָטְלָהּ and, attenuated from it, קָטְלָהּ; קָטְלָהּ and קָטְלָהּ (feminine forms from קָטַל and קָטַל mostly used with intransitive verbs and partly beside forms without feminine-endings); as אֶשְׁמָה to trespass, שָׂנְאָה to hate, קָרְבָּהּ to approach Ex. 36, 2, חֲמָלָהּ to pity Ez. 16, 5. But see Gen. 19, 16 חֲמָלָהּ (orig. *ā* inflected into *ē*); comp. also Is. 8, 11.

These rare forms are more in use as *verbal nouns* (§ 84, Nos. 10, 11, 14).

- c) The form of the Aramaic *Infinitive Qāl* also occurs in מְנַרֵּשׁ drive out Ezek. 36, 5 מְשַׁלֵּחַ send Esth. 9, 19; מְקַרָּא call and מְפַסַּע break up Num. 10, 2 (Deut. 10, 11, etc.; also with fem. ending מְעַלָּה Ezra 7, 9. Cf. on these forms *Ryssel*, de Elohistaie Pentateuchici Sermone, p. 50.

2. A sort of *Gerund* is formed in Hebrew by the *Infin. constr.* with the preposition לְ, as לְקָטַל (for to kill) *interficiendo*, *ad interficiendum*, לְנָפַל (for to fall) *ad cadendum* (cf. § 28, 1).

The לְ is here so closely connected, that it constitutes part of the grammatical form, as appears from the syllable-division and the use of *Dāghē'sh lenè*, viz., לְנָפַל *lin-pōl* (§ 28, 1), so probably also *liq-ṭōl*. On the contrary, בְּנָפַל *bin^ephōl* Job 4, 13, כְּנָפַל *kin^ephōl* 2 Sam. 3, 34, where the prepositions בְּ and כְּ are conceived to be less closely connected with the Infinitive; and by way of exception it is so also with לְ, as לְחַוֵּץ וּלְיָחוּץ Jer. 1, 10. לְשָׂדֹר 47, 4 and according to some לְסָבַב Num. 21, 4.

§ 46.

THE IMPERATIVE OF QĀL.

1. The groundform of the Imperative קָטַל (קָטַל) is consonant with the infin. construct and lies also at the basis of the Imperfect (§ 47). It expresses only the *second* person, but has forms for the feminine and the plural. For the *third* person it has no distinct form (see § 110, Rem. 1), but this is expressed by the Imperfect as the jussive form (§ 109, 1, a), and even the second person must be expressed by the jussive form, when a negative precedes, as אַל תִּקְטַל (not קָטַל) kill thou not, Lat. *ne occidas*, see § 109, 1, b. The proper passive conjugations have no Imperative, but the reflexive Niph'al and Hithpā'el have.

2. The inflection of the 2d Sing. fem. and the 2d pl. masc. is quite similar to that of the Imperfect, and it will be understood from the explanations given below in § 47, 2. Like the Imperfect, the Imperative Masc. Sing. also has a lengthened

and a shortened form, the first after the manner of the cohortative (הָ— paragog.), the second after the analogy of the jussive (see § 48, 5).

Rem. 1. Besides the form קָטַל (also קָטַל; before *Māqqē'ph* -קָטַל), there is also one with *Pā'thāch*, for verbs middle *E* and also for a number of intransitive verbs which have *ā* in the perfect, as שָׁכַב *lie thou down* as in the *Inf.* and *Impf.* 1 Sam. 3, 5; in *pause* שָׁכַב. See the Paradigm.

2. Now and then there is found in the first syllable of the feminine sing. and masc. plural (which have the *Shewā vocal*, as *qīt'elū*, *qīt'elū*; therefore שָׁפַר, without a *Dāghē'sh lenē*; comp. however אָפַר Jer. 10, 17, and in the same combination הָשַׁפַּר Is. 47, 2) an *ō* (*Qā'mēṣ-chātūph*) instead of the *ī*, as מָשְׁכוּ *draw ye* Ez. 32, 20, מָלְכִי *reign thou (fem.)* Judg 9, 10. This throwing back of original *ū* of the 2d syllable (for *ō* is inflected from *u*) would be really according to rule, and the forms with *ī* are merely an attenuation of the characteristic vowel. In *pause* we get מָוֹרִי 1 K. 3, 26; from שָׁמַע=שָׁמַע etc., likewise from 2. sing. fem. in *Pause* עָבַדְרִי Is. 23, 12 (even outside of *pause* קָסוּמִי 1 Sam. 28, 8 in *Kethibh*); from שָׁמַח=שָׁמַח Joel 2, 21.

3. In the form קָטַלְהָ, the הָ— is at times dropped, and then a helping vowel is introduced, as in שָׁמַעְנָה *hear ye (fem.)* for שָׁמַעְנָה Gen. 4, 23. The anomalous קָרָאְנָה *call ye (fem.)* for קָרָאְנָה Ex. 2, 20 ought perhaps to be read קָרָאְנָה, as it is in Ruth 1, 20.

§ 47.

THE IMPERFECT OF QAL AND ITS INFLECTION.¹

1. Fragments of the personal pronoun are employed in the inflection of the Imperfect as well as of the Perfect; but

¹ The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct opposition to *Perfect*; and therefore in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Heb. (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes, in general, the *concluded*, *ended* and *past*, what is come to pass or is gone into effect; but at the same time, that which is *represented* as completed, whether extending still into the present, or in reality yet future. The *Imperfect*, on the contrary, denotes the *incoming*, *unfinished* and *continuing*, that which is being done, or coming to pass, and is future; but also that which is repeated or in connected sequence in past time (the Latin Imperfect). From the above it is manifest that the formerly used designation of the *Impf.* as *Future* expresses only a part of the idea. Altogether the transfer of the names of Indo-Germanic tenses to the Semitic tenses (carried out under the influence of Greek grammarians by the Syrian, Arabic and afterward the Hebrew scholars, following their example) has created a great many misconceptions. To the Semitic idea of time which knows only the complete and the incomplete, the indo-germanic division into three *tempora* (past

in the Imperfect these fragments are *pre-fixed* (*preformatives*) to the stem in the abstract or Inf. form (קטל), as however the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the stem form, or passes over (2 fem. sing. and 3 and 2 masc. pl.) to the affirmatives, these preformatives of the Imperfect, are much more curtailed than the affirmatives of the Perfect, so that in every case only one consonant remains (י, ת, א, נ). But as these are not always sufficient to mark, at the same time, the distinction of gender and of number, the defect is in some cases supplied by additions at the end. Comp. the Table in § 40, 2.

2. The derivation and signification of both the preformatives and the affirmatives, are still in most cases clear.

In the 1st pers. אקטל, plur. נקטל, א is an abbreviation of אני, : of נחני; and here no addition at the end was needed to mark the gender and number. As to vocalization, the Arab. points towards the groundforms 'äqtül and näqtül; the *i* of the 1. plur. is therefore attenuated from *a* (as in the other preformatives). The *Seghôl* of the 1. sing. may be explained from the predilection which the א has for this sound.¹

In the 2d pers. sing. the ת in תקטל (orig. form täqtül) is from אתה, the י in תקטלי is the sign of the feminine, as in אתי thou (feminine, see § 32, Rem. 4). In the 2d pers. plur. the ו (more fully וך, see Rem. 4 below) in ותקטלו is the sign of the plural as in the 3d person, and as already in the Perfect (§ 44, 1), but it is here appropriated to the *masculine*;²

present and future) is quite foreign.—This Semitic distinction of tenses shows itself in the mode of their formation. Thus, in the more objective Perfect, the verbal-stem precedes, and the designation of the person follows as some accessory idea; but in the Imperfect, the subject, from which the action proceeds or of which some state is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun. See more in the Syntax §§ 106 sq.

¹ According to *Kimchî* the *Seghôl* of the 1st sing. may be explained from the endeavor to avoid the conformity of sound in אקטל and יקטל, the latter being supposed to have been pronounced iqtöl.

² This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *ân, â*. It is true that in the Perf. the Hebrew employs it for both genders; but in the kindred tongues, it stands even in the Perf. for the masculine alone: as in Syriac, mas. qetalûn, fem. qetalên; in Arabic, mas. qätälû, fem. qätälünâ; in Eth. qätälû, qätälâ.

while נָה (for which also נָ) in תִּקְטְלֶנָּה is the sign of the 2d and 3d pers. plural *feminine* and either points towards an old fem. pl. ending (in Aramaic תִּקְטְלֶנָּה) or is borrowed from תִּקְטְלֶנָּה *they* or *those* (*fem.*), and אַתְּנָה *you* (*fem.*).

In the 3d person the preformatives (י in the masc. יִקְטֹל,¹ Grdf. *yāqtûl*, plur. יִקְטְלוּ, Grdf. *yāqtûlû*; ת in *fem.* תִּקְטֹל, plur. תִּקְטְלֶנָּה), have not yet found a satisfactory explanation. The ת is probably allied to the original feminine-ending תִּ— of nouns as well as of the 3 sing. fem. Perfect. For the affirmative ת (תָּ) and נָ see above.

3. The characteristic vowel of the 2d syllable becomes *Shewâ* before an accented affirmative beginning with a vowel, but is retained (in the tone-syllable) before the unaccented affirmative נָה. Therefore תִּקְטְלֶנָּה, יִקְטְלֶנָּה, תִּקְטְלֶנָּה (*pause* תִּקְטְלֶנָּה etc.), תִּקְטְלֶנָּה.

Rem. 1. The final *ō*, leng. from *û*, is only tone-long (§ 9, No. 10, 3), as in the *Infin. constr.* and *Imper.* Hence,—a) The examples in which it is written *fully*, though not rare, are to be regarded as exceptions;—b) Before *Māqqēph* it becomes *Qā'mēs-chātūph*, e. g. וַיִּכְתֹּב שָׁם and *he wrote there* Josh. 8, 32;—c) It becomes vocal *Shewâ* before the affirmatives תִּ— and תָּ (v. above No. 3). Quite anomalous are the three examples which have long תָּ instead of *Shewâ*: הָם יִשְׁפֹּטוּ Ex. 18, 26, immediately before the great pause, but according to *Qimchi* (ed. *Rittenb.* p. 18 b), contrary to our editions, with the tone in the ultima; in the same way הָם יִשְׁפֹּטוּ Ruth 2, 8; הָם יִשְׁפֹּטוּ (in great pause) Prov. 14, 3. In the two first cases perhaps יִשְׁפֹּטוּ and תִּשְׁפֹּטוּ (for יִשְׁפֹּטוּ etc.) were intended, by virtue of a retraction of the pause, whilst תָּ Prov. 14, 3 could only be explained as a vocal equivalent for תִּ— (comp. e. g. Ez. 35, 6). In the few instances in which it remains before these affirmatives, the pointing becomes תָּ, because it stands close before the pause, e. g. הָם יִשְׁפֹּטוּ *yīsh-pū'tû* (*they were judging*) Ex. 18, 26, Ruth 2, 8, comp. Prov. 14, 3.

2. This *Chōlēm* is confined almost exclusively to verbs *middle A*, like קָטַל. *Intransitive* verbs (*middle E* and *O*) take *ā* (*Pō'thäch*) in the Impf., as הָרַב to be great, הָקַטַּן; הָקַטַּן to be small, הָקַטַּן. Sometimes

¹ The usual derivation of the י from the י of the pronoun הוּא, analogous to יָשַׁב from יָשַׁב (§ 69) has little in its favor, nor does it explain the י preformative of the plural. *Rödiger* supposed that formerly a corresponding pronoun of the third person (*ya?*) may have existed, and compared with it the Amharic *yēh* (this) and *ya* (who), on the supposition that this is old Semitic. The fact that in the Arabic and West. Aram. *Yōdh* stands also as preformative of the 3d pl. fem., at all events, deserves consideration (v. below, Rem. 3).

both forms exist together; the Impf. with *ō* is then transitive, and that with *ā* intransitive; e. g. יִקְצֹר *he will cut off, will reap*; יִקְצַר *he will be cut off*; i. e. will be short. So also הִלְיֹשׁ, Impf. *ō*, to subdue Ex. 17, 13, Impf. *ā*, to be subdued Job 14, 10. More seldom both occur without any difference in signification; e. g. יִשֹּׁךְ and יִשְׁךָ *he will bite*, יִחַפֵּץ and יִחַפֵּץ *he is inclined* (but. cf. Job 40, 17). In the irregular verbs פָּ"י and some שָׁ"י, a changeable *ē* (*Sere*) is also found in the final syllable (§ 68, 1; § 69, 1), besides only in יִתֵּן for יִתֶּן *he will give* (נָתַן). These three forms of the Impf. are called Imperfect *O*, Impf. *A*, Impf. *E*.

3. For the 3d plur. fem. הִקְטִילָהּ there occurs in three instances, as if to distinguish it from the 2d pers., the form הִקְטִילָהּ, as in West. Aram. Arabic, Ethiopic and Assyrian, e. g. יִצְמְדִנָּה *they shall arise* Dan. 8, 22; comp. Gen. 30, 38, 1 Sam. 6, 12. In several instances הִקְטִילָהּ seems to have been used improperly for the 3d pers. fem. or 2d masc. singular, as הִשְׁלַחָהּ (for which הִשְׁלַחָהּ ought probably to be read) Judg. 5, 26 and Obad. 13 (for 2 masc. sing., acc. to Olsh. mutil. fr. הִשְׁלַחָהּ); comp. Job 17, 16, Is. 28, 3.¹—In the Pentateuch (mostly נָ) occurs in place of הָ, especially after *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2); e. g. Ex. 1, 18, 19, 15, 20, in Arabic always *nā*. Acc. to Elias Levita הִלְבִּשְׁתָּהּ 2 Sam. 13, 18 is the only ex. of this kind in strong verbs.—Once occurs (Ezek. 16, 50) the anomalous form הִתְגַּבְּהִינָה with הִתְגַּבְּ—inserted, after the manner of verbs עָ"ע and עָ"י (§ 67, 4, § 72, 5); which Olshausen regards as a blunder, caused by the following form.

4. The plural forms ending in הִ appear also not unfrequently (but oftenest in the older books) with the fuller ending הִן, most commonly with obvious stress on the word at the end of a period or clause, where the vowel of the second syllable is then retained, as יִלְבְּשׁוּן *they gather* Ps. 104, 28, יִרְגְּזוּן *they tremble* Ex. 15, 14, יִשְׁמְעוּן *ye shall hear* Deut. 1, 17. But it is not confined to this position; see e. g. Ps. 11, 2 יִדְרֹכוּן קִשְׁתָּהּ (comp. 4, 3, Gen. 18, 28, 29, 30—32, Is. 8, 12, 1 Sam. 9, 13). In the last example and perhaps in some others, euphonic reasons may have cooperated. But the preference for this form at the end of a clause or sentence is clearly seen in Is. 26, 11 יִחוּזוּן יִחוּזוּ וְיִבוֹשׁוּ *they see not; may they see and be ashamed*. This holds also for the corresponding forms of the Imperfect of the derived conjugations.² This original ending הִן is the common one in Aramæan and Arabic (Old Arab. *ūnā*); yet in vulgar Arabic it is likewise shortened. Of the Impf. with א appended, (following the Arabic orthography § 44 Rem. 4) יִשְׁתִּי Jer.

¹ By this small number of examples we are hardly justified in taking them as remainders of an emphatic imperf. form (anal. to the *Modus energicus I* with the ending *ānnā* in Arabic).

² It is worthy of remark, that the Chronicles often omit the *Nūn* where it stands in the books of Kings; see 1 K. 8, 38, 43; comp. 2 Chr. 6, 29, 33.—1 K. 12, 24, 2 K. 11, 5; comp. 2 Ch. 9, 4, 23, 4.

10, 5 is the only example (but this may stand by erroneous metathesis for יִנְשֹׁאֵהוּ caused by the preceding נִשְׁוֹה).

5. In like manner תִּקְטֹלְךָ has a longer form with final ך, viz., תִּקְטֹלְךָךְ, which is also the common one in Aramæan and Arabic (old Arab. *inā*); yet in Hebr. chiefly as a fuller form in great *pause*, and almost everywhere with the retention of the vowel in the penult as תִּדְבַּרְךָךְ Ruth 2, 8, 21. See examples in 1 Sam. 1, 14, Ruth 3, 4, 18, Jer. 31, 22, Is. 45, 10.

6. On the restoration in *pause* of *ō* which had become *Shewā* in the forms תִּקְטֹלְךָ etc. v. above No. 3. In consonance with this also is the fact that the imperfects with *ā* restore this vowel in *pause* and, at the same time, lengthen it (as a tone vowel) into *ā* e. g. יִהְיֶה, תִּהְיֶה. This influence of the pausal tone extends itself even to the forms which have no affirmative, e. g. יִהְיֶה in *pause* יִהְיֶה; but the fuller forms in ך and ך— keep the tone on the last syllable (the vowels *ū* and *ī* in the closed *ultima* never allow the removal of the tone).

§ 48.

SHORTENING AND LENGTHENING OF THE IMPERFECT AND IMPERATIVE.

Jussive and Cohortative Forms.

1. Against the lack of specific forms to express the *relative Tenses* and the *Moods*, which is felt in the Hebrew and its kindred dialects, a small set-off is made by *changes* in the *form* of the Imperfect, to which changes a certain signification is either exclusively or principally attached.¹

2. We distinguish, accordingly, between the common form of the Imperfect and two others, viz., a *lengthened* form (with a *cohortative* force) and a *shortened* form (with a *jussive* force). The lengthened Imperfect, however, occurs only in the 1st person (with few exceptions), while its shortened form is mostly found only in the 2d and 3d persons, rarely also in the first (1 Sam. 14, 36). In Hebrew, however, for reasons of accentuation and vowel formation the Jussive could not always be orthographically distinguished from the common (*Indicative*) form of the Imperfect.

In classic Arabic the distinction is almost always clear. Besides the common Indicative *yāqtūlū*, it has—*a*) a Subjunctive, *yāqtūlū*;—*b*) a

¹ In the Perfect, the corresponding relations or modal senses are expressed only by the one common form, that stands also for the Indicative (§ 106, 4).

Jussive, *yăqtûl*; and—c) a doubled so-called *Modus energicus* of the Impf. *yăqtûlännä* and *yăqtûlän* (in pause *yăqtûlâ*), which latter answers to the Heb. Cohortative.

3. The characteristic of the *cohortative* is a long \bar{a} הַ—, attached to the 1st person, as in אֶקְטֹל from אָקַט; comp. the הַ— *directive* of the noun § 69, 2, a. It is found in all the conjugations and in all classes of strong and weak verbs (except in the *passives*), and the ending הַ— has the tone wherever it is taken by the affirmatives הַ and יִ—; hence it affects the final vowel in precisely the same manner as these do; e. g. in *Qāl* אֲשַׁמְרֶה *I will observe*, in *Pi'él* נִנְחֲמָה *let us break asunder* Ps. 2, 3; but the unchangeable vowel of the final syllable is retained before הַ—, as in *Hiph'il* אֲזַכֶּרְהָ *I will praise*. Finally (as before \bar{u} and \bar{i}) the vowel is restored in pause, as tone vowel; thus the cohortative אֲשַׁמְרֶה becomes in pause אֲשַׁמְרֶה (Ps. 59, 10).

Twice הַ— takes the place of הַ—, e. g. 1 Sam. 28, 15, and, with the 3d pers. Ps. 20, 4 (here in a syllable sharpened by *dag. forte conjunc.*). The הַ— is attached to the 3d person: Is. 5, 19 (twice); Ezek. 23, 20 (and afterward required v. 16 in *Qerê*), where, as also Prov. 1, 20 and 8, 3 it has no influence upon the signification. Probably Job 11, 17 also belongs here although אֲנִי־יָדָע may, with *Kimchi* be regarded as 2nd Masc. Quite anomalous is חֲבִיבִי־יָדָע Deut. 33, 16 (for חֲבִיבִי־יָדָע = חֲבִיבִי). It is not impossible that in some of the above named cases the הַ— may be a second (pleonastic) designation for the feminine, § 59, 1, a.

The *Cohortative* expresses *effort* and the *direction of the will to an action*; and accordingly it especially denotes *excitement of one's self, determination, wish* (as *Optative*), in the 1st Pl. also an exhortation of others, etc. (see § 108).

4. The *Jussive* form of the Impf. essentially rests on quicker pronunciation, united with a tendency of the accent towards the beginning of the word (in order, as it were, to emphasize the command immediately in the first syllable), so that it very often causes a shortening at the end. Yet elsewhere the jussive must be satisfied with the shortening of the vowel of the 2d syllable, without being able to withdraw from it the tone, and very frequently the nature of the form does not allow any change whatever, v. above No. 2. It is not impossible however that even in such a case the *Jussive* and *Indi-*

cative differed perceptibly in the tone of the living speech. So יִקְטֹל as Ind. means *he will kill*, but as Jussive *let him kill*. Where the shortening is orthographically indicated, will be shown in every case under the conjugations. In the strong verb it is confined, as a distinct form, to Hīph'il, as in Juss. יִקְטֹל, Ind. יִקְטִיל. It is found in Qāl and Hīph'il of verbs ע"ר, as Jussive יִמָּחַ and יִמָּחַ, Ind. יִמָּחַ and יִמָּחַ; and in all the conjugations of verbs ל"ה, where after the removal (*apocope*) of the ending ה— in Qāl and Hīph'il monosyllabic forms arise with or without a helping vowel under the 2d stem consonant (*Impf. apoc.*), e. g. Qāl, Ind. יִגָּל, Juss. יִגָּל; Hīph. Ind. יִגָּל, Juss. יִגָּל; but also in Pi'ēl יִצַּר from Indic. יִצְוָה. But in all cases the plural forms of the *Jussive* coincide with those of the Indicative, only that the ending ון cannot occur. Also the 2d pers. sing. fem. sounds the same in both, viz., תִּמְחָלִי, תִּמְחָלִי, etc., and so likewise all the singular and plural forms, when they have pronominal suffixes, e. g. תִּמְחָלִי as Indicative in Jer. 38, 15, as Jussive in Jer. 41, 8.

The force of this form is similar to that of the *Cohortative*, only that in Jussive the command or wish extends, with few exceptions, only to the 2d or 3d person. On particular uses of the Jussive, e. g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the first person), see § 109, 2.

5. The *Imperative*, as it is allied in form and meaning to the Imperfect, is also lengthened (by ה—) and shortened, in a manner perfectly analogous (compare the Arabic *Imperativus energicus*, with the ending -ānnā or -an, in pause -ā). The lengthened *Imp.* occurs, e. g. in Qāl of the strong verb, as שִׁמְרָה, שִׁמְרָה (*shöme-rā'* like קִשְׁלִי *qūšlī*, § 46, Rem. 2) *keep thou*; שִׁכְבָּה, שִׁכְבָּה *lie thou down*; the shortened *Imp.* in verbs ל"ה, as in Pi'ēl גַּל for גָּל. In Hīph'il the *i* of the 2d syll. is reduced to *ē*, when the syll. is closed e. g. הִקְטַל; but the *i* is retained in open syllables e. g. הִקְטִילִי (both cases exactly as in jussive). The force of these forms is not always so strongly marked as in the *Imperfect*. The longer form, however, is often emphatic, as קוּמָה *stand up*, קוּמָה *up!* תֵּן *give*, תֵּן *give!*

§ 49.

THE PERFECT AND THE IMPERFECT WITH WĀW CONSECUTIVE.

1. The use of the two tenses, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 106, 107; compare Note ¹, § 47), is by no means confined to the expression of the past and the future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the consecution of the Hebrew¹ tenses, is this; that in continued narrations of the past, only the first verb stands in the Perfect, the following ones being in the Imperfect; and on the contrary, in continued descriptions of the future, the first verb is in the Imperfect (Future), while the subsequent ones are in the Perfect. Thus in 2 K. 20, 1: *In those days Hezekiah sickened* (Perf.) *and Isaiah came* (Impf. רָאָה) *to him, and said* (Impf. יִאָמַר) *to him, etc.* Just the reverse in Is. 7, 17: *And the Lord will bring* (Impf. וְרָבִיא) *upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days, such as have not come since, etc.* v. 18 *And it will happen* (Perf. וְהָיָה) *on that day* This progress in the succession of time is generally indicated by the so-called *consecutive Wāw*,² which in itself, it is true, is but a variety of the usual copulative *Wāw*, but partly (in the impf.) appears with an unusual vocalization. Moreover the tenses compounded with the *consecutive Wāw* undergo in part a variation of tone and hence at times also other variations.

2. The *Wāw consecutive of the Imperfect* is—a) regularly prefixed with *Pä'thäch* and a *Dāghē'sh fortè* in the next letter,

¹ The other Semitic tongues have no trace of this construction, except that the Phœnician (the most closely related to the Hebrew), and of course the trans-jordanic Heb. (or Moabite) inscription of Mēsha' has it (see § 2, 2).

² This name expresses best the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *Wāw consec.* an action is always represented as a direct or at least temporal *sequence* of a preceding action. If whole books (Lev., Num., Josh., Judg., 1 and 2 Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with *impf. consec.*, others (Ex., 1 Kings, Ezra) with *Wāw copul.*, it is to establish a close connection with the historical books preceding them (now or originally). Compare on the other hand the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. Merely external is the formerly used designation as *Wāw conversive*, as changing the respective tenses into their opposites (acc. to the former conception, the *fut.* into *pret.* and *vice-versa*).

as וַיִּקְטֹל *and he killed*, but with *Qā'məš* before the **■** of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22, 1), as וָאֶקְטַל *and I killed* (the preform. וִ with *Dāgh. f.* omitted occurs in such cases as וַיִּדְבֵּר and וַיִּהְיֶה, see § 20, 3, *b*);—*b*) it takes a shortened form of the Imperfect, where possible (comp. § 48, 4), e. g. in *Hiph'il* וַיִּקְטֹל (§ 53, Rem. 4), and tends to remove the tone from the ultima even more than the jussive. With this removal is necessarily connected a decided shortening of the vowel of the 2d syllable which being closed is now toneless, as in וָקָם, Jussive וָקָם, with *Wāw consecutive* וָקָם *and he arose* (§ 67, Rem. 2 and 7, § 68, 1, § 69, Rem. 3, § 71, § 72, Rem. 4 and 7, § 73, Rem. 2).² But in the 1st pers., especially in the singular, the shifting back of the tone and even the reduction of long vowels in the 2d syllable (*ā* to *ō*, *i* to *ē*) is not usual,³ and the apocope in verbs וָלֹה occurs yet more seldom, e. g. always וָאָקָם (def. וָאָקָם) *and I arose*; *Hiph.* וָאָרָא; וָאָרָא *and I saw* (rather oftener than וָאָרָא). But on the contrary we oftener find, especially in the later books, the *Cohortative* form in וָהֻ used here, e. g. וָאָשַׁלְחָה *and I sent* Gen. 32, 6, Judg. 6, 9, 10, Ps. 3, 6, Neh. 2, 13, 5, 7, 8, 13, 6, 11, 13, 7–11. — See more in § 109.

NB. This וָ is in sense a strengthened *Wāw copulative* and resembles in its pronunciation the usual Arab. *copul.* (*wā*). The close connection of this *wā* with the following consonant caused in Hebrew the doubling of the latter, especially as *ā* could not stand in an open syllable; comp. וָלֹה (for וָלֹה), where the prepositions וָ, וָ, וָ are connected with וָהֻ in a similar way.

3. The counterpart of *Wāw consecutive of the Imperfect* is *Wāw consecutive of the Perfect*, by which the Perfects are

¹ Exceptions, according to *dikduke hate'amim*, are וָאָכַסְךָ Ezek. 16, 10; according to *Kimchi* 2 Sam. 1, 10 וָאָכַתְךָ.

² Also the plural forms in וָ occur more seldom after *Wāw consecutive*, but comp. וָיִרְבֵּן Judg. 8, 1; 11, 18; Am. 6, 3; Ez. 44, 8; Deut. 4, 11; 5, 20. The 2d fem. sing. in וָ never occurs after *Wāw consecutive*.

³ In the first person plural it is found without the reduction of the vowels only in Neh. 4, וָנִשְׁבַּח (cf. also וָנִשְׁבַּח, i. e. וָנִשְׁבַּח 4, 9 *Keth.* for which the *Qerē* has וָנִשְׁבַּח)—on the omission of the recession of the tone in the Imperfect *Niph'al* see § 51, Rem. 3.

placed as the future sequents of -actions or events conceived of as incomplete (therefore in Imperf., Imperat. or even Partic.). In form it is the usual *Wāw copulative* and therefore also shares its various vocalization (וְ, וּ, וֹ e. g. 2 K. 7, 4, וְ), e. g. וְהָיָה (after an Impf.) *and it happens—it will happen*; yet it has generally the effect of shifting the tone to the last syllable in those verbal forms which would otherwise have it on the penultima, e. g. וְהָלַכְתִּי *I went, consec. form* וְהָלַכְתָּ (coordinate with another *Perf. consec.*, which is a consecutive to an Imperat.) *and I will go* Judg. 1, 3; וְהִבְדִּילָהּ, *consec.* וְהִבְדִּילָהּ *and it shall divide* Ex. 26, 33 (but this loss of the tone by *i* in the 2d syll. is exceptional, comp. under letter *b*). See more on the usage in § 112.

As the first of the above examples shows, the *Qā'mēs* of the 1st syl. is retained in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now with the secondary tone (therefore necessarily provided with *Méthē'gh*). On the other hand the *ō* of the 2nd syl. in verbs *med. ō*, upon losing the tone, becomes *ō* e. g. וְהָלַכְתָּ Exod. 18, 23. This shifting forward of the tone does not always take place, and the exceptions are sometimes strange. It is omitted—*a*) always in the 1st pers. pl. וְיֵשְׁבֻנוּ Gen. 34, 16);—*b*) generally at least in Qal in verbs לָ"א and לָ"ה, e. g. וְעָשִׂיתָ Ex. 26, 4, 6, 7, 10, etc.; but before a following א the vowel, long by contraction in the *Perf. Qāl* of these verbs, frequently loses its tone, for orthophonic reasons, e. g. וְבִאֲתָ אֵל Gen. 6, 18;—*c*) always when such a Perfect stands in pause, e. g. וְשָׁבִינָה Deut. 8, 10, 11, 16, and frequently also immediately before a tone-syllable (according to § 29, 3, *b*) as in וְיִשְׁכַּחְתָּהּ Deut. 17, 14, וְיִצְאָהָ שָׁמָּה Deut. 23, 13, Amos 1, 4. 7. 10. 12 (yet also וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתָ Deut. 21, 11, 23, 14, 24, 19). Elsewhere the accent is shifted back even before the *Méthē'gh*, e. g. Zeph. 1, 17.

§ 50.

OF THE PARTICIPLE OF QĀL.

1. Qāl has two forms of the Participle, viz., an *active*, called also *Pō'ēl* from its form (פָּעֵל), and a *passive*, called *Pā'ûl* (פְּעֻלָּה).¹

The *Pā'ûl* is doubtless a remnant of a lost passive form of Qāl, which still exists complete in Arabic. In the Aramæan the passives of *Pi'el* and *Hiph'ûl* are in like manner lost, except in the Participles.

2. The form of the Participle active of Qāl in the intransitive verbs *mid. E* and *mid. O*, coincides with the form

¹ The Jewish Grammarians call the Part. Act. also פְּינִינִי (middle word); yet not in the sense of the Latin name, but as holding in sense (as present participle) the middle place between the past and the future; in this sense the פְּינִינִי is opposed by them to the passive form פְּעֻלָּה as part. *praeterit*.

of the 3d person sing. of the Perfect, as *יָשָׁן*, *sleeping* (from *ר.* *יָשַׁן*), *יָגֹר*, *fearing* (only orthographically different from the Perf. *יָגַר*); comp. the formation of the Part. in Niph'āl (§ 51, 1). But the Participle of verbs *mid. A*, takes the form *קָטַל*, the *ô* of which has sprung from *â* and is therefore unchangeable (*qôtē'l* from *qâtē'l*, § 9, No. 10, 2). (The form *קָטַל*, which with two changeable *Qā'mēš* would correspond to the forms *יָשַׁר* and *יָגַר*, is in use only as a *verbal noun*, § 84, 3.)—The inflection of the Participle in *Pi'ēl*, *Pū'āl*, *Hiph'īl*, *Hōph'āl*, *Hithpā'el* follows a different method, taking a prefixed *מ*.

3. Participles form their feminine (*act.* *קָטְלָה* or *קְטֻלָּה*, *pass.* *קְטוּלָה*) and their plural (*act. mas.* *קָטְלִים*, *fem.* *קְטולות*; *pass. m.* *קְטוּלִים*, *f.* *קְטולות*) like other nouns (§§ 80–94).

Rem. 1. From the above it follows: 1) the *ā* of the form *יָשָׁן* is lengthened from *ā* and is consequently changeable (e. g. *fem.* *יָשְׁנָה*); 2) the *ô* of *קָטַל* on the contrary is inflected from unchangeable *â*. In Arabic the verbal adj. after the form *qātīl* corresponds to the form *qātēl* and the part. *qātīl* to *qôtēl*. In both cases therefore the *ē* of the second syllable has been lengthened from *ī*, and is therefore changeable (e. g. *קָטַל* pl. *קָטְלִים*; *קָטַל* const. pl. *קְטולִים*).—An uncommon form perhaps is *תוֹמִיךָ* supporting Ps. 16, 5; it is possible, however, that *תוֹמִיךָ* is intended with incorrect full writing of *—* (comp. *סָרִיב* 2 K. 8, 21), or perhaps it is the *impf. Hiph.* of *תָּמַךְ*. Many reckon here also *יֹסִיף* Is. 29, 14, 38, 5; but this is rather 3 *sing. Impf. Hiph'īl* of *רָסַף* (compare a quite similar construction in Is. 28, 16; the prop. n. *אוֹבִיָּל* 1 Ch. 27, 30, being a foreign word, need not be considered here).—The form *הוֹלִים* Is. 41, 7 (for *הוֹלִים*) is explained in § 29, 3, *b*.

2. The Participle in the passive form at times belongs to an intransitive verb and cannot properly take a passive meaning, but expresses a passive state. Thus *בָּטַח* is *trusting* (not *trusted*) in Ps. 112, 7, *יָשָׁב* *inhabiting* (not *inhabited*) Judg. 8, 11 (like the Lat. *deponent* forms *confisus*, *commoratus*) and even in the transitive verb *חָזַק* *holding* (not *held*) Cant. 3, 8.

B. DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51.

NĪPH'ĀL.

1. The characteristic of this conjugation consists essentially in a *נ* prefixed to the stem. This is either vowelless with prefixed *ה* (in all verbs whose 1st stem letter has a firm vowel) or joined to the stem by a short vowel (orig. *ā* but in strong verbs attenuated to *i*), so that, by assimilation of the *נ*, we have the *Impf. and Inf.* *הִקְטִיל* (for *הִקְטִיל*), the *Inf. absol.* *הִקְטִיל*, and a 'so

the *Impf.* יִקְטֹל (with the ה elided) for יִקְטֹל. But when the latter is vowelless the נ joins itself to the stem by means of a short vowel, as in the *Perf.* נִקְטַל, *Part.* נִקְטֵל, and at times in the *Inf. absol.* נִקְטֹל. The inflection of Niph'āl is perfectly analogous to that of Qāl. (The VIIth conjug. of the Arab. 'inqātālā corresponds to the Niph'āl.)

Niph'āl may be known in the *Perf.* and *Part.* by the *Nūn* prefixed; in the *Imp. Inf.*, and *Impf.*, by the *Dāgh*. *f.* in the first stem-letter. The same marks are found in the irregular verbs, except that, where the first stem-letter is a guttural, the Dāghē'sh must be omitted (§ 63, 4), and consequently the preceding vowel made long (§ 22, 1).

2. The *significations of Niph'āl*. It is similar to the Greek *middle voice*, and hence—*a*) It is primarily *reflexive* of Qāl, e. g. נִשְׁמַר to *watch one's self, to beware*, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִסְתַּר to *hide one's self*; often in verbs which express an emotion that re-acts on the mind, as נָחַם to *trouble one's self, to grieve*, נִנְחַם to *bemoan one's self, to bewail*; comp. δόρυρεσθαι, *lamentari, contristari*;—*b*) Then it frequently expresses *reciprocal action*, as from שָׁפַט to *judge*, Niph. נִשְׁפָּט to *go to law with one another*, יָעַץ to *counsel*, Niph. to *consult together*; comp. the *middle* and *deponent* verbs βουλεῦσθαι (נִיַּעַץ), μάχεσθαι (נִלָּחַם), *altercari, praeliari, luctari*, ἐρίξεσθαι (נִיָּחַ);—*c*) It has also like Hithpā'ēl (§ 54, 3, c) and the Greek *middle*, the *signification of the active*, with addition of *self*, Lat. *sibi*, *for one's self*, e. g. נִשְׁאַל to *ask for one's self* (1 Sam. 20, 6, 28, Neh. 13, 6), precisely like αἰτοῦμαι σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα to *put on (one's self) a tunic*;—*d*) It is often also *passive* of Qāl, e. g. יָלַד to *bear*, Niph. to *be born*, קָבַר to *bury*, Niph. to *be buried*; likewise of Pī'ēl and Hīph'īl, when Qāl is intransitive or not in use, e. g. כָּבַד to *be in honour*, Pī'ēl to *honour*, Niph. to *be honoured*, כָּתַר, in Pī'ēl to *conceal*, Hiph. to *make disappear, to destroy*, Niph. passive of both: and in this case its meaning may again coincide with Qāl (הָלָה Qāl and Niph. to *be ill*), and even take an accusative (§ 138, 2, Rem. 1).

Examples of *denominatives* are נִזְכָּר to *be born a male* (from זָכָר *a male*) Ex. 34, 19, לֵבָב cordatum fieri (from לֵבָב *heart*) Job 11, 22.

NB. The older Hebrew grammarians have represented Niph'āl as strictly the *passive* of Qāl. This representation is decidedly incorrect; for Niph'āl has not the characteristics of the other passives. There

are still found in Qāl traces of an early passive form (§ 50, 1), and the Arabic has a distinct conjugation, corresponding with Nīph'al ('*inqātālā*'), which has its own passive; nay, in Hebrew itself, there is probably a trace of the passive of Nīph'al in the form *נִצָּל* Is. 59, 3, Lam. 4, 14. According to the *usage* of the language, the *passive* signification is certainly predominant; but it was first derived from the reflexive.—The *הָן* prefixed has the force of a reflexive pronoun, like *הָתָה* in Hīthpā'el,¹ the *הָ* probably serving to make the characteristic *נ* utterable (comp. Arab. '*inqātālā*').

Rem. 1. The *Inf. absol.* *קָטַל* connects itself, in form, with the Perf., to which it bears the same relation as *קָטַל* to *קָטַל*; it also occurs in connection with the Perfect, as in *נִשְׁאַל* *rogando* 1 Sam. 20, 6, *נִכְסֵם* *desiderando* Gen. 31, 30. An example of the other form, connecting with the Impf., is *הִתְחַן* Jer. 32, 4; once *אֶדְרֹשׁ* Ezek. 14, 3. The *ô* in the final syllable (which is originally *â*) is also exhibited in this Infinitive form in Pī'el and Pū'āl, and it resembles, in this respect, several Arabic Infinitives, in which there is a corresponding *â*. Moreover, the form *הִקָּטַל* is not infrequently used for the Inf. absol., e. g. Num. 15, 31, Deut. 4, 26, 1 K. 20, 39.

2. In *Pause*, a *Pā'thäch* often takes the place of *Šērê* in the final syllable of the Impf. e. g. *וַיִּנְמַל* and *he was weaned* Gen. 21, 8, as also in other cases, comp. 2 Sam. 12, 15 (with final *שׁ*): 17, 23 (with *ק*), Jonah 1, 5 (with *מ*); (§ 29, 4 at the end). In the 2d and 3d pers. plural feminine, the *Pā'thäch* is common, e. g. *תִּזְכְּרֵנָה* *they shall be remembered* Is. 65, 17; *Šērê* is found only in *תִּשְׁמְעֵנָה* Ruth 1, 13 (from *עָנָה* for *תִּשְׁמְעֵנָה* with *Dāghesh* omitted; comp. *תִּשְׁמְעֵנָה* Is. 60, 4.).

3. When the Impf., Inf., or Imp. is immediately followed by a word of one syllable, the tone is commonly shifted back upon the penultima, and consequently the final syllable, losing the tone, takes *Seghôl* instead of *Šērê*; e. g. *וַיִּפֹּס* *he stumbles at it* Ez. 33, 12; *וַיִּשְׁמַע* *and he heard him* Gen. 25, 21; also *Pā'thäch* *וַיִּשְׁמַע* Job 18, 4, but comp. *וַיִּשְׁמַע* *and God heard* 2 Sam. 21, 14. While in some isolated cases e. g. Ezra 8, 23, the shifting back of the tone is omitted, in spite of an accented syllable following, it has however become general with certain forms, even when the following word begins with an unaccented syllable; especially after *ו* cons. e. g. *וַיִּלָּחֶם* *and he fought* Num. 21, 1 etc. For the *imperative* *הִקָּבֹצֵה* there is found (with the rejection of initial *ה*): *נִקְבֹּצֵה* Is. 43, 9 (in *pause* *נִקְבֹּצֵה* Joel, 4, 11; comp. *וְלִי* Jer. 50, 5).

¹ Also in other languages, specially in the Slavonian, the change of the reflexive into the passive is observed. It is still clear in Sanscrit and in Greek how the middle goes before the passive voice; the *r* at the end of the Latin passive is the reflexive pronoun=*se*; in the ancient Slavic and Bohemian, *amat-se* stands for *amatur*, in Dacoroman *io me laudu* (I am praised). See Pott's Etymologische Forschungen, Th. 1, S. 133 ff., Th. 2, S. 92; Bopp's Vergleichende Grammatik, § 476 ff.

4. For the 1st pers. sing. of the Impf. **אֶפְקֹדֶנִי** the form **אֶפְקֹדֶנִי** is equally frequent, as **אֶפְקֹדֶנִי** *I will let myself be sought* Ez. 14, 3; **אֶפְקֹדֶנִי** *I swear* Gen. 21, 24; in the *Cohortative* always with *i*, e. g. **אֶפְקֹדֶנִי** *I will avenge me* Is. 1, 24. Comp. § 69, Rem. 5.

§ 52.

PĪ'ĒL AND PU'Ā'L.

1. The *characteristic* of this conjugation is the *doubling of the middle stem-letter*. In the *active* (PĪ'ēl), the *Perf.* would naturally have **קָטַל** from the simple stem **קָטַל** (comp. § 43, Rem. 1, and Arab. Conj. II *qā'ttālā*); the *ā* of the first syllable is however with one exception (v. Rem. 1) always changed to *ī* in the *Perf.* In the 2nd syllable *ā* has usually been retained (therefore the conjugation should properly be called *Pī'al*); often here however occurs an attenuation to *ī* which the tone regularly lengthens to *ē* (comp. Aram. **קָטַל**, Biblical Aram. **קָטַל**). Thus arise for the 2d sing. masc. perf. forms like **אָפַדְךָ**, **קָדַשְׁךָ**; **נָדַדְךָ**, **כָּבַדְךָ** etc.¹—Before affirmatives however *ā* is always retained, thus **קָטַלְתָּ**, **קָטַלְתֶּם**, **קָטַלְנִי** etc. The *Infinitive absol.* has **קָטַל** (inflected from *qattāl*). The *Inf. const.* and *Imp.* have **קָטַל** with *ā* in the first syllable, and so the *Impf.* makes **יִקְטַל** and the *Part.* **מִקְטַל**, the preformatives here having a vocal *Shewā*, which seems to be the relic of a short vowel.—The *passive* (Pū'āl **קָטַל**) has an obscure vowel of the third class (*ū* or rarely *ō*) after the first stem-letter, and *ā* (in pause *ā*) after the second. On the use of obscure vowels to express intransitives, comp. § 43. Also in Arabic passives are formed throughout with *ū* in the 1st syllable. In regard to inflection these two conjugations are analogous to that of Qāl.

The **נִי**, which occurs also in the succeeding conjugations, as the characteristic of the *Part.*, seems to be connected with **מִי** *who?* (fem. **מִיָּה** comp § 37) in the sense of *some one*.

Pī'āl and *Pū'āl* are throughout distinguished by the *Dāghē'sh* in the middle stem-letter. It is omitted only in the following cases:—*a*) Always when this letter is a guttural (§ 64, 3);—*b*) Sometimes, though rarely, when this letter has *Shewā* (§ 20, 3, *b*), as **שָׁלַחָה** *she stretches*

¹ On three cases which take **נִי** instead of **נִי** before final **נִי** or **נִי** see below, Rem. 1.

forth (for שְׁלַחַהּ) Ez. 17, 7; בָּקְשׁוּהוּ for בָּקַשׁ they sought him 2 Ch. 15, 15; also at times the omission is indicated (§ 10, 2 Rem.) by a *Chāt'ēph*, under the *litera dagessanda*, e. g. לָקְחָהּ for לָקַחַהּ she was taken Gen. 2, 23, (— through influence of preceding —) comp. 9, 14. In the Impf. and Part. the *Shewâ* under the preformatives may always serve as a mark of these conjugations.

2. The primary idea of *Pi'el* is *urgency*, especially that which is *self impelled* (a busy doing) hence.—a) It denotes *intensity* and *repetition* (comp. the *intensive* and *iterative* nouns, which are likewise formed by doubling the middle stem-letter, § 84, 6—9);¹ e. g. צָחַק to laugh, *Pi'el* to sport, to jest (to laugh repeatedly), שָׁאַל to ask, *Pi'el* to beg; hence it denotes that the action has to do with *many*, as קָבַר to bury (*one*) Gen. 23, 4, *Pi'el* to bury (*many*) 1 K. 11, 15. (So in Syriac and Arabic frequently). This signification of *Pi'el* is found with various shades of secondary meaning, as פָּתַח to open, *Pi'el* to loose, סָפַר to count, *Pi'el* to relate.—The eager performance of an action makes the agent *influence* others also in the same direction. Hence—b) *Pi'el* has a *causative* signification (like *Hiph'il*), e. g. לָמַד to learn, *Pi'el* to teach. It often takes the modifications expressed by *to permit*, *to declare* or *to hold as*, *to help*, as הָיָה to let live, צָדַק to declare innocent, יָלַד to help in child-bearing.—c) *Denominatives* are frequently found in this conjugation, which in general mean *to make a thing* (viz. that which the noun expresses), or *to be in any way occupied with it*; as קָנָן to make a nest (from קֶן nest), דָּפַר to throw dust, to dust (from עָפָר dust). It also expresses the *taking away* or *injuring* the thing expressed by the noun (as in English *t behead*, *to skin*, *to bone*), e. g. שָׁרַשׁ (from שָׁרֵשׁ a root) to root out, extirpate, זָנַב (from זָנַב tail) properly to injure the tail

¹ Analogous examples, in which the doubling of a letter has an *intensive* force, are found in the German words, *reichen*, *recken* (E. reach, rack); *streichen* (*stringo*, Anglo-Saxon *strecan*), *strecken* (E. stretch, streak); comp. *Strich*, *Strecke*; *wacker*, from *wachen*: others in which it has the *causative* signification, are *stechen*, *stecken* (E. stitch, stick); *wachen*, *wecken* (E. watch, wake); τέλλω to bring to an end, from the stem τέλω to end, γεύναι to beget, from γένω to come into being. The above examples in German show also that *ch*, when doubled, takes the form of *kk*, *ck*, in accordance with the laws relating to the *Daghē'sh* in Hebrew (§ 13, 3).

hence to *rout the rear* of an army, רָשַׁן to *remove the ashes*, שָׁבַר to *break the bones*. So also in verbs the origin of which may not now be traceable to a noun; e. g. סָקַל to *stone*, and also to *remove the stones* (i. e. from a field);¹ comp. Eng. to *stone* in both senses.

The significations of the *passive* (Pū'āl) will occur readily from the above, e. g. גָּנַב to *steal*, Pī'ēl to *steal*, Pū'āl to *be stolen*.

In Pī'ēl, the proper and literal signification of a word is often retained, when Qāl has adopted a figurative one, the former being the stronger and more palpable sense; e. g. רָפָא in Pī'ēl to *stitch up*, in Qāl to *heal*; כָּרַא, Pī'ēl to *cut or hew out*, Qāl to *form or make*; גָּלָה, Pī'ēl to *uncover*, Qāl to *reveal*.

In intransitive verbs, also, Pī'ēl occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic diction, as שָׁבַר to *be broken in pieces* Jer. 51, 56, פָּחַד to *tremble* Deut. 51, 13, Prov. 28, 14, פָּתַח to *be open* Is. 48, 8, 60, 11, רָחַק to *be drunken* Is. 34, 5, 7.

Rem. 1. The Perf. Pī'ēl has (—) in the final syllable quite as often as (—), e. g. אָבַד to *destroy*, שָׁבַר to *break in pieces*, לָמַד to *teach*. This occurs especially before *Māqqēph* (Eccles. 9, 15, 12, 9), and in the middle of a period in continuous discourse; but at the end of a period (in *pause*), Sērē is the more common vowel. Comp. גָּהַל Is. 49, 21 with גָּהַל Josh. 4, 14; Est. 3, 1. Some verbs have *Sēghôl*, namely דִּבֶּר to *speak*, כָּפַר to *atone*, and כָּסַשׁ to *wash clothes*, but דִּבֶּר in *pause*.

A single instance of (—) in the *first* syllable (after the manner of the Arab. and Aram.) is found in Gen. 41, 51 נָשַׁח to *cause to forget*, a change occasioned by the play upon the name מִנְשָׁח. Compare the quadriliteral פָּרַשׁ, which is analogous in form to Pī'ēl (§ 56).

2. The *Impf.*, *Inf.*, and *Imp.*, when followed by *Māqqēph*, generally take *Sēghôl* in the final syllable, e. g. יִבְקֹשׁ-לִי he *seeks for himself* Is. 40, 20, קִדְּשׁ-לִי sanctify to me Ex. 13, 2. So too in Hithpā'ēl.—In the 1st pers. sing. *Impf.* besides אֶבְשֶׁל, there occurs also in a few cases the form with (—) under the א, as אֶזְרֶה Lev. 26, 33; and even with (—), as אֶסְכֶּר Zech. 7, 14 (according to § 23, 3, Rem. 2). With *Wāw cons.* we have also וְאֶגְדֹּשׁ for וְאֶגְדֹּשׁ Judg. 6, 9. Instead of וְאֶתְּלַח are found forms like וְהִתְּלַח, as in Is. 3, 16, 13, 18 (before a sibilant in *pause*).

3. The *Inf. absol.* in Pi. has the special form קָטַל, as יִסְרֵי castigando Ps. 118, 18; but much more frequently the form of the *Inf.*

¹ In Arabic, *denominatives* of Conj. II. often express injury done to a member, the removal of vermin and noxious things. This force is not wholly foreign, also, to the simplest Conj. I. Comp. Hebrew קָלַל (from שָׁקַל) to *buy or sell grain*; Lat. *causari, prædari*, etc.

constr. קָטַל is used instead, as in Jer. 12, 17, 32, 33. For the latter the form קָטַל also occurs exceptionally, namely in Lev. 14, 43 קָטַלְךָ, and (for the sake of assonance) even for *Inf. absol.* in 2 Sam. 12, 14 נֶאֱכָל נֶאֱכָלָה.

4. In *Pū'āl*, instead of *Qibbū's*, *Qā'mēš-chaṭū'ph* is found less frequently, e. g. מִצְרָדִים *dyed red* Nah. 2, 4, comp. 3, 7; Ps. 72, 20, 80, 11. It is merely an orthographic variation when *Shū'rēq* takes the place of *Qibbū's*, as יִרְדֵּר in Judg. 18, 29.

5. As the *Inf. absol.* of Pu. there is found נָלַב in Gen. 40, 15.—The *Inf. constr.* does not occur in a regular verb in *Pū'āl*.

6. The *Part. Pū'āl* sometimes occurs without the prefixed נ¹; and is then distinguished from the 3. pers. Perf. (like the *Part. Niph.*) only by the *Qā'mēš* in the final syllable, e. g. לָקַח *taken* 2 K. 2, 10, comp. יִרְדֵּר for מִירְדֵּר Judg. 13, 8; also Ec. 9, 12, Ez. 26, 17, Prov. 25, 19, Is. 18, 2; the last two examples on account of the presence of an initial נ.

§ 53.

HĪPH'ĪL AND HŌPH'ĀL.

1. The characteristic of the *active* (Hīph'īl) is ה, in the Perf. ה (the *ā* being attenuated into *ī* as in Pi'ēl) and forming with the 1st stem consonant a closed syllable. The 2d syllable had in the Perf. originally likewise *ā*; comp. Arab. conj. IV. 'āqtālā and in Hebrew the return of *Pā'thāch* in the 2d and 1st person הִקְטַלְתָּ *etc.* The *ā* having been attenuated into *ī*, the latter when having the tone, should, according to rule have been lengthened into *ē* (as in Aram. אִקְטַל, in Biblical Aram. הִקְטַל). Instead of this however the strong verb has received *ī*.² Thus in the *Inf. constr.* הִקְטַל with which are connected the *Impf.* and the *Part.* מִקְטִיל, רִקְטִיל, contracted from הִקְטִיל, מִהִקְטִיל. In the *passive* (Hōph'āl) the ה is sounded with an obscure vowel, and the second syllable has *ā* instead of *ī*, as הִקְטַל or הִקְטַל, *Impf.* יִקְטַל (syncopated from הִקְטַל)

¹ This omission of the נ seems to occur also at times in *Part. Pi'el*, as in מְשַׁבֵּחַ for מְשַׁבֵּחַ *praising* Ecc. 4, 2, מְרַצֵּן for מְרַצֵּן *refusing* Ex. 7, 27, perh. also הִלְלִים in Ps. 87, 7 may be for מְהִלְלִים *dancing or dancers*.—Tr.

² According to *Stade, Philippi, Bickell, Praetorius* (cf. *Stade's Zeitschr.* 1883, p. 52 sq., the *ī* of the *Impf.* of verbs ו'ע was used first to distinguish between the Indicative and Jussive of the *Impf.* of strong verbs and was later carried over to the Hīph'īl.

or **הִקְטִיל**, Inf. absol. **הִקְטֵל**, Participle **מִקְטֵל** and **מִקְטֵלָה**; and in its other forms it follows the general analogy. Upon the origin of the preformative **ה** compare § 55, No. 6.

The marks of this conjugation are, therefore, in the Perf., Imp. and Inf., the prefixed **ה**; in the Impf. and Part., the vowel under the preformatives, which in Hiph'îl is *Pä'thäch*, in Hoph'al, *Q'ibbû's* (—) or *Qā'měš-chātûph* (—).

2. *Significations of Hiph'îl.*—It is properly *causative of Qāl*, and in this sense is more frequently employed than Pi'êl (§ 52, 2, b), e. g. **וַיֵּצֵא** to go forth, Hiph. to bring out, to lead forth; **וַיְקַדֵּשׁ** to be holy, Hiph. to sanctify. To the category of the *causative* belongs also the *declarative* signification, e. g. **וַיְדַבֵּר** to declare just; **וַיְהַשְׁמֵךְ** to declare guilty (render criminal). When Qāl is transitive, Hiph. takes two accusatives (see § 139, 1). Frequently Pi'êl and Hiph'îl are both in use in the same signification, as **וַיִּמָּד** to perish, Pi. and Hiph. to destroy; but generally only one of them is found, or they have some difference of signification, as **וַיִּכְבֹּד** to be heavy, Pi. to honour, Hiph. to make heavy. Intransitive verbs merely become transitive, e. g. **וַיִּנָּח** to bow (intrans.), Hiph. to bow, to bend.

Rem. 1. The Semitic conception of the causative and transitive signification of Hiph'îl embraces also other forms of thought which can only be translated by paraphrase. Thus a) the Hiph. is used to express some assumption of a corporal or spiritual condition, e. g. **וַיִּזְרַח**, Hiph. to emit a lustre, **וַיִּשְׁחַךְ**, Hiph. to create gloom, **וַיִּצְלַח**, Hiph. to be prosperous, **וַיִּשְׁפֹּל**, Hiph. to be needy, **וַיִּשְׁמַן**, Hiph. to become fat (properly to produce fat)¹; **וַיִּחַזַּק** and **וַיִּמָּצֵחַ**, Hiph. to become strong (properly to develope strength); so too **וַיִּשְׁחַלַּח**, Hiph. to become feeble; **וַיִּשְׁמַח** to be red (prop. to show redness), **וַיִּשְׁמַח** to be white, **וַיִּשְׁמַח** to be silent, but properly to keep silence (*silentium facere*, Plin.); b) the Hiph. express entrance into and continuance in a given state or condition, e. g. **וַיִּשְׁמַח** to be firm, Hiph. to trust in, **וַיִּשְׁמַח** to become sick, **וַיִּשְׁמַח** to become ashamed, **וַיִּשְׁמַח** to keep quiet; c) the Hiph. expresses a qualified action,

¹ The verb **וַיִּשְׁמַח** to make is employed in the expression of the same ideas, e. g. to make fat (fatness), i. e. to produce fat upon the body Job 15, 27; to make fruits, to make branches, i. e. to produce, to put forth Job 14, 9, Hos. 8, 7. Compare in Latin, *corpus facere* Justin. 11, 8, *robur facere* Hirtius, Bell. Afr. 85; *sobolem, divitias, facere* (Plin.) and in Italian *far corpo, far forzo, far frutto*.

as *הִיטִיב* to *deal well*, *הַשְׁחִית* to *do wickedly*, properly *to make good*, or *bad* one's way (sc. *הַרְבִּי, הַרְבִּי* which are also often expressed); *הָטָא* to *make sinful*, *עָרַם* to *act craftily*.

2. Causatives also are certain *denominatives*, in Hiph. expressing the idea of *producing* or *putting forth* that of which the original noun is the name, e. g. *הַשְׁרִישׁ* to *put forth roots*, *הַקְרִין* to *put forth horns*. It also expresses the active use of a member, as *הִאָזִין* to *listen* (properly *to make ears*); *הִלָּשִׁין* to *chatter*, to *slander* (after the same analogy, properly *to make tongue*, to *use the tongue freely*). Cf. also § 19, 4.

3. The signification of *Höph'al* is *passive*—a) chiefly of *Hiph'il*, as in *הִשְׁלִיךְ* to *cast out*, *הִשְׁלַךְ* or *הִשְׁלָךְ* to *be cast out*;—b) at times also of *Qāl*, as in *נָקַם* to *avenge*, *הָקַם* to *be avenged*.

Rem. 1. The *î* of the 3d sing. masc. Perf. Hiph. remains unchanged, and receives the accent before all vowel terminations. Before all consonant terminations the anomalously lengthened *î* is displaced by the restoration of the original Pathah of the same syllable. It is only in exceedingly rare cases that it falls away and its place is filled by a *Shewâ* (vid. Rems. 4 and 5).

2. The Inf. absol. has generally *Ṣ'êrê*, usually without *Yôdh*, as *הִקָּדַשׁ* Judg. 17, 3; rarely it is written with *Yôdh*, as *הִשְׁמִיר* Amos 9, 8. After the manner of the Aram., we have *א* instead of the *ה* in *אֲשַׁכֵּם* to *rise early* Jer. 25, 3. Rare exceptions, in which the form with *Ṣ'êrê* stands for the Inf. constr., are found in Deut. 32, 8. Is. 57, 20. For the usual Inf. constr. *הִקְטִיל* we find a few times *הִקְטִיל*, as *הִשְׁמִיר* to *destroy* Deut. 7, 24, 28, 48, Josh. 11, 14, Jer. 50, 34; so also *הִקְצוּחַ* for *הִקְצוּחַ* from *קָצָה* Lev. 14, 43. Upon elision of *ה* v. Rem. 7.

3. The Imperative retains the *î* (יִ—) according to Rem. 1 in the open syllable and therefore before suffixes (v. § 61, 2) and before *ה־* paragogic e. g. *הִקְטִיבָה*. On the other hand in the 2nd masc. sing. the original *î* (comp. Arab. *'aḡlîl*) is lengthened into *ê*, e. g. *הִשְׁמַן* to *become fat* and before *Mäqqê'ph* it becomes *Sêghô'l*, e. g. *הִסְבֵּן* Job 22, 21.—In a few instances the form *הִקְטִיל* is anomalously substituted for *הִקְטִיל*: Ps. 94, 1 (77, 2?) Is. 43, 8. Jer. 17, 8; in other places the Massora has preferred the incorrect fully written form *הִקְטִיל*, e. g. 2 K. 8, 6.—In Lament. 5, 1 for *הִבִּיט* the *Qêrê* requires *הִבִּיטָה*.

4. In the Impf. of Hiph. the apocopated form with *Ṣ'êrê* is the usual one for the *Jussive* in the 2. m. and the 3. m. singular, as *אַל-תַּגְדֵּל* to *make not great* Obad. 12, *יִכְרֵת* let him cut off Ps. 12, 4, also with *ו* consec., as *וַיִּבְרַךְ* and he divided Gen. 1, 4 (yet the 1. per. sing. is usually *î*, as *וַאֲשַׁמִּיר* Am. 2, 9). Before *Mäqqê'ph* the *Ṣ'êrê* becomes *Sêghô'l*, as *וַיִּחְזַקְמוּ* and he held him Judg. 19, 4. In the plural the forms *הִקְטִילוּ*

וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ stand also in the Jussive and with ו cons., e. g. וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ and they pursued Judg. 18, 22; but the *i* (after the Aramæan) sometimes becomes *Shewâ*, as וַיִּחַלְטוּ 1 K. 20, 23, וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ and they bent Jer. 9, 2, וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ and they pursued 1 Sam. 14, 22, 31, 2. This shortening is found also in the imperf. and in 2d and 3d masc. sing. before suffixes (1 Sam. 17, 25. Ps. 65, 10. Job 9, 20). It is however doubtful whether we really find in these isolated examples a trace of the groundform (*yaqtil*) and not rather a misconception from defective writing (וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ etc.) which often occurs elsewhere as a pure orthographical license (even in the 3d sing. Is. 44, 28 רִשְׁלָם).

5. The Part. מַחְסֵר (Is. 53, 3) might be traced to the Grdf. *maql'il* unless with *Delitzsch* one regards the word as a substantive (comp. also מוֹצֵא Ps. 135, 7, where, however, *Šerê* could be explained from the shifting of the tone). In the following plurals the vowel has become *Shewâ*: מַחְלָמִים dreamers Jer. 29, 8, מַעֲזָרִים helpers 2 Ch. 28, 23 and in *Qerî* מַחְצָרִים 1 Chron. 15, 24.—The fem. is usually like מַחְסֵלָה, e. g. מַשְׁנֵה Lev. 14, 21, מַחְסֵרָה Num. 5, 15.

6. In the Perf. are sometimes found such forms as הִקְלַמְנוּ we have reproached 1 Sam. 25, 7, comp. Job 16, 7, also אֲנִי אֶמְאָלָהּ I have soiled (with ■ for ה, as in Aramæan) Is. 63, 3; comp. אֲשַׁבֵּים, Rem. 2.

7. In the Impf. and Part. the characteristic ה regularly gives place to the preformatives, as הִקְטִיל, מִקְטִיל, but not to prepositions in the Inf., לִהְרַקֵּיל, because their connection with the stem is less close than that of the preformatives. In both cases, however, there are some few exceptions, as יִרְחֹשֶׁרֶץ he will save for יוֹשֵׁרֶץ Ps. 116, 6 (in pause), יִרְחֹרֶץ he will praise for יֹרֶץ (only in verbs פ"י) Neh. 11, 17; on the contrary לִשְׁמַע for לְחַשְׁמִיעַ to sing Ps. 26, 7, לִאֲדִיר for לְהַאֲדִיר to cause to faint 1 Sam. 2, 33, לִשְׁמֹד for לְהַשְׁמִיד to destroy Is. 23, 11, לִשְׁבִּית Am. 8, 4, בְּהַצִּיר for בִּצִּיר Ps. 73, 20, לְמַרוֹת for לְהַמ' Ps. 78, 17.¹

8. The tone, in Hiph'il, does not fall on the affirmatives ה, ה־ and ׀, not even in the Perf. with *Wāw* consec. except in Ex. 26, 33, Lev. 15, 29; (to avoid a hiatus because ה or ׀ follows in an unaccented syllable) but the plur. ending יִן takes the tone, as in תִּקְרִיבוּן Deut. 1, 17.

9. In the passive (*Hōph'al*) Perf., Impf. and Part. *ū* (—) is found in the first syllable as well as *ō* (—) הִקְטֵל, but not so often in the regular verb, e. g. הִשָּׁבַב he is laid Ez. 32, 32 (but הִשָּׁבַבָה in 32, 19), הִשָּׁלַךְ, Part. מִשָּׁלָךְ 2 Sam. 20, 21 (but הִשָּׁלַכְתָּ in Is. 14, 19). Verbs פ"ן have *ū* constantly, as הִפִּיר, הִפִּיר (according to § 9, 9, 2).

¹ So also לִנְחָתָם for לְחַת' Ex. 13, 21, לִצְבִּיתָ for לְחַצ' Num. 5, 22, לִלְבֵּן for לְחַלְבֵּן to purify Dan. 11, 35; but part. *Hoph.* מִרְקָצָה in Ez. 46, 22 for מִרְקָצָה.—Tr.

10. The Inf. absol. has (—) in the final syllable (in *Hoph.* as in *Hiph.*); e. g. **הִתְחַלֵּל** *fasciando* Ez. 16, 4, **הִנָּחֵר** *nuntiando* Josh. 9, 24. The Inf. constr. is not found in any regular or strong verb.

11. About the Imperative of *Hōph'āl*, see above on p. 117, note 2.

§ 54.

HĪTHPĀĒĒL.

1. This conjugation connects itself with *Pī'ēl*, inasmuch as it prefixes to the form **קָטַל** the syllable **הִתְ** (West. Aram. **הִתְ**, but Biblical Aram. **הִתְ**; Syr. **הִתְ**¹), which, like **הִתְ** in *Nīph'āl* (§ 51, 2, Rem.), has undoubtedly the force of a reflexive pronoun.

2. The **ת** of the syllable **הִתְ** in this conj., as also in *Hīthpō'ēl* and *Hīthpā'lēl* (§ 55), suffers the following changes:—

- a) When one of the sibilants (**ס**, **ץ**, **ש**) is the first radical of the verb, it changes places with the **ת** (§ 19, 5), as **הִתְשַׁמֵּר** *to take heed*, for **הִתְשַׁמֵּר**; **הִתְסַבֵּל** *to be burdened*, for **הִתְסַבֵּל**. (A solitary exception is found in **הִתְשַׁנֵּט** *to avoid cacophony* which would result from the succession of three T sounds Jer. 49, 3). With **צ**, moreover, the transposed **ת** is changed into **ט**, as being more akin to the **צ** (see § 19, 1), as **הִצְטַדֵּק** *to justify one's self*, for **הִצְטַדֵּק**.
- b) Before **ר**, **ט** and **ת**, the **ת** is assimilated (§ 19, 2), e. g. in **הִדְכָּא** *to be crushed* (but **מִתְדַּכָּים** in Judg. 19, 22). **הִטְהַר** *to cleanse one's self*, **יִטְמֵא** *he shall defile himself* Lev. 21, 1, **הִתְחַמֵּם** *to behave uprightly*; sometimes also before **נ** and **כ**, as **הִנְבֵּא** *to prophesy* Jer. 23, 13, else **הִתְנַבֵּא**; **הִתְכַּוֵּן** *to make one's self ready*, **תְּכַסֵּה** for **תָּחַת** Prov. 26, 26. Also before **ש** Ec. 7, 16, before **ר** Is. 33, 10.

Rem. Metathesis should likewise take place when **ת** and **י** meet, and the **ת** should be changed into **י**. Instead of this the **ת** has been assimilated with the **י** in the only instance of this kind. **הִיָּחַבֵּר** Is. 1, 16.

3. The significations of *Hīthpā'ēl*.—a) Most frequently it is reflexive, but chiefly of *Pī'ēl*, as **הִתְקַדַּשׁ** *to sanctify one's self*, **הִתְנַקֵּם** *to avenge one's self*, **הִתְאַדָּר** *to gird one's self*. Then

¹ See also in the Hebrew **אֶתְחַבֵּר** 2 Ch. 20, 35, cf. Ps. 76, 6.

further it means, *to make one's self* that which is expressed by the first conjugation; hence, *to conduct one's self* as such, *to show one's self*, *to imagine one's self*, *to affect to be* such; properly *to make one's self* so and so, *to act* so and so; e. g. *הִתְגַּדַּל* *to make one's self great, to act proudly*; *הִתְחַכֵּם* *to show one's self cunning, crafty*, also (Ec. 7, 16) *to fancy one's self wise*; *הִתְעַשֵּׂר* *to make (i. e. to feign) one's self rich*. Its signification sometimes coincides with that of Qāl, and both forms are in use with the same meaning, e. g. *אָבַל* *to mourn*, found in Qāl only in poetry, in Hithp. in prose, and it can then even take an accusative (§ 117, 4, Rem. 2).—*b*) It expresses *reciprocal action* (like Niph. § 51, 2, *b*), as *הִתְרַצָּה* *to look upon one another* Gen. 42, 1.—*c*) More frequently it expresses what one does more directly *to or for himself* (comp. Niph. § 51, 2, *c*). It has then an active signification, and governs an accusative, e. g. *הִתְפַּשֵּׁט* *exuit sibi (vestem)*, *הִתְפַּתַּח* *solvit sibi (vincula)*. So without the accusative *הִתְהַלֵּךְ* *to walk about for one's self (ambulare)*.—*d*) Only seldom it is *passive*, e. g. *הִשְׁתַּכַּח* *to be forgotten* Ec. 8, 10. Comp. Nīph'āl, § 51, 2, *d*.

Rem. 1. The passive *Hōthp'āl* is found only in the few following examples: *הִיטָמָא* *to be made unclean* Deut. 24, 4, *הִכָּבַס* *to be washed* Lev. 13, 55, 56, *הִתְשַׂבָּה* (for *הִתְשַׁבָּה*, see § 20, 3, *b*) *it is glutted with fat* Is. 34, 6. Comp. also *הִתְפַּקְדִּי*; see Rem. 4.

2. *Denominatives* with the reflexive signification are *הִתְיַהַד* *to embrace Judaism* (i. e. *to make one's self a Jew*), from *יָהוּדָה*, *יְהוּדָה* *Jew*; *הִתְצַדִּיק* *to provision one's self for a journey*, from *צִדִּיקָה*.

3. The Perf. has often, as in Pi'el, *Pāthāch* (or *Qāmēš* in verbs ל"א) in the final syllable, as *הִתְחַזַּק* *to strengthen one's self* 2 Ch. 13, 7, 15, 8, *הִטָּמָא* *he shall defile himself* Lev. 21, 1. Final *Pāthāch* occurs also in the Impf. and Imp., as *הִתְחַכֵּם* *he deems himself wise* Ec. 7, 16. In pause these forms always take *Qāmēš*, as *הִתְאַזַּר* *he has girded himself* Ps. 93, 1, *הִתְאַבֵּל* Ez. 7, 27, *הִתְאַבֵּר* Job 38, 30, *הִתְחַקֵּךְ* Job 18, 8; *הִתְקַדְּשִׁי* *sanctify thyself* Josh. 3, 5. But in the Part. always *Sērē*, e. g. *הִתְקַדֵּשׁ* Ps. 8, 3, Is. 45, 15.—As in Pi'el *הִתְעַלֶּה* (§ 52, Rem. 2), so in Hithp. *הִתְעַלֶּה* Zech. 6, 7.

4. To this Reflexive *הִתְקַטַּל* (apparently from Pi'el) are commonly reckoned also some reflexive forms of the verb *פָּקַד* (*to muster*), which do not double the middle radical and have under the first a long *ā* (*Qāmēš*), namely *הִתְפַּקְדִּי* Judg. 20, 15, Impf. *הִתְפַּקְדִּי* Judg. 21, 9, together with the passive form *הִתְפַּקְדִּי* Num. 1, 47, 2, 33, 26, 62, 1 K. 20, 27. But these forms appear rather to be a reflexive of Qāl, with the

sense to *present oneself at the muster, to be mustered*, after the manner of the Aram. *Ithpē'el* (West. Aram. אִתְּחַפֵּל, Syr. اِثْطَل) and of the Ethiopic *taqat'ela*, also Arab. *'iqta'tala* (which has *always* the *t* transposed behind the first radical (see above in No. 2, p. 138).—Such a reflexive of *Qal* (also with the *t* transposed) is to be recognised in הלחחם (i. e. הִלָּחַח after the analogy of the O. Test. Hebrew) in the Moabite inscription of king Mēsha' (§ 2, 2), in the sense of the O. Test. *Niphal* נִלָּחַח to *fight* or *wage war* (see lines 11, 15, 19 and 32 of the Inscription, the two former lines showing נִלָּחַח in the *Impf.* with the *Wāw* consecutive; on line 19 *infin.* with *suff.* בְּהִלָּחַמָה *by his fighting with me*).

§ 55.

RARER CONJUGATIONS.

Of the unusual conjugations (§ 39, 4) some are connected, in form, with *Pī'el*, and are made by the doubling or repetition of one or more stem-letters, or by the lengthening of a vowel, i. e. by changes *within* the stem itself; others are analogous to *Hīph'il*, and are formed by the addition of prefix letters or syllables. To the former class besides a *passive*, distinguished by the vowels, belongs also a *reflexive* form with the prefix הָה, after the analogy of *Hīthpā'el*.

Those which are analogous to *Pī'el*, and which follow it in their inflection, are—

1. *Pō'el*; as קוּשַׁל, pass. *Pō'āl* קוּשַׁל, reflex. *Hūthpō'el* הִתְקוּשַׁל (corresp. to Conj. III. and VI. in the Ar. *qātālā*, pass. *qūtilā*, reflex. *tāqātālā*) *Impf.* יִקְוֹשַׁל, *Part.* מְקוּשַׁל, *Impf. pass.* יִקְוֹשַׁל, etc. Accordingly in Heb. the *ô* of the first syllable is everywhere inflected from the *â* whilst the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a* sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations occur but very seldom. Examples are:—*Part.* מִשְׁפָּטִי *my opponent at law* Job 9, 15, יוֹרְעָתִי *I have appointed* 1 Sam. 21, 3 (unless we ought to read יוֹרְעָתִי), שָׁרַשׁ *to take root*, pass. שָׁרַשׁ, denom. from שָׁרַשׁ *root*; of *Hīthpō'el* Jer. 25, 16, 46, 8; Is. 52, 5 (*part.* מִתְנַחֵץ for מִנְחָץ). In verbs עָע (§ 67) it is more frequent, e. g. הוֹלֵל, סוֹבֵב, הוֹנֵן.

The *signification* of *Pō'el* is, like that of *Pī'el*, often causative of *Qāl*. Sometimes both *Pō.* and *Pi.* are in use in the same signification, as רוֹצֵץ and רָצַץ *to oppress*; sometimes each has its peculiar shade of meaning, as סָבַב *to turn about, to change*, סוֹבֵב *to go about, to sur-*

round; הִלֵּל to exult, הִלֵּל to make foolish (from הלל to be brilliant, but also to be vainglorious, foolish); הִיָּן to make pleasant, הִיָּן to commiserate; שָׁרַשׁ to root out, שָׁרַשׁ to take root.

With קוּטֵּל may be connected the formation of quadrilaterals that insert a liquid at the end of the first syllable, as קוּטֵּל (§ 30, 3, § 56).

2. *Pī'le'l, Pī'la'l, Pū'lä'l, Hithpā'le'l*; as קִטְּל and קִטְּל (š atten. from original ā; so final ē=ī=ā), pass. קִטְּל, reflex. הִתְקַטְּל, like the Arabic Conj. IX. 'iqṭāllā, and XI. 'iqṭāllā, used especially of permanent states or of colours, as שָׁאֵן to be at rest, רֶצֶן to be green; pass. אִמָּל to be withered; but of all these verbs there is no example in Qāl. It is more frequent in verbs ע"ו, where it takes the place of Pi. and Hithp. (§ 72, 7).—See also § 75, Rem. 18.

3. *Pē'āl'āl*; as קִטְּלֵט with repetition of the last two stem-letters, used especially of slight motions in quick succession, e. g. סִתְּרִתִּיר to go about with quick motion, hence (of the heart) to palpitate Ps. 38, 11, from סִתֵּר to go about; pass. הִמְרִמֵּר to ferment with violence, to make ■ rumbling sound Lam. 1, 20, 2, 11, Job 16, 6. Nouns of this form are diminutives (§ 84, 36). Nearly related to this is—

4. *Pilpē'l*, formed from verbs ע"ע and ע"ו, by doubling both of the essential stem-letters; as גָּלַגַּל to roll, from גָּל=גָּלַל, reflex. הִתְגַּלְגַּל to roll one's self; בָּלְבַל, from בָּל (בִּיל).¹ This also is used of motion quickly repeated, which all languages are prone to express by repetition² of the same sound, צִצְצָה to chirp, צִצְצָה to tinkle, גִּרְגַּר to gurgle, זָפְזָף to flit or flutter (from עָף to fly).

With *Hiph'il* are connected the following—

5. *Tiphē'l*; as הִתְקַטְּל, with ת prefixed, as הִתְקַטְּל³ to teach to walk,

¹ Hence the passive *Polpal* פִּלְפֵּל 1 K. 20, 27; so too from שָׂנַע we get *Pilpē'l* שָׁנַע to caress Ps. 94, 19, *Polpal* שָׁנַע to be fondled Is. 66, 12, and from יָפַח prob. comes in *Polp.* יָפַח Ps. 45, 3.—*Tr.*

² Compare Lat. *tinnio, tintinnus* (=our ding-dong) and in German *Tick-tack* (=our tick-tack), *Wirrwar, Klingklang* (=our clink-clank) The repetition of the same letter in verbs ע"ע produces also the same effect; as in לָקַק to lick, דָּבַק to beat, טָפַח to trip along. The same thing is expressed also by diminutive forms; comp. in Lat. the termination -illo, as in *cantillo*, in Germ. -eln, ern, in *flimmern, trillern, tröpfeln* (comp. our drip, dribble). Hence we may discern the relation, mentioned under No. 3, between these forms and the diminutives. Comp. *F. A. Pott, Doppelung, Lemgo, 1862, 8vo.*

³ Both תִּקְטֵל and תִּרְגֵּם are probably kindred forms of the stem קָלַל=קָלַל=קָלַל=קָלַל=Aram. קָלַל: all traceable to the monosyllabic or ultimate root קָל=Ar. كَل=Sans. rag=G. regen=E. wrig=wiggle=W. rhiglo, and all meaning to stir or move, and used especially of the feet, tongue, etc., and hence to walk, talk, translate, etc. Hence come תִּרְגֵּם (Targûm) interpretation or version, and תִּרְגֵּם (interpreter)=E. dragoman=Fr. trucheman.—*Tr.*

to lead (*denom.* from רָגַל a foot); in a ל"ה stem, הִתְחַרָּה, *Impf.* הִתְחַרָּה to vie with Jer. 12, 5, 22, 15 (from חָרָה to be hot, eager). The Aram. has a similar form, תַּרְגַּם to interpret, whence also the Heb. has the *Part. pass.* מִתְרַגֵּם Ezra 4, 7.

6. *Shāph'el*; as שָׁפַט, frequent in Syr., as Aram. שָׁלַח, Syr. שָׁלַח, to flame, from לָהַב. In Hebrew it is found only in the noun שָׁלַח flame, § 85, No. 50; but this conjugation may underlie the *Hiph'il*, with ה for ש; see *Davies' Heb. Lex.* p. 608. Compare § 39, 4, Rem.

* * * *

Forms of which single examples occur:—7. קָטַט, *pass.* קָטַט, as קָטַט scaled off, having the form of scales Ex. 16, 14, from קָטַט = קָטַט to peel, to shell.—8. הִתְחַרָּה, as הִתְחַרָּה a violent rain, from חָרָה.—9. נִתְחַשַּׁל (frequent in the Rabbinic), a form compounded of *Niph.* and *Hithp.*, found in the examples נִתְחַשְׁרוּ for נִתְחַשְׁרוּ they let themselves be warned Ez. 23, 48; נִתְחַשְׁרוּ for נִתְחַשְׁרוּ to be expiated Deut. 21, 8.

We may mention also, as worthy of notice,—10. the form תְּצַצֵּר to sound the trumpet, commonly derived from the stem חִצֵּר. But it is probably a *denom.* from תְּצַצֵּר a trumpet, an *onomatopoetic* (or *mimetic*) form like the old Latin *taratantara* for the sound of the *tuba*, Ennius ap. Servium ad *Æn.* 9, 503. (*Stade*, however, derives it from תְּצַצֵּר).

§ 56.

QUADRILITERALS.

Of the formation of quadrilaterals we have already spoken (§ 30, 4). The few verbs of this kind (of nouns there are more) are formed after the analogy of *Pī'el*, once after *Hīph'il*. The following are all the examples that occur:—

Perf. פָּרְשָׁו he spread out Job 26, 9 (with *Pā'thāch* in the first syllable, as in Aram.).¹ *Impf.* יִכְרַסְמֶנָּה he will devour it Ps. 80, 14, r. כָּסַם cf. גָּזַם. *Pass.* רָטַשׁ to become green again Job 33, 25. *Part.* מְכַרְכֵּל girded 1 Ch. 15, 27. Like *Hīph'il* is הִשְׁמָאֵל (contracted הִשְׁמָאֵל, הִשְׁמָאֵל) to turn to the left (denominative from שָׁמָל) Gen. 13, 9, Is. 30, 21.

¹ But *Delitzsch* more properly regards this as the *inf. absol.* of a *Pī'el* form of פָּרַשׁ with an euphonic change of the first ש into פ and the second into י. Besides this, there are also many evidences in favor of the reading פָּרְשָׁו and this has therefore been accepted by *Baer* in his text of Job.

C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.¹

Paradigm C.

§ 57.

The accusative of the personal Pronoun which follows a verb active may be expressed—*a*) by a distinct word, אֹת the accusative-sign with the *suffix-pronoun* (§ 117, 2), as קָטַל אֹתוֹ (he has killed him); or—*b*) by the mere *suffix*, as קָטַלְהוּ or קָטַלְוּ (he has killed him). The second method is the usual one (§ 33), and it is only of it we now treat.² Neither of these forms is employed when the accusative of the Pronoun is reflexive, in which case a reflexive verb is used, viz. Nīph'al and Hīthpā'el (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. הִתְקַדֵּשׁ he sanctified himself not קִדְּשׁוּ, which would only signify he sanctified him.

Two points are here concerned, viz., the form of the suffix, and the changes in the verbal form in consequence of appending it. The former is exhibited in § 58 and the latter in § 59—61.

§ 58.

THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES OF THE VERB.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the accusative of the *personal Pronoun*; and they are the following:—

¹ We treat of this subject here in connection with the strong or regular verb, in order to show in it the general analogy. As to the weak or irregular verbs, the mode of shortening their forms before the suffixes will be noticed under each class.

² On the cases where the former must be employed, see § 121, 4, Rem.

Singular.	Plural.
1. <i>com.</i> אֲנִי ; אֲנִי (in pause אֲנִי); אֲנִי <i>me.</i>	1. <i>com.</i> אֲנֵינוּ <i>us.</i>
2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הוּ}, \text{הִיא} \text{ (khā), in} \\ \text{pause } \text{הוּ}, \text{also } \text{הִיא} \\ f. \text{הוּ}; \text{הִיא}, \text{הִיא}; \text{ra-} \\ \text{rely } \text{הִיא} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>thee.</i>	2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{אַתָּה}, \text{אַתָּה} \\ f. \end{array} \right\}$ <i>you.</i>
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הוּ}, \text{הוּ}; \text{הוּ}, \text{(הוּ)}, \\ \text{הוּ}; \text{הוּ} \\ f. \text{הוּ}, \text{הוּ}; \text{הוּ}; \text{הוּ} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>him.</i> <i>her.</i>	3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הֵם},^1 \text{ם}; \text{ם} \text{ (contr.} \\ \text{from } \text{הֵמָּה), } \text{ם}; \\ \text{ם} \text{ (contr. from} \\ \text{הֵמָּה), } \text{ם}; \text{poet.} \\ f. \text{הֵנָּה},^1 \text{ן; } \text{ן; } \text{ן; } \text{ן} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>them.</i>

2. That these suffixes are *shortened forms of the personal Pronoun* is for the most part quite clear; and only some of them require explanation.

The suffixes אֲנִי , אֲנֵינוּ , הוּ , and הֵם never have the tone, but the syllable preceding them always takes it.

In the suffix of the 2d person (הוּ , הִיא , אַתָּה , אַתָּה) the basis appears to be a lost form of the pronoun אַתָּה with כֹּח instead of ת (אַתָּה , אַתָּה , אַתָּה), which was employed here perhaps in order to distinguish the suffixes from the affirmatives of the Perfect (§ 44, 1).

In the 3d person *masc.*, out of הוּ , by rejecting the feeble *h*, there arose ā-u , and thence often by contraction ô (§ 23, 4) usually written ו , much more seldom הוּ . In the *fem.*, the suffixes from הִיא ought, according to analogy, to sound הִיא , הִיא , הִיא ; but instead of הִיא , we have, for the sake of euphony, simply הִיא , where the *ה* is regularly a consonant,

¹ הֵם occurs but once as *verbal* suffix (Deut 32, 26); הֵנָּה not at all. Yet they are given in the list as *ground-forms*, which frequently occur with nouns and prepositions.

² Traces of this lost form appear still in the affirmatives of the Ethiopic verb, as *qatalka* (thou hast killed), and also in the Samaritan (see *Gesenii Carmina Samaritana*, *Anecdota Orientalia*, p. 43; *Petermann*, *Brevis linguae Samarit. grammatica* etc. Berol. 1873 p. 21). Comp. what was said on הִיא in § 44, 1. The *t* and *k* are not infrequently interchanged in languages generally (see § 33, 3, Note ¹).

and therefore with *Mappîq*; however there is also found הַ— (see No. 3, Rem. 1).

Once (Ez. 41, 15) הַ— stands for הַ—, as in West. Aram. and Arabic.

3. The *variety* in the forms of the suffixes was occasioned by the form and tense of the verb, which received and modified them. Thus, *three forms* of almost every suffix may be distinguished:

- a) One beginning with the consonant itself, as נִי, הִי, הִי, (הִי) הִי, etc. This is appended to verbal forms which end with a vowel, as קִטְּלֵהוּ, קִטְּלֵהוּ.
- b) A second and a third, with the so-called *union-vowels*¹ (הִי—, הִי—) for the verbal forms which end with a consonant (for the exception, see § 59, Rem. 3): with *a* as the *union-vowel* for the forms of the Perfect, as קִטְּלֵהוּ, קִטְּלֵהוּ; with *e* (rarely *a*) as the *union-vowel* for the forms of the Imperfect and Imperative, as קִטְּלֵהוּ, קִטְּלֵהוּ. To the Perfect belongs also the suffix הִי, as having originated from הִי— (§ 60, R. 2). With הִי, הִי, הִי, the uniting sound is only a half-vowel (*vocal Shewâ*), as הִי—, הִי—, e. g. קִטְּלֵהוּ (*qetlâ-l'khâ*); or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, הִי—, as in שִׁלְחֵהוּ. In *pause*, the *Shewâ* of הִי—, הִי— becomes *Seghôl* with the tone, as הִי— in קִטְּלֵהוּ, שִׁלְחֵהוּ. Comp. however also הִי— Deut. 28, 24 et al.

Rem. 1. As *rare forms*, may be mentioned: *sing.* 2d pers. *m.* הִי— 1 K. 18, 44, in *pause* הִי— Prov. 2, 11; *fem.* הִי—, הִי— Ps. 137, 6, and often in the later Psalms. (הִי—, contrary to the rule, joined to the Perf. in Judg. 4, 20).—In the 3d pers. *mas.* הִי Num. 23, 8; *fem.* הִי— without *Mappîq* Ex. 2, 3, Amos 1, 11, Jer. 44, 19.—The forms הִי—, הִי—, are strictly poetic (except Ex. 23, 31); instead of הִי— we find הִי— once in Ex. 15, 5. On the origin of these forms, see § 32, Rem. 7.

¹ We retain the common name *union-vowel*, although it rests on a rather superficial view, and is somewhat vague. These union-sounds seem, for the most part, to be traces of ancient terminations of the verb, like *i* of the 2d pers. sing. fem. in קִטְּלֵהוּ. Take, for example, the Hebrew form *qetlâ-ani*, when compared with the Arabic *qatala-ni*; and, on the other hand, the Hebrew *qetlâtni* and the Arab. *qatalatni*. Cf. Noldeke ZDMG, Bd. 38, p. 407 sq.

2. By comparing these suffixes of verbs with the suffixes of nouns (§ 91), we find that—*a*) there is here a greater variety of forms than there (because the forms and relations of the verb are themselves more various);—*b*) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer, as נִי , נִי־ , נִי־ (*me*), נִי־ (*my*). The reason is, that the object of the verb is less closely connected with it than the possessive pronoun is with the noun; on which account, also, the former may even be expressed by a separate word (§ 117, 2).

4. The suffix gains still more strength, when instead of the union-vowels there is inserted between it and the verb a union-syllable, נִי־ , which, when the syllable has the tone, becomes נִי־ (commonly called *Nûn epenthetic* or *Nûn demonstrative*), which, however, occurs only in the Imperfect and chiefly in *pause*, e.g. יְבָרֵךְ־נִי *he will bless him* (Ps. 72, 15), יְכַבֵּד־נִי *he will honour me* (Ps. 50, 23). This *Nûn* is, however, for the most part incorporated with the suffixes, and hence we get a new series of forms, viz.—

1st pers. נִי־ , נִי־ , for נִי־ , נִי־ ;

2d pers. נִי־ , once נִי־ (Jer. 22, 24) and *Pause* נִי־ (Prov. 2, 11);

3d pers. נִי־ for נִי־ , also נִי־ (Num. 23, 13); *fem.* נִי־ for נִי־ ;

1st pers. plur. נִי־ for נִי־ .

In the other persons this *Nûn* does not occur.

Rem. The uncontracted forms with *Nûn* written distinctly are rare and only poetic (Ex. 15, 2, Deut. 32, 10, Jer. 5, 22, 22, 24), and do not occur at all in 3 *fem.* sing. and 1 *plur.* The contracted forms (with the *Nûn* assimilated) are rather frequent also in prose, especially in *pause*, (very seldom נִי־ as first pers. pl. Hosea 12, 5; comp. נִי־ Gen. 44, 16, 50, 18. Num. 14, 40 for נִי־).

This *Nûn* is of a demonstrative nature, and gives more emphasis to the word, and is therefore chiefly found in *pause*. But it occurs also in the union of the suffixes with certain particles (§ 100, 5).

It is frequent in West. Aram.; in Samaritan it is appended also to the Perfect, and in similar cases even a נִי is inserted (*Petermann*, gramm. Samar. p. 12 ff.). In the Syriac we find *î* and *ai* inserted in the same way. The Arabic too has a corresponding emphatic form of the Imperfect with the pronominal suffixes, as *yaktulan-ka* or *yaqtullanna-ka*, which is however used also without suffixes. Comp. § 48, 2.

§ 59.

THE PERFECT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

1. The personal endings (*affirmatives*) of the Perfect have in part a different form, when connected with the suffixes; viz.—

- a) In the 3 *sing. fem.* הָ, הָ, the original feminine-ending, for הָ;
- b) 2 *sing. mas.* הָ, also הָ, to which the union-vowel is attached, but the only clear instance of this is with הָ¹;
- c) 2 *sing. fem.* הָ, likewise an older form for הָ (comp. הָ, קָטָה, § 32, Rem. 4; § 44, Rem. 4). This form is to be distinguished from the 1st pers. sing. only by the context.
- d) 2 *plur. mas.* הָ for הָ, which is explained by the Arabic *'antum, qataltum*, West. Aram. קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְתִּי for Heb. אָתָּם, קָטַלְתֶּם (§ 32, Rem. 5). Examples are found only in Num. 20, 5, 21, 5, Zech. 7, 5. The *fem.* קָטַלְתִּי with suffixes does not occur, but probably it took the same form as the masculine.

We exhibit, first, the forms of the Perfect in *Hiph'il* as they appear in connection with suffixes, because here no further change takes place in the stem itself, except as to the tone (see No. 2):

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
3 m. הָקָטִיל	3 c. הָקָטִילוּ
3 f. הָקָטִילָהּ	
2 m. הָקָטִילָהּ, הָקָטִילָהּ	2 m. הָקָטִילוּהָ
2 f. הָקָטִילָהּ, הָקָטִילָהּ	
1 c. הָקָטִילָהּ	1 c. הָקָטִילוּהָ

The beginner is recommended to practise first the manner of connecting the suffixes with this *Hiph'il*-form, and then to take up that with the Perf. of Qāl (see No. 2).

2. The tone inclines towards the appended suffix, so that it does not readily remain on the stem itself. And this

¹ The short *a* here also belongs properly to the form of the verb itself. See Note 1, under § 58, 3, *b*.

occasions, particularly in the Perfect of *Qāl*, certain vowel changes, *a*) the *Qā'měš* of the 1st syllable no longer standing before the tone, becomes vocal *Shēwā*; *b*) the original *Pāthäch* of the 2d syllable, which had disappeared in the third person sing. and plur. appears anew lengthened into *Qā'měš*; likewise original *i* becomes *ē* e. g. אֶהְיֶה 1 Sam. 18, 22; in consequence of which we have the following forms in that tense:—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
3 m. קָטַל	3 c. קָטְלוּ
3 f. קָטַלְתָּ	
2 m. קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתָּ, Rem. 4)	2 m. קָטַלְתֶּם
2 f. קָטַלְתִּי (קָטַלְתִּי, Rem. 4)	
1 c. קָטַלְתִּי	1 c. קָטַלְנוּ

The connection of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in Paradigm C. There it will be seen, too, how the *Šérē* in the Perfect *Pī'el* changes sometimes into *Sēghôl*, and sometimes into vocal *Shēwā*.

Rem. 1. The *suffixes* for the 2d pers. pl., כָּם and כֶּן, are (together with הָם and הֶן) rather more weighty (i. e. more strongly accented) forms than the others, and hence are called *grave suffixes*, and always have the tone. Compare their connection with *nouns* in § 91. With a verb in the Perfect we find only כָּם occurring (Ps. 118, 26). The form קָטַלְכֶם which is generally represented as a form of combination before כָּם and כֶּן in the 3d sing. masc. (also by Kimchi and in Parad. C. in this grammar) is only formed from analogy and, according to *Abraham de Balmis* it is without any example in the Old Testament.

2. In the 3 *sing. mas.* קָטַלְתָּ is very often contracted into קָטַלְתִּי, according to § 23, 4, and so likewise in the 2 *sing. mas.* קָטַלְתָּ into קָטַלְתִּי.

3. The 3 *sing. fem.* קָטַלְתָּ (= קָטַלְתָּ) has the twofold peculiarity—*a*) that the ending *ath* constantly draws the tone to itself,¹ and then takes the suffixes that make a syllable of themselves (נִי, קִי, רִי, הִי, מִי) without a union-vowel, contrary to the general rule (§ 58, 3, a);—*b*) with the other suffixes the union-vowel is indeed adopted, but the tone is drawn back to the penultima, so that they appear with shortened vowels (אֶהְיֶה, אֶהְיֶה, e. g. אֶהְיֶה she loves thee Ruth 4, 15, in many MSS. אֶהְיֶה, אֶהְיֶה, it burned them Is. 47, 14, אֶהְיֶה she has stolen them Gen. 31, 32. For אֶהְיֶה etc., we find in *pause* אֶהְיֶה Ps. 69, 10, אֶהְיֶה Cant. 8, 5, and also without *pause*, for the sake of correspondence

¹ אֶהְיֶה in Cant. 8, 5 is an exception. כָּם and כֶּן would probably have the tone even here (Rem. 1), but no examples occur in O. T.

in sound, חָבַלְתָּהּ (*she has born thee*) in the same verse (Cant. 8, 5). The forms קָטַלְתָּהּ and קָטַלְתָּהּ are *contr.* from קָטַלְתָּהּ (in *pause* קָטַלְתָּהּ Is. 59, 16) and קָטַלְתָּהּ, after the analogy of נָדָה, for נָדָה (§ 58, 4).

4. In the 2 *sing. masc.* קָטַלְתָּ is mostly used, and the suffixes have therefore no union-vowel, e. g. וְנִרְצִיתָנִי פָרַצְתָּנִי *thou hast rejected us, hast scattered us* Ps. 60, 3; only with 1 *p. sing.* we have קָטַלְתָּנִי (from קָטַלְתָּ and נִי) e. g. הִקְרַעְתָּנִי *thou searchest me* Ps. 139, 1, but also in *pause* עָזַבְתָּנִי *thou hast forsaken me* Ps. 22, 2.—In the 2 *sing. fem.* הִרְיָהּ is written also defectively, as in רָמִיתָנִי *thou (fem.) hast deceived me* 1 Sam. 19, 17, Jer. 15, 10, Cant. 5, 9, Ex. 2, 10; a few times the suff. is attached to the shorter form (הִרְיָ), as in הִשְׁבַּעְתָּנִי *thou (fem.) adjurest us* Cant. 5, 9, Josh. 2, 17, comp. Jer. 2, 27; and with שְׁעָרָהּ *thou (fem.) hast let us down* Josh. 2, 18.

5. In verbs *middle E*, the *E* remains before the suffixes, e. g. לִבְשָׁם *he puts them on* Lev. 16, 4, אָהַבְתָּ *he loves thee* Deut. 15, 16, אָהַבְתָּהּ *she loved him* 1 Sam. 18, 28. From a verb *middle O*, we have רָדַלְתָּ *I have subdued him* Ps. 13, 5, with a shortened *o* in a syllable that has lost the tone (§ 44, Rem. 3).

§ 60.

IMPERFECT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

In the forms of the Imperfect *Qāl*, which end with the last stem-letter, the vowel *ō* of the final syllable is shortened generally to *e*, *simple Sh'wā vocal* (—), at times to *°*, *Chātē'ph-qā'mēš* (—) Jer. 31, 33; but to *ö*, *Qāmēš-chātū'ph* (—), before הִי, הֵן, הֵם. Instead of תִּקְטְלֶנָּה the form תִּקְטְלוּ² is used as 2nd and 3rd person, Cant. 1, 6, Jer. 2, 19, Job 19, 15. The forms with *Nūn demonstrative* (§ 58, 4) are very apt to stand at the end of the clause or sentence.

Rem. 1. Verbs with *Impf. A* (to which belong specially all that have a *guttural* for the 2d or the 3d radical, §§ 64 and 65) retain the full *A* in the *Impf.* (and also the *Imp.* § 61, 2), and the *Pāthāch*, when it comes to stand in an open syllable, is lengthened into *Qāmēš*, e. g. וַיִּלְבְּשֵׁנִי *and it put me on* Job 29, 14, וַיִּצְלְחוּהוּ *let them demand it back* Job 3, 5, וַיִּשְׁלַחם *and he sent them* Josh. 8, 3, וַיִּקְרְאוּהוּ *they call upon him* Ps. 145, 18.

2. Occasionally, as exceptions, *suffixes* with the union-vowel *a*,

¹ Comp. 1 Sam. 1, 6, Is. 34, 17, Jer. 49, 24, Ruth 3, 6; in *pause* Ez. 14 15, everywhere, according to *Kimchi* without *Mappiq* in the closing הִי. The form אֶהְבְּתָהּ is found 1 Sam. 18, 28 in *pause*.

² This form is also found as *feminine* without a suffix in Jer. 49, 11, Ez. 37, 7.

occur also in the Imperfect, as in רָלַבְשָׁךְ Ex. 29, 30; comp. 2, 17, Gen. 19, 19, 29, 32; even רָרַבְו (ô from āhu) Hos. 8, 3: Comp. Ps. 35, 8, etc.

3. The *suffixes* are at times appended also to the plural forms in ין, e. g. תִּרְבָּאֵנִי ye crush me Job 19, 2; elsewhere always without a union-vowel, as in יִצְאוּנִי they shall find me Prov. 1, 28, Is. 60, 7, 10, Jer. 5, 22.

4. In *Pi.* the *Sērê* of the final syllable, like the *Chōlēm* in *Qāl*, becomes *Shewâ*; but before the suffixes ה־, כ־, ב־ it is only shortened into *Sêghôl*, e. g. יִקְבֹּץ he will gather thee Deut. 30, 4 (with final guttural יִשְׁלַח Gen. 32, 27), more rarely into *Chîrêq*, as אֶמְצָאֲךָ I will strengthen you Job 16, 5; comp. Ex. 31, 13, Is. 1, 15

5. In *Hiph.*, the long *i* remains, as in תִּלְבֹּשְׁנִי thou clothest me Job 10, 11; after ו consecutive frequently written defectively e. g. תִּעְבִּשְׁנִי Gen. 3, 21; and only rarely we meet with forms like תַּעֲשִׁיכֶנּוּ thou enrichest it Ps. 65, 10, 1 Sam. 17, 25. Comp. § 53, Rem. 4.

§ 61.

INFINITIVE, IMPERATIVE, AND PARTICIPLE WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

1. The *Infinitive* of a *verb active* can be construed with an accusative, and then it takes the *verbal suffix* (i. e. the *accusative* of the personal pronouns), as קָטַלְנִי to kill me; but as a *noun* it can take also the *nominal suffix* (i. e. the *genitive* of the personal pronoun) as קָטַלִּי my killing (see § 133, 1, 2). In either case it usually assumes in *Qāl* the form קָטַל, with the *ô* drawn backward. The syllable which is created thus is a slightly closed one, e. g. בִּכְתָבוֹ by his writing Jer. 45, 1 (not בִּכְתָבוֹ *kôth-bô* § 21, 2, a); only before ה־, כ־ there is a complete closing e. g. בְּאַסְפָּה Exod. 23, 16, Lev. 23, 39, if the throwing back of the vowel is not omitted altogether (v. Rem. 2). Comp. the *segholate nouns* of the form קָטַל, with which קָטַל is closely related, § 84 a, I. 1, a, and § 93, Parad. I.

Rem. 1. The *Inf.* of the form שָׁבַב becomes with suffixes שָׁבַבְךָ Gen. 19, 33, instead of שָׁבַבְהָ, *â* attenuated to *î*.

2. Before ה־, כ־, ב־, forms are found which depart from the analogy of *segholate nouns*, e. g. אֲכַלְכֶם your eating Gen. 3, 5 אֲמַדְךָ thy standing Obad. 11; but this analogy is followed in קָצַרְכֶם your harvesting Lev. 19, ■ (restoring orig. *û*), and מְאַסְכֶם (*mô-ôs^e-khê'm*) your contemning Is. 30, 12. In the *infinitive* of the *Piel* the *ê* bef. the Suff. ה־, כ־, ב־ is changed into *Sêghôl* e. g. הִפְרִיחַ Ex. 4, 10, or attenuated into *î* e. g. פִּרְשְׁכֶם Is. 1, 15 (v. § 60, 4).

2. The leading form of the *Imperative* in *Qāl* (קָטַל) takes the *suffixes* in the same form as the *Infinitive*. In קָטֹלְנִי (pronounced qōṭle'nî) the *Shewâ* is very slightly heard, hence we have e. g. רֹדֶפְנִי rōdhephēnî, without Dāghēsh in the פ (§ 21, 2, a). The forms קָטַלְי, קָטַלְי, which are not presented in the Paradigm, suffer no change. For the *fem.* קָטֹלְנָה the masculine form קָטַלְי is used, as in the Imperfect.—In the verbs that form the *Imperative* with *A* (to which belong especially those that have a *guttural* in the 2d or 3d radical, §§ 64 and 65), as in שְׁלַח, the *A* remains before the suffixes but is lengthened into *Qā'mēš*, because it comes to stand in an open syllable (just as in the *Impf. A*, § 60, Rem. 1), e. g. שְׁלַחְנִי send thou me Is. 6, 8, בְּהַנִּי prove thou me Ps. 26, 2. קְרֵאְנִי call thou me Ps. 50, 15, שְׁמַעְנִי Gen. 23, 8. בִּצְעֵם Amos 9, 1 is abnormal (for בִּצְעֵם) with toneless *ām* as in the *perf.* after 3d singular *fem.* § 29, 3 b. In the *Imp.* of *Hiph'il*, not the form הִקְטַל, but הִקְטִיל is used (i on account of the open syllable); e. g. הִקְרִיבֵהּ offer it Mal. 1, 8.

3. The *Participles* shorten their vowels in the same way as *nouns* of the like form do, e. g. קָטַל, רֹדֵף, רֹדֶף etc. On the contrary before the *Shewâ mobile* יֹדֵף etc., or by sharpening אֹיֶבֶת Exod. 23, 4, אֹסֶפֶת 2 K. 22, 20; from מִקְטַל is formed מִקְטִל, מִקְטֵל etc. (by sharpening *ē* into *ī*, Is. 52, 12).

On the difference between קָטַלְי (*my killing one*) and קָטֹלְנִי (*killing me*) see § 116.

II. THE WEAK VERB.¹

A. VERBS WITH GUTTURALS.

§ 62.

Paradigms D. E. F.

Verbs which have a *guttural* for one of the three stem-letters deviate from the strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These deviations do not change the stem consonants and therefore can only in part be taken for actual

¹ See the general view of the classes of verbs, in § 41.

weakness, as in the omission of the doubling (by *Dāghē'sh fortē*, § 63, 4 and § 64, 3), on the other hand, a few original elements have been preserved in guttural stems whilst they have degenerated in the regular strong verb. For instance in forms like יִחַמֵּד (§ 63, 2), the original *ā* of the preformative is kept (§ 47, 2), which is weakened into *i* in the so-called strong verb, as in יִקְטֹל. Of course the מ and ה come into account here only when they retain their power as consonants, and are not substitutes for vowels as the מ in a part of the verbs א"פ, § 68, as well as in some א"ע § 73, Rem. 4 and in all א"ל § 74. In all these cases the א is originally a full consonant, while ה in verbs ה"ל was never anything else but a vowel letter, comp. § 75. The real consonant ה at the end of the word is known by the *Mappiq*—but the ר shares only partially in these anomalies (§ 22, 5). For more convenient representation, we distinguish the three cases in which the guttural stands first, second, or third in the stem. The three Paradigms, D, E and F, where only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular, exhibit the inflections, which are more fully explained in the following sections (63—65).

§ 63.

VERBS PĒ (פ) GUTTURAL.

E. g. עָמַד to stand. Paradigm D.

The deviations here from the regular verb may be reduced to the following particulars:—

1. When the first stem-letter, at the beginning of the word, would regularly have a *simple Shewâ* (קָטַל, קְטִיל), it takes here always a *composite Shewa* (*Chātēph* § 10, 2, § 22, 3); e. g. *Inf.* עָמַד to stand, אָכַל to eat, *Perf.* עָמַדְתָּם, אָכַלְתָּם from עָפַץ to be inclined; for אָכַל cf. § 22, 4, Rem. 2, a.

2. When a preformative is placed before a guttural, they either form together a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative appears again as *Chātēph* under the guttural. In both cases a double formation may again be distinguished

according as the original *ă* remains or is attenuated into *i*. Examples *a*) for closed syllables with the original vowel of the preformative: יַחַמֵּד, יַחַמֵּל, יַחַשֵּׁב etc. (and thus mostly with initial ה in *Impf. Qal*, sometimes with forms repeating *ă* as *Châtēph* under the guttural e. g. יַחַשֵּׁב etc.); the same in the *impf. Hiph'il* יַחַסֵּיר etc. Very rarely the original *ă* is found in a closed syllable under the *preform. נ* of the *Perf. Niph'al*: נִחַבְּאֵת Gen. 31, 27; comp. 1 Sam. 19, 2, Jos. 2, 16; on the other hand *ă* occurs very frequently under the preformative followed by *Châtēph Păthäch* e. g. נִעַשֵּׂה etc. likewise in the *Particip. נֶעֱרַךְ* Ps. 89, 8 etc. *b*) slightly closed, with *Châtēph* after the original vowel: יַחַלֵּם, יַעֲמֹד, יַהֲרֹם (and so almost always with ע and ה in *Impf. Qāl* and *Hiph'il*; יַעֲמֹד, יַהֲרֹם in *Höph'āl*). — The *i* attenuated from *ă* is almost always changed before gutturals into *Sēghôl* (comp. however Rem. 5); this *Sēghôl* appears partly *c*) in closed syllables e. g. יַעֲתֵר, יַחַסֵּר, יַחַבֵּשׁ, יַהֲפֹךְ, יַאֲשֵׁם and so almost always in the *Impf. Qāl* with *ă* in the 2d syllable (comp. however Rem. 2); in *Niph.* e. g. יַהֲפֹךְ etc., in *Hiph.* יַחַסֵּיר etc., and partly *d*) slightly closed, followed by *Châtēph Sēghôl* e. g. יַחַשֵּׁה, יַאֲכֹה in *Impf. Qāl* (however never with ע); יַעֲמִיד *Hiph.* יַעֲמֹד *Niphal*.

Rem. In connection with the above examples the following remarks may be made: 1) The forms with the closed syllable (the so-called "hard combination" *a*) and *e*)) occur frequently in the verb by the side of forms with slightly closed syllables (the so-called "soft combinations" *b*) and *d*)). 2) In the 1. *sing. Impf. Qāl* the preformative Aleph receives continually —, whether in the slightly or firmly closed syllables. 3) The removal of the tone towards the end causes frequently a change of the *Păthäch* of the preformative into *Sēghôl* and *vice versa*, e. g. נִעַשֵּׂה, but 3. *sing. fem.* נִעַשְׂתָּה, יַאֲכֹה, but יַאֲכֹסִי, יַעֲמִיד, but יַעֲמִידָם etc., and thus almost always with the change of the *Châtēph Sēghôl* group into the lighter *Châtēph Păthäch* group, whenever the tone is removed one place farther back (comp. § 27. Rem. 5). 4) In all these examples cited above *Sēghôl* may also be considered as a modulation of the original short *Păthäch*. In this case all the formations of the *verba primae gutturalis* (Pē guttural verbs) would be based on a restoration of the original vowel of the preformatives. Compare however the same change from *ĩ* to *ě* in the Imper. (Rem. 1).

3. When in forms like יַעֲמִיד, יַעֲמֹד, the vowel of the final syllable is changed into *simple Sh'wâ* vocal, on account of the

accession of one of the affirmatives (וְ, וְ, וְ), then the composite *Shewâ* of the guttural changes to the corresponding short vowel, as יַעֲמֹד, plur. יַעֲמֹדוּ (sound *yä-äm-dhû*), נֶעְזְבָה, *she is forsaken*. But here also there exists a harder form besides, as יִתְחַבְּלוּ *they take a pledge* (also יִתְחַבְּלוּ), יִתְחַזְּקוּ as well as יִתְחַזְּקוּ *they are strong*. Compare in general § 22, 4, § 28, 3.

4. In the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* of *Niph.*, where the first stem-letter would regularly be doubled (יִקְטֹל, יִקְטֹל), the doubling is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative is lengthened into *Šē'rê*, as יַעֲמֹד for יַעֲמֹד (§ 22, 1).

REMARKS.

I. On *Qāl*.

1. In verbs אֶפֶס the *Inf. constr.* and *Imp. take* (—) under the first letter (according to § 22, 4, Rem. 2); hence יִגִּיד אַתָּה *gird thou* Job 38, 3, אָהַב אַתָּה *love thou* Hos. 3, 1, אָכַל, with a prefix אָהַז *to eat*. The (—) is found also at times, as in *Inf.* אָהַז 1 K. 6, 6; e. g. אָהַז הָאֵשׁ Num. 26, 10.

Also in the other forms of the *Imp.*, the guttural often exerts its influence upon the vowel, which it changes to *Sēghôl*, as יִתְשַׁבֵּי *strip thyself* Is. 47, 2, יִתְרַבֵּה (for יִתְרַבֵּה, w. ה cohort.) *set thyself* Job 33, 5; especially when the second radical also is a guttural, as אָהַב Ps. 31, 24. *Päthäch* occurs in יִתְחַבְּלוּ *pledge him* Prov. 20, 16, and perhaps Ps. 9, 14 (יִתְחַבְּלוּ).

2. The *Imperfect A*, as the Paradigm shows, has regularly under the first two letters —; by those verbs which are at the same time ל"ה; and with the hard combination — as יִתְחַבֵּי *he ceases*, יִתְחַבֵּי *he is wise*. This is true likewise of some verbs *Pē Guttural*, which are also verbs ל"ה, as יִתְחַבֵּי *he sees*, יִתְחַבֵּי *he divides*, but some are like יִתְחַבֵּי, יִתְחַבֵּי. The pointing — is found even in verbs *Impf. O*, but less frequently, as יִתְחַבֵּי *he collects*, יִתְחַבֵּי *he lays bare*. The form יִתְחַבֵּי and *she loves* Ez. 23, 5, stands quite by itself.—In these forms the pointing — is frequently shortened to — (according to § 27, Rem. 5), as יִתְחַבֵּי *he binds*, plur. with suffix יִתְחַבֵּי, also יִתְחַבֵּי. The form יִתְחַבֵּי, Ps. 7, 6, which according to *Kimchi* is a mixed form derived from the *Qāl* (יִתְחַבֵּי) and *Pi* (יִתְחַבֵּי), can be considered only as a further change from יִתְחַבֵּי (comp. § 64. Rem. 3 יִתְחַבֵּי Ex. 9, 23 is similar.

II. On *Hiph'il* and *Hōphāl*.

3. The above-named (Rem. 2) shortening of — to — occurs here also in the *Perf. Hiph.* after *Wāw consec.*; i. e. after the throwing

forward of the tone, as *תָּעַמְדָּתָּ* *thou didst set*, but with the *Wāw* *וַתַּעֲמִדְּךָ* and *thou shalt set* Num. 3, 6, 8, 13, 27, 19; *תַּעֲבֹרְךָ*, but *וַתַּעֲבֹרְךָ* Jer. 15, 14, Ez. 20, 37.

4. In the *Perf.* of *Hiph.*, *עָ* is sometimes changed into *וָ*, and *עָ* into *וָ* in *Hoph.*, by lengthening the short vowel, under the influence of the *Methēg*, e. g. *תָּעַבְרָתָּ* *thou leddest over* Josh. 7, 7, *הֵבִילָהּ* *he brings up* Hab. 1, 15; *הֵבִילָהּ* Judg. 6, 28, Nah. 2, 8. On an other case of this kind (*וַתַּעֲבֹרְךָ*) see § 64. 2. Something similar occurs with nouns of the so-called Segholate forms after *qōṭl* comp. § 93.

III. In General.

5. In the verbs *הָיָה* *to be* and *חָיָה* *to live* the guttural is almost wholly without influence in combination with the preformative; thus the *Impf. Qāl* *יִהְיֶה* and *יִחְיֶה* *Niph.* *יִהְיֶה*; only in *Perf. Hiph.* *הִיָּה* (2. plur. *יִהְיֶה* Jos. 2, 13). Where initial *ה* and *ח* should have vocal *Shēwā* this is always replaced by *Chateph Sēghōl* e. g. *הָיָה*, *חָיָה*, *הָיָה*, *חָיָה* (except in 2. sing. fem. of the *Impf. Qāl*: *הָיָה* Gen. 24, 60 *חָיָה* Ez. 16, 6 and in *Inf.* *חָיָה* Jos. 5, 8); after the prefixes *ו*, *ב*, *כ*, *ל*, however, the *Chat. Sēghōl* becomes *Shēwā* and the prefix takes *š*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Shēwā*; therefore in *Perf. Qāl* *וַהֲיִיתָ*, *Imper.* *וַהֲיִי*, *Inf.* *לְהִיּוֹת*, *לְהִיּוֹת* etc. The only exception is the 2. masc. of the *Imper.* after *Wāw*: *וַהֲיִי* Gen. 12, 2, *וַחֲיִי* Gen. 20, 7.

6. On verbs *פִּ* in which the *פ* loses its consonant sound and is resolved into a vowel, see § 68.

§ 64.

VERBS 'ĀYĪN (ע) GUTTURAL.

E. g. *שָׁחַט* *to slaughter*. Paradigm E.

The deviations from the strong verb are less important in this class,¹ and are mainly as follows:—

1. Where a *simple Shēwā* is required, the guttural takes, nearly without exception, a *composite Shēwā*, viz. the *Chāṭē'ph-Pā'thāch* (—); e. g. *Perf.* *שָׁחַט*, *Impf.* *יִשְׁחַט*, *Imp. Niph.* *יִשְׁחַט*. In the *Imp. Qāl* before the affirmatives *ו* and *ו* the original *Pā'thāch* occurs in the 1st syllable and is followed by *Chāṭē'ph*—

¹ *Hōph'āl*, which is not exhibited in the Paradigm, is inflected like *Qāl*: *Hīph'īl* is regular.

Pā'thāch, the syllable being only slightly closed ; but in אָחָבִי the preference of the א for *S'ghó'l* has caused the change from *ā* to *ē* and in שָׁחֲרִי Job 6, 22 the *ī* remains before a hard guttural.

So in the *Inf. Qāl* w. suf. as in Is. 9, 6 סָעָדָהּ *to support it* (but צָעָדָהּ *thy marching* Judg. 5, 4) and in the fem. form (§ 45, ■ *b*) אָהָבָהּ *to love*, הָאָבָהּ *to languish*.—

2. As the preference of the gutturals for the *A* sound has generally less influence on the following than on the preceding vowel (§ 22, 2), so not only is the *Chō'lem* in *Inf. Qāl* שָׁחַט, שָׁחַט retained, but also, for the most part, the *Se'rē* in *Impf. Niph.* and *Pi.* יָלָחַם *he fights*, יָנַחַם *he comforts*, and even the more feeble *S'ghó'l* (after *Wāw* consecutive וַיִּלָּחֶם). But in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* of *Qāl*, the last syllable generally takes (-), through the influence of the guttural even in *transitive* verbs, e. g. יָבַחַר, בָּחַר; יָזַעַק, זָעַק; יָשַׁחַט, שָׁחַט (seldom like יָנַחַם, נָאָח), with *suff.* in the *Imp.* שָׁאֲלֹנִי, בָּחֲנֹנִי, in the *Impf.* יִנְאָלֶיהוּ; with the *ō* in *Imper. Qāl* is found only נַעַל 2 Sam. 13, 17; אָהוּ Ex. 4, 4, 2 Sam. 2, 21 *fem.* אָחֹרִי Ruth 3, 15 (so according to *Kimchi* in the *Wurzelwörterb.* with the unusual echo of the expelled *ō* as *Chātēph-Qā'mēs*; on the other hand in pl. regularly אָחֹוִי; סָעָר Judges 19, 8 (according to *Kimchi* סָעָר 19, 5 can only be read *s'ād* with the abnormal lengthening for סָעָר); finally, here also belongs יָזַמָּה instead of יָזַמָּה Num. 23, 7 v. § 63, 4. Just as rare are the *Imp. med. gut.* with *ō* as יָנַחַם, נָאָח comp. Is. 27, 4, Ez. 16, 33 and also in the *Perf. Pi.*, *Pā'thāch* occurs more frequently than in the strong verb, as נָחַם *to comfort*.

3. In *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.*, the *Dāghē'sh fortè* is inadmissible in the middle-stem letter; but, in the greater number of examples, particularly before ה, ח, and ע, the preceding vowel remains short, the guttural having *Dāghē'sh fortè implicitum* (see § 22, 1); e. g. *Pi.* שָׂחַק, *Inf.* שָׁחַק *to sport*, *Pu.* רָחַץ *to be washed*, *Hitph. Imper.* הִשְׁחַחֲרוּ *cleanse yourselves*. The complete mission of the doubling and therefore the lengthening of the preceding vowel occurs continually only with ר e. g. בָּרַךְ *to bless*, *Impf.* יְבַרְכֶּה, *Pū'āl* בִּרְכֶּה; before א it occurs regularly in the stems פָּאֵר, מָאֵן, גָּאֵל, בָּאֵר and in the *Hithpā'ē'ls*

of באשׁ, ראה and שאה; on the other hand א is virtually doubled in the *Perfects* נָאָה (once in *Impf.* Jer. 29, 23) to commit adultery, נָאָץ to despise (twice besides in the participle Is. 60, 14, Jer. 23, 17), נָאָר to abhor Lam. 2, 7 (also נִאָרְהָה Ps. 89, 40) and נָאָל Ps. 109, 10; furthermore in the *infinitive* יֵאָשׁ Eccl. 2, 20 according to the best reading; in the *Pū'āl* רָאִי Job 33, 21 the ■ should be written with *Dāghē'sh fortè*, according to the correct Massora.

Rem. 1. In the verb נָאָל to ask, beg some forms of the *Perfect Qāl* seem to have been based upon a secondary form *Med. E.* (acc. to *Kimchi*, see also Davies' Heb. Lex.), comp. נָאָלְךָ Gen. 32, 18, Judg. 4, 20, נָאָלְוּ Ps. 137, 3, נָאָלְכֶם 1 Sam. 12, 13, 25, 5, Job 21, 29, נָאָלְתִּירוּ Judg. 13, 6, 1 Sam. 1, 20 (also *Hiph.* נָאָלְתִּירוּ 1 Sam. 1, 28). Compare however similar cases (attenuation of an original *ā*) § 69, Rem. 4 and especially § 44, Rem. 2. In the three first cases the *ī* (attenuated from *ā*) would be lengthened into *ē* (before the tone); in the three following cases *ī* would be changed into *ē*.

2. In *Pi.* and *Hithp.*, the tone is sometimes drawn back upon the penultima, and the *Sērê* of the final syllable shortened to *Sēghôl*, viz.—*a*) Before a word of one syllable (according to § 29, 3. *b*) as לְשִׁרְתָּם in order to serve there Deut. 17, 12; even with virtual doubling of the gutt. Gen. 39, 14, Job 8, 18.—*b*) After *Wāw* consecutive, as וְיִבְרָךְ and he blessed Gen. 1, 22, וְיִצְרָךְ and he drove out Ex. 10, 11.

3. The following are rare anomalies: in the *Impf. Qāl* יִצְחָק Gen. 21, 6 (elsewhere יִצְחָק etc., in *pause* יִצְחָק, comp. § 63, Rem. 2); יִאָחַר Gen. 32, 5 (for יִאָחֲרִי); in the *Perf.* of *Pi.*: יִאָחֲרִי they delay Jud. 5, 28, for יִאָחֲרִי; and the similar form יִחַמְּתִנִּי she conceived me Ps. 51, 7, for יִחַמְּתִנִּי; finally in the *Imper. Hiph.* חִיְיָחָק Job 13, 21 and חִמְּעָר Ps. 69, 24, in both cases not without the influence of the closing consonant, and at the same time with the preference of *Päthäch* in *pause* (as a clearer and sharper sound).

4. A few examples where the א, as a middle guttural, loses entirely its consonant sound and is resolved into a vowel, will be found in § 73, Rem. 4.

§ 65.

VERBS LĀMĒDH (ל) GUTTURAL.

E. g. שִׁלַּח to send. *Paradigm F.*

1. According to § 22, 2, *a* and *b*, when the last syllable has a vowel which is heterogeneous to the guttural (i. e. not an *A* sound) we distinguish two cases, viz., either the regular

vowel of the final syllable *remains*, and the guttural takes *Pä'thäch furtive*, or the full vowel *Pä'thäch* takes its place. The particulars are as follows:—

- a) The strong unchangeable vowels ה, ו, י (§ 25, 1), are always retained; hence *Inf. absol.* *Qāl* שָׁלוֹחַ, *Part. pass.* שָׁלוּחַ; *Hiph.* הַשְׁלוּחַ, *Impf.* וַשְׁלוּחַ, *Part.* מַשְׁלוּחַ. So also the *ō*, though less firm, is retained in the *Inf. constr.* שָׁלַח, (comp. however in close connection with the substantive שָׁלַח Is. 58, 9 and נָתַע Num. 20, 3).
- b) Instead of the *ō* in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* of *Qāl* we have *ǎ*, either through the influence of the guttural (comp. the remainder of the *o* sound in אֶפְשָׁעָה Is. 27, 4) or because the *Pä'thäch* was the original vowel, thus: וַשְׁלַח, שָׁלַח. With *suff.* וַשְׁלַחְנִי, שָׁלַחְנִי, see § 60, Rem. 1.
- c) Where *Šērê* is the regular vowel of the last syllable, the forms with *ē^a* and *ǎ* are both employed, but usage generally makes a distinction. Thus—

In the *Part. Qāl* and *Pi.* the only predominant form is שָׁלַח, מַשְׁלַח, and the full *Pä'thäch* appears only in the *constr. state* שָׁלַח, מַשְׁלַח.

In the *Impf.* and *Inf. Niph.*, and in the *Perf. Inf.* and *Impf. Pi.*, the shorter form with (—) usually stands at the beginning and in the middle of a sentence, the one with (—) at the end, and in *pause*; e. g. יִקָּרַע it is diminished Num. 27, 4, comp. יִקָּרַע 36, 3; יִבָּקַע he cleaves Hab. 3, 9, comp. יִבָּקַע Ez. 13, 11, בָּלַע to swallow Hab. 1, 13, Num. 4, 20 with בָּלַע Lam. 2, 8. It may further be observed, that the *Inf. absol.* retains *Šērê*, but the *Inf. constr.* loses it, e. g. שָׁלַח Deut. 22, 7, 1 K. 11, 22, else שָׁלַח to send. Outside of the *pause* there is found יִזְבַּח Hab. 1, 16 and even יִזְבַּח 2 K. 16, 4; furthermore in the *Imper. Pi.* שָׁמַח Ps. 86, 4 (with *Dêchû*): on the other hand in *pause* הִצִּיחַ Ez. 21, 11 as *Imper. Niph.* An example of *ǎ* in *Imper. Pi'el* through the influence of a closing ה is הִפְתֵּר Job 36, 2.

In *Hiph.* the shortened forms of the *Imp.* and *Impf.* admit only (—), e. g. הִצִּלְתָּ prosper thou, וַיִּבְטַח and he caused to trust, וַיִּצְמַח and he caused to sprout. The *Inf. absol.* takes (—), as הִקְבִּיעַ to make high; but as *Inf. constr.* also הִקְבִּיעַ occurs in Job 6, 26.

2. The guttural here has *simple Shewâ* whenever the third radical regularly takes it (because it is *Shewâ quiescent*, which generally remains even under gutturals, § 22, 4), as שָׁלַחְתָּ, שָׁלַחְתִּי. But in the 2 *fem. Perf.* a helping-*Pä'thäch* takes its place, as שָׁלַחְתְּ (§ 28, 4), yet comp. לָקַחְתְּ 1 K. 14, 3.

The softer combination with (־) for (־) occurs only in some examples of the 1 *plur. Perf.* when the tone is thrown forward, as יִרְעֶנָּה *we know thee* Hos. 8, 2, comp. Gen. 26, 29, Ps. 44, 18, 2 Sam. 21, 13; and also before the suffixes הָ, כֶּם, כֶּן, as אֶשְׁלַחְךָ *I will send thee* 1 Sam. 16, 1, אֶשְׁלַחְךָ Gen. 31, 27, אֶשְׁמְרֶךָ Jer. 18, 2.

On the weak verbs אֵל, see especially in § 74.

B. CONTRACTED VERBS.

§ 66.

VERBS ב'.

E.g. נָגַשׁ *to approach*. Paradigm H.

The weakness of initial נ consists principally in its submitting to *Aphæresis* in the *Inf. constr.* and *Imperf.* in a part of these verbs (comp. 19, 3, a). On the other hand, the assimilation of the נ (v. below) cannot really be considered as weakness, as the stem still retains three consonants (by the doubling of the 2d cons.). More particularly we remark:—

1. The *Aphæresis* of the *Nûn a*) in the *Inf. constr.* This occurs only (though not necessarily) with such verbs as have *a* in the second syllable of the *Imperf.*, thus: נָגַשׁ, *Imperf.* רָגַשׁ, *Inf.* really נָגַשׁ, but always enlarged with ה to the Segholate form נִגְשֶׁה; with *Suff.* נִגְשֶׁהוּ Gen. 33, 3 (attenuated from נִגְשֶׁהוּ); with the concurrence of a guttural נָגַע *to touch*, *Imperf.* רָגַע, *Inf.* נִגְעָה (also נִגַּע); נָטַע *to plant* *Inf.* נִטְעָה (also נִטַּע). The feminine ending in this case serves as a means of artificially reestablishing the semblance of a triliterality. (On the verb נָתַן *to give* v. especially Rem. 3). On the other hand, *Aphæresis* does not take place with verbs which have *ō* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָפַל *to fall*, *Imperf.* רָפַל, *Inf.* נִפַּל, with *Suff.* נִפַּלְו also נִפְּלוּ (which originated from נִפַּל, נִפְּלוּ).—b) In the *Imperf.* Here the dropping of the *Nûn* takes place everywhere in verbs with *a* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָגַשׁ, *Imperf.* גַּשׁ (frequently with *paragog. āh* גִּשְׁה before *Māqqē'ph* also גִּשְׁה Gen. 19, 9), גָּשִׁי etc. however also with *ō* גָּשִׁי Ruth 2, 14, and גָּשִׁי 2 Chron. 29, 31; in both cases outside of the *pause*. With *Nûn* preserved is found only גָּרַג 2 Kings 4, 24 (*Impf.* גָּרַגְתָּ *without* the assimi-

lation of the *Nûn*; comp. also of verbs ל"ה which are at the same time נ"ה: Ez. 32, 18, נחה Gen. 32, 34). Here also *Aphæresis* does not take place with verbs which have *ō* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נצר, נחץ etc.

2. Whenever *Nûn* stands at the end of a syllable after a preformative, it assimilates itself to the following stem-letter (§ 19, 2, a); viz., a) in the *Impf.* Qāl, e. g. יִפֹּל for יִנֹּפֵל *he will fall*, יִנַּשׁ for יִנְשֵׁשׁ, יִתֵּן for יִתְּנֶה *he will give* (the *Impf. O*, as in the strong verb, being usual, the *Impf. E* only in this example);¹—b) in the *Perf.* Niph., e. g. נָשׂ for נִשְׁשׁ;—c) in the whole of *Hiph.* and *Hoph.* (which here has always *Qibbûs*, according to § 9, 9, 2), e. g. הִנִּישׁ, הִנְשֵׁשׁ, for הִנְיִישׁ, הִנְיִשֵּׁשׁ.

The other forms are all quite regular, e.g. *Perf.*, *Inf. absol.*, *Part.* Qāl, all *Pī'ēl*, *Pū'āl*, etc. Only the irregular conjugations are given in the Paradigm H.

The characteristic of these verbs in all forms which begin with a formative letter, is the *Dāghē'sh fortè* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, appear also in some verbs פ"י (§ 71) and even in verbs ע"ע (§ 67, 5). The *Inf.* יִנְשֵׁשׁ and the *Imp.* נָשׂ, also נָשׁ (Gen. 19, 9) and יָתֵן, coincide with those of verbs פ"י (§ 69).—On יָקַח, קָח, יִקַּח (from לָקַח *to take*), see below in Rem. 2.—יָקִים is *Impf. Niph.* of קָם, and so in all weak verbs ע"ו (§ 72, 4).—Also אָסַק (Ps. 139, 8) is not from נָסַק, but contracted from אָסַקַל from סָלַק *to ascend* (see § 19, 2, Rem.)

Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn*, before a firm consonant, e. g. *Impf.* יִנְטֵר *he keeps* Jer. 3, 5 (elsewhere יִשֵּׁר), of נָצַר the pausal form is always יִנְצֵר outside of the *pause* יִצְרֵי Prov. 20, 28); in the same way the *Nûn* is retained with the *pause* in Ps. 61, 8, 140, 2, 5, Prov. 2, 11. In *Niph.* this never occurs and very seldom in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, as הִנְחִיר *to melt* Ez. 22, 20, הִנְחִיקוּ *they are cut off* Judg. 20, 31. It regularly occurs, however, in all verbs which have a guttural for their second stem-letter, as יִנְחֵל *he will possess*. In these verbs the *Nûn* only rarely falls away, as יִרַח for יִרְחַח *he will descend*; *Niph.* נָחַם for נִנְחַם *he has comforted himself*.

2. Like the *Nûn* of these verbs (§ 19, 2), the ל of the verb לָקַח (*to take*) is also treated. Hence *Impf.* Qāl יִקַּח, *Imp.* קָח in *pause* and be-

¹ The *Impf. A.* (יִנְשֵׁשׁ) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in יִנְשֵׁשׁ.

fore suff. קָח, *paragog.* קָחָה; קָחַי etc. (comp. however also לָקַח Ex. 29, 1. Ez. 37, 16. Prov. 20, 16. לָקַחַי 1 K. 17, 11); *Inf. constr.* קָחָה (w. suff. קָחָהּ), *Hoph. Impf.* יִקָּח, but *Niph'āl* is always יִקָּחַל.

3. The above mentioned verb נָתַן *to give* furnishes the only example of an *Imperf.* with *ē* (נִתֵּן for נִתְּנָהּ); corresponding to which also we have the *Imperf.* נָתַן or (very frequently) נָתַנָּה, before *Maqqēph* נָתַנָּה, *fem.* נָתַנָּה etc. This much used verb has this farther peculiarity that the third radical (the final *Nûn*) is assimilated, as נָתַחַר for נָתַחְּרָהּ, נָתַחַ for נָתַחְּהּ (very frequently נָתַחַ as a kind of orthographical compensation for the assimilated נ); *Niph'āl Perf.* נָתַחַם Lev. 26, 25.—Also in the *Inf. constr.* *Qāl* the groundform נָתַחַ has not been enlarged into נָתַחְּ (comp. נָתַחְּ from נָתַחַ) but contracted into נָתַח, and this was afterward lengthened into נָתַחַ when the *Dāghē'sh fortè* was dropped v. § 20, 3, a; therefore with the suffixes נָתַחַי, נָתַחְּהּ etc. (before *Māqqēph* with the prefix לְ=לָתַחְּ e. g. Exod. 5, 21, but also elsewhere in close connection e. g. Gen. 15, 7; also the strong formation of the *Infin. constr.* in נָתַחַ Num. 20, 21 and נָתַחְּ Gen. 38, 9.) In other stems, the נ as third radical is retained, נָתַחְּהּ, נָתַחְּהּ. Upon the entirely anomalous *Aphaeresis* of the *Nûn* with a strong vowel in נָתַחַ for נָתַחַ 2 Sam. 22, 41 comp. § 19, 3, a.

§ 67.

VERBS 'AY'IN DOUBLED (ע"צ).

E. g. סָבַב *to surround. Paradigm G.*

1. The chief peculiarities of this verb lie in the fact that both of the original stem consonants, in all forms where in their strong form they would be separated from each other only by a short vowel, can become consolidated into one double consonant. On the necessary recession of the vowel in contraction see No. 2, e. g. סָבַב (orig. form *sābābū*) for סָבַבּוּ, סָבַב for סָבַבּ; סָבַב for סָבַבּ (in Parad. G as well as in the examples below, סָבַב represents the 3d masc. sing. Perf. only for sake of analogy).

2. The monosyllabic stem thus obtained takes, throughout, the vowel which the full form would have had in its *second* syllable, because that serves to characterise the form (§ 43, Rem. 1), e. g. *Perf.* סָבַב for סָבַבּ; סָבַב for סָבַבּהּ (both from the original *sābhābhāth*), *Inf.* סָבַב for סָבַבּ; *Hiph.* סָבַב for סָבַבּהּ (comp. No. 6).

3. The *Dāghē'sh fortè*, which, after this contraction, properly belongs throughout to the final stem-letter, is ex-

cluded from it (§ 20, 3, *a*), except when formative additions are made at the end, as סָבַר, סָבַר, *Impf.* רָסַבּוּ, but not סָב, סָב.

4. When the affirmative begins with a consonant (נ, ת), a vowel is inserted before it, in order to render audible the Dāghē'sh of the final stem-letter¹ (§ 20, 3, *c*, Rem.), which vowel in the Perf. is י, in the Imp. and *Impf.* יִ, e. g. סָבַרְתָּ, סָבַרְתָּ, *Impf.* תִּסְבְּרָה (for *sabb-ta*, *sabb-nu*, *ʿsobb-na*).

5. The preformatives of *Impf.* Qāl, *Perf.* of *Niph.*, *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, which in consequence of the contraction stand in a simple syllable (יֹסֵב instead of יֹסֵבֵב), take, instead of the short vowel of the regular form, the corresponding long one (according to § 27, 2, *a*), e. g. *Impf. Hiph.* יֹסֵב for יֹסֵבֵב, *Imper.* הִסֵּב for הִסֵּבֵב etc. Where the preformatives now have *ī*, either the original *ā* (which was attenuated into *ī*) is restored and lengthened e. g. יֹסֵב in *Impf. Qāl* from original יֹסֵבֵב, or the *ī* itself is lengthened into *ē* e. g. הִסֵּב *Perf. Hiph.* for הִסֵּבֵב (see further details in No. 6). This lengthened vowel can be retained however only before the tone (except the *ū* of the Hophal lengthened from *ū* הִוֵּסֵב for הִוֵּסֵבֵב); by the removal of the tone, the vowel, according to § 27, 3, becomes necessarily *Sh'wā* (under א and ה composite *Sh'wā*) e. g. תִּסְבְּרָה but תִּסְבְּרָה; תִּסְבְּרָה but תִּסְבְּרָה; *Hiph. Perf.* תִּסְבְּרָה etc.

NB. There is still another mode (the common one in *Aramaic*) of constructing these forms, which supplies a Dāghēsh in the first radical in place of doubling the third (comp. § 19, 2, Rem.); e. g. *Impf. Qāl* יֹסֵב for יֹסֵבֵב, *Impf. Hiph.* יִהַס for יִהַסֵּב, *Hoph.* יִהַס for יִהַסֵּב. These forms do not usually take Dāghēsh in the final letter on receiving an accession, as יִקְרִי they bow themselves (from יָקַר), וַיִּכְרְזוּ and they smote (from כָּרַז), perhaps because the doubling makes the stem trilateral;

¹ No satisfactory explanation for these separating vowels has been given as yet. As in none of these forms it could be said that the original vowel had returned, there remains simply the supposition that a really new vowel has been inserted as an expedient for pronunciation. Rödiger refers to the analogy of the verbs לָחַץ in forms like חָלְצָה, חָלְצָה, but this is not satisfactory because there the tone vowel has not arisen anew but existed already. But Rödiger was right in reminding us of the analogy of the vulgar Arabic which for the written Arabic *madadta*, *madadti*, *madadtu* uses the forms *maddēt*, *maddēti*, *maddit* and even *maddât*. The latter form also indicate that the *ē* in the *Perf.* of עָ"ב verbs has also been derived from an original *ā*.

but see also יִשְׁכְּבוּ Judg. 18, 23, יָרְחוּ Job. 4, 20. To the same category apparently belongs the stronger form תִּצְלְקוּ they will tinkle (from צַלַל) Jer. 19, 3. On the other hand תִּמְנִי (for תִּמְיָנִי we perished) Jer. 44, 18 follows the analogy of verbs ע"ו (comp. קָמְנִי from קָוָם). On *Niph.* see Rem. 5.

6. The restoration of original vowels mentioned in No. 5 occurs *a*) in the Preformatives of the *Imperf.* *Qāl.* יָסַב from יִסְבֵּב (comp. § 47, 2; 63, 2 and for verbs ע"ו § 72); *b*) in the *Perf.* *Niph.* נָסַב from יִסְבֵּב (§ 51, 1) as well as in *Impf.* יָסַב from יִסְבֵּב (comp. on *ā* in the final syllable of strong imperfections Niphal § 51, Rem. 2); *c*) in the *Hoph.* הִסְבֵּב from יִסְבֵּב, *Impf.* יִסְבֵּב from יִסְבֵּב etc.—On the contrary the attenuated vowel *i* underlies the intransitive *Impf.* *Qāl* with *ā* in the second syllable e. g. יָמַר for יִמַר (see Rem. 3). The lengthening of the original *ā* (יָמַר) would lead to mistaking it for the 3d sing. perf.; also in the preformative of the *Hiph'il* הִסְבֵּב from יִסְבֵּב (groundform הִסְבֵּב § 53, 1). In the same way we have the underlying *i* in the 2d syllable, which, attenuated from original *ā*, is in strong verbs abnormally lengthened into *i* (§ 53, 1). The *ē*, lengthened from *i* is of course only tonelong, therefore הִסְבוֹתָ outside of the tone before *Dāghē'sh fortē*. (On the return of the original *ā* in the 2d syllable comp. Rem. 6.)

7. The *tone* has this peculiarity, that usually it is not thrown forward upon the affirmatives beginning with a vowel (הִ—, הִ, יִ—, § 40, 2), but remains *before* them on the stem-syllable, e. g. 3d sing. fem. *Impf.* תִּחַתָּה, pause תִּחַתָּה; with ר and gutturals מָרָה (for מִרָה) שָׁחָה Ps. 44, 26; with ר *consec.* however יִרְבֶּה Is. 6, 12. In the 3d pl. *perf.* the accent varies; besides יָלַד, קָלַד is found also יָלְדוּ, קָלְדוּ (Hab. 3, 6) etc., but in *pause* תָּחַדוּ, תָּחַמוּ etc. and, vice versa in *perf. consec.* יָרְבֹּי etc. (comp. however יִתְמַדוּ Jer. 44, 12 before the tone syllable). The tone remains likewise on the stem syllable in *Imperf. Qāl* in יִסְבֵּב, תִּסְבֵּב *Hiph.* יִסְבֵּב, תִּסְבֵּב (*Perf. Hiph.* הִסְבֵּב, הִסְבֵּב) etc. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is removed to these vowels e. g. תִּסְבִּיחָהּ etc. (excepting before the always accented ending תָּם and תָּן in the Perfect). This removal

of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels \bar{e} and \bar{o} into \check{e} and \check{o} (ö v. Rem. 2), therefore הַסְבֹּרָה from הַסֵּב , הַסְבִּיחָה from יָסֵב (on the dropping of the vowel of the preformative v. above No. 5).¹

8. In numerous verbs of this class, instead of *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.* there is found with the same sense the less usual conjugation *Pō'ēl* (§ 55, 1), with its passive (*Pō'āl*) and reflexive (*Hithpō'ēl*), e. g. עוֹלֵל to treat ill, pass. עוֹלָל , reflex. הִתְעוֹלֵל (from עָלַל); in some is found also *Pilpēl* (§ 55, 4), as גָּלַל to roll, הִתְגָּלַל to roll one's self (from גָּלַל), *Pilp.* שָׁעֵשַׁע to caress, with its pass. (*Pōlpā'l*) $\text{שָׁעֵשַׁע$ to be caressed, and reflex. (*Hithpālpā'l*) הִשְׁתַּעֲשַׁע to delight oneself Ps. 119, 16 (from שָׁעַע). These forms do not suffer contraction any more than *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithpā'ēl*. For הִתְבַּרְר 2 Sam. 22, 27 cf. Ps. 18, 27.

REMARKS.

I. On *Qāl*.

1. In the Perf. are found some examples with *Chōlēm*, orig. *u* (comp. רָבַל § 43, 1), as רָמוּ they are high (from רָמַם) Job 24, 24, רָבוּ (from רָבַב) Gen. 49, 23; probably also זָרִי Is. 1, 6 from זָרַר .

2. The *Chōlēm* of the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* (רָסַב) is a changeable vowel and written defectively, with a few exceptions, which are found especially in the later orthography; e. g. לָבוּז for לָבוּז to plunder Est. 3, 13, 8, 11. It is shortened into *Qāmēṣ-chātūph* or *Qibbās*, whenever it loses the tone, as *Inf.* רָנָה (*rōn*) to rejoice Job 38, 7; with suff. *Imp.* 2d sing. fem. רָנִי , רָנִי (comp. Rem. 12); חַנּוּנִי pity me, *Impf.* with *Wāw consec.* וַיַּסֵּב Judg. 11, 18, with suff. וַיַּשְׁבֵּם he lays them waste Prov. 11, 3 in *Q'rē*. In וַיַּחֲנֶה Gen. 43, 29. Is. 30, 19 (for וַיַּחֲנֶה) this \check{o} is put back under the preformative. In קָבַח-לִי Num. 22, 11, 17 and אָרְחֵ-לִי 22, 6. 23, 7 the suffix of the -ה *paragogic* takes place without any other change of the form; one would expect קָבַחְהָ . Still more striking is קָבַחְהוּ curse him Num. 23, 13 (for קָבַחְהוּ or קָבַחְהוּ). We have also קָבַחְהוּ Num. 23, 25 and שָׁל as *inf. abs.* instead of שָׁלוּל in Ruth 2, 16.

3. Examples with final *Päthäch* in the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* (קָשַׁל), are the following: *Inf.* שָׁךְ to stoop Jer. 5, 26, *Imp.* גָּל roll thou Ps. 119, 22, *Impf.* יָמַר he is bitter Is. 24, 9, יָרַךְ he is soft Is. 7, 4; וַיַּחֲלֵל

¹ The terminations for gender and number in the *Participles* take the tone, as these are not a part of the verbal inflection, as מַסְבֵּה , נִסְבָּה .

she was despised Gen. 16, 4 (but also with the accent on the preceding syllable, e. g. וַיִּרַע Gen. 21, 11). In regard to these intransitive imperfects comp. No. 6 above. Of imperfects with original *u* in the 2d syllable there are also found examples of lengthening the *u* into *û* (instead of *ô*) e. g. וַיִּרֶן Prov. 29, 6; וַיִּשֶׁר Ps. 91, 6; וַיִּרְיַץ (from רָצַץ) Is. 42, 4 (even defectively וַיִּרְיַץ Eccl. 12, 6). An analogy with the verbs וַיִּשֶׁר is also seen in the infinitive לְבַרֵּךְ (for בָּרַךְ) Eccl. 9, 1; בְּהַקְדֵּי Prov. 8, 27 (comp. בְּהַקְדֵּי 8, 29) for בְּהַקְדֵּי. Examples of the *Aramaicising Impf.* are וַיִּשָּׁם (though וַיִּשָּׁם is also in use), וַיִּשָּׁם *he is astonished* 1 K. 9, 8, וַיִּשָּׁם *they are silent* Job 29, 21; with *ā* e. g. וַיִּשָּׁם, etc.

4. In the Participle occurs the Aramæan form שָׂאֵם (for שָׂסֵם) Jer. 30, 16 in K^{thibh} (the Q^{rê} regards it as a *Part.* from שָׂסֵם).

II. On Nîph'âl.

5. Besides the usual form of the Perf. (נָכַח) with *Päthäch* and of the *Part.* (m. נֹכַח, f. נֹכַחָה) with *Qāmeš* in 2d syllable, there is still another with *Sērê*, and another with *Chölēm* (analogous to נָכַח, § 43, 1), extending through the whole conjugation; e. g. Perf. נָכַח (also נֹכַח) *it is a light thing* Is. 49, 6, נֹכַחָה (for נָכַחָה) Ez. 26, 2; *Part.* נֹכַח *wasted away* Nah. 2, 11; with *Chölēm*, נֹכַחָה *they are rolled together* Is. 34, 4, comp. 63, 19, 64, 2, Am. 3, 11, Nah. 1, 12; in *Impf.* נֹכַח *he is circumcised* Gen. 17, 12; נֹכַחָה *thou shalt be laid waste* Jer. 48, 2. *Inf.* forms with the *Päthäch* do not even exist, but those with *Sērê* and *Chölēm*, as *Inf.* נֹכַח *to melt* Ps. 68, 3, *Inf. absol.* נֹכַח *to be plundered* Is. 24, 3; in the *Imp.* only נֹכַחָה *cleanse yourselves* Is. 52, 11 and נֹכַחָה *raise yourselves up* Num. 17, 10, נֹכַחָה Jer. 4, 4 follows the analogy of נִיִּץ verbs (as the *imperf.* נִיִּץ Gen. 34, 24).—Peculiar forms of *Nîph'âl* (with a sharpening of the 1st syllable) occur in נִחַל *it was profaned* Ez. 25, 3 (from נִחַל), נִחַר (from נִחַר) Ps. 69, 4, 102, 4 (also נִחַר Jer. 6, 29), נִחַח *fractus est* (from נִחַח) Mal. 2, 5.—In Micah 2, 4 the Perf. נִשְׁתָּנִּי *û* instead of *ô* as the separating vowel appears to be abnormal.

III. On Hîph'âl and Hôph'âl.

6. Besides *Sērê* the final syllable has also *Päthäch*, especially with ר and the gutturals, as הִמַּר *he made bitter*; הִשָּׁם *to depress*; *Inf.* הִבַּר *to cleanse* Jer. 4, 11. But also without a guttural, as הִרַק *he pounded small* 2 K. 23, 15; plur. הִסְבִּי 1 Sam. 5, 10; *Part.* מַצֵּל *shadowing* Ez. 31, 3. The *ē* of the 2d syllable may become *ě* outside the tone e. g. הִחַל בִּי Gen. 31, 7. Instead of *Châṭṭeph Päthäch* there appears before ח also *Päthäch* (with the virtual doubling of the ח) in forms like הִחַחָה Is. 9, 3.

7. In the *imperf.* the retraction of the tone and the consequent shortening of *ē* into *ě* occurs not only in the *jussive* and with *Wāw consecutive* (e. g. הִגֵּל Gen. 29, 10; with final guttural הִגֵּל 1 K. 16, 25) but also elsewhere e. g. הִסֵּךְ *he protects* Ps. 91, 4. Quite peculiar is הִסֵּךְ Judges 9, 53 with *ě* for *ē*.

8. *Aramaicising forms of Hiph. and Hoph.*: יִקְרָא Ex. 13, 18, וְיִקְרָא and they smote Deut. 1, 44, אֶחָל I will profane Ez. 39, 7, in *Perf.* הִזְלִיחָהּ they despised her Lam. 1, 8.—In *Hoph.* הָמָכוּ they perish Job 24, 24, יָפָה it is smitten Is. 24, 12 (plur. יָפְחוּ Jer. 46, 5), יִחָקֵי in pause (Job 19, 23) for יִחָקֵי, also יָפְחוּ Job 4, 20.

IV. In General.

9. Verbs ע"ע are very nearly related to verbs ע"י (§ 72), as the great similarity in their inflection throughout has already shown. In form the verbs ע"ע are generally the shorter (comp. קָטַב and קָטַבּוּ, קָטַב and קָטַבּוּ). In some cases they have precisely the same form, e. g. in the *Impf. consec.* of Qāl and *Hiph.*, in *Hoph.*, and in the rare conjugations. On account of this relation, they have sometimes borrowed forms from each other, e. g. יָרִיחַ for יָרִיחַ he rejoices Prov. 29, 6.

10. Along with the contracted forms there are found especially in certain conjugations and tenses, others which are wholly regular; e. g. *Perf.* Qāl סָבַב 1 Sam. 7, 16, סָבְבוּ Josh. 6, 15, סָבְבוּ Ps. 18, 6, שָׁחוּ and שָׁחוּ they bow down, בָּזוּ to plunder Ez. 29, 19, plur. בָּזוּ Josh. 8, 27, בָּזוּ Deut. 2, 35 (also בָּזוּ in 3, 7); *Inf.* סָבַב and סָב; *Inf.* after לְ: לְשָׁדֹר Jer. 47, 4, לְגֹז Gen. 31, 19 (also לְגֹז 38, 13); with suffix לְהַנְיָח Is. 80, 18 and of the same form הָנִין with the vowel shifted back and at the same time inflected לְהַנְיָח Ps. 102, 14; *Imperf.* שָׁדֹר Jer. 49, 28; *Imperf.* נָדַד Nahum. 3, 7 (Ps. 68, 13, Gen. 31, 40) from נָדַד the strong form was after the assimilation of the *Nūn* quite necessary. On the other hand יִשְׁדָּד Jer. 5, 6 for יִשְׁדָּד is anomalous; the contracted consonants have been afterwards dissevered by the insertion of a vocal *Shewā*. Compare also יִרְחֵן he is gracious Amos 5, 15, else יִרְחֵן, In *Niph.* יִרְחֵן Job 11, 12. *Hiph.* יִרְחֵן, *Impf.* יִרְחֵן he will rejoice (which in *Hiph.* is never contracted); *Part.* מִשְׁתָּמִים astonished Ez. 3, 15. That the full form has a certain emphasis is seen from its frequent use in pause, as in סָבְבוּ יָם־סָבְבוּיָיִי in Ps. 118, 11 (compare לְהַנְיָח Is. 47, 14 (perh. for לְהַנְיָח) for their warming.)

11. We have seen above (No. 5 Rem.), that in the *Impf.* of forms resembling the Aramaic form, the Dāghēsh of the third radical, together with the preceding vowel, is omitted before affirmatives, which however take the tone, as יִדְמֵי. The same omission occurs also in other forms at times, as in *Perf.* Qāl תִּמְנוּ for תִּמְנוּ Num. 17, 28 (Jer. 44, 18); *Imperf.* תִּבְזֶה 1 Sam. 14, 36 (הָ־ paragog. without influence on the form, comp. Rem. 2); sometimes even the strong vowel becomes *Shewā*: תִּבְזֶה Gen. 11, 7 for תִּבְזֶה we will confound (Cohortative from בָּלַל for יִזְמֵי for יִזְמֵי Gen. 11, 6 they will devise; *Perf.* *Niph.* נִסְבָּח for נִסְבָּח Ez. 41, 7, נִמְלָחָם for נִמְלָחָם Gen. 17, 11 (from מָלַל=מָלַל to circumcise); comp. Is. 19, 3, Jer. 8, 14. Without Dāghēsh. but with the accented full vowel: תִּבְזֶה for תִּבְזֶה Judg. 16, 10, תִּבְזֶה for תִּבְזֶה Prov. 7, 13, (comp. Cant 6, 11; 7, 13); very striking is יִחָתְחֵי Jer. 49, 37 (for *hachtat-ŭ*) fr. יִחָתְחֵי.

1. Examples of the throwing forward of the tone upon the affirmatives (see in this section No. 7, above, page 163) are *a*) in the *Perfect* רָבּוּ (*multi sunt*) Ps. 3, 2, 104, 24, Jer. 5, 6, 1 Sam. 25, 10; רַבּוּ (*they are soft*) Ps. 55, 22, קָלִי (*they are swift*) Jer. 4, 13, Hab. 1, 8, יָכִי (*they are pure*) Job 15, 15, 25, 5; as a kindred form to שָׁתוּ (ו'ע' comp. § 72, Rem. 8) appears שָׁתוּ Ps. 73, 9, for which is found שָׁתוּ Ps. 49, 15;— *b*) in the *Imperative* (demanding in excited tone) as in רָנִי (*rejoice aloud!*) Is. 54, 1, Zeph. 3, 14, Zach. 2, 14, רָנִי Is. 44, 23, 49, 13, Jer. 31, 7 (on the other hand רָנִי *wail!* Lamentations 2, 19) רָנִי *celebrate* (thy festivals) Nahum 2, 1, Jer. 7, 29. On the sharpening of the tone-long vowels *ō* and *ē* into *ǔ* (*ǝ*) and *ǐ* before *Daghesh-forte* see No. 7 in this section, page 164.—On the transformation of the vowels of the preformatives into *Sh'wa* whenever they no longer stand before the tone syllable, see No. 5 in this section, page 162.

C. WEAKEST VERBS (VERBA QUIESCENTIA).

§ 68.

VERBS א"פ.

E. g. אָכַל *to eat*. *Paradigm I.*

So far as the א is treated as a consonant and a guttural, these verbs have all the properties of verbs *Pê Guttural*, exhibited in § 63. But here we regard them only in so far as the א *quiesces*, i. e. loses its consonant sound, and is blended with the foregoing originally short vowel, into a long one, which chiefly happens in the *Impf. Qāl* of only a few very common verbs and forms, much modified by constant use. The following are the particulars:—

1. In the *Impf. Qāl* of five verbs (viz. אָבַד *to perish*, אָבָה *to be willing*, אָכַל *to eat*, אָמַר *to say*, אָפָה *to bake*) the א always quiesces in a long *ō* (*Chôlēm*), as אָבַד. In some others, the other form in which it retains its power as a consonant is also in use, as יָאָחַז and יָאָחַז *he takes hold*; לִיָּסָה (v. Rem. 2), also יָאָסָה. (So now in the vulgar Arabic of Palestine *yākul* (he eats) becomes *yôkul*.) The *ō* in this case is but א corruption of the vowel *â* (§ 9, 10, 2), which is itself derived

by contraction from —. The last syllable of these verbs receives an \bar{e} (or \check{a}) instead of the stronger vowel \bar{o} (orig. \ddot{u}) e. g. יָאָחַז Job 17, 9, mostly \bar{e} with distinctive accents and before the accented affirmative וְ; but with conjunctive accents, which mark continuous discourse, it takes \check{a} (*Päthäch*), e. g. תֵּאבֹד לְעֵד Ps. 9, 19, on the contrary תֵּאבֹד (compare a similar exchange of \bar{e} and \check{a} in § 65, 1, c) in Ps. 1, 6. When the tone moves back, the last stem-syllable has sometimes *Päthäch*, as יֵאָבֵד יוֹם *perish the day* Job 3, 3, וַיֵּאָכֵל *and he ate*, and sometimes *Sēghôl*, as in וַיֵּאָמֶר (Mil'él) with a conjunctive accent; but וַיִּמְרָא (Milrā') with a distinctive and in pause (only in Job mostly וַיֵּאָמֶר Mil'él). Of אָחַז the weak imperf. is always יֵאָחַז and וַיֵּאָחַז (however וַיֵּאָחַז Judges 20, 6; comp. וַיֵּאָכֵל Gen. 3, 12 in *pause*).—אָבָה and אָפָה are at the same time verbs ל"ה; hence Impf. יֵאָבָה (§ 75, 1).

It is but very seldom that *Sērê* stands before א in Impf. Qāl, as תֵּאָחֶז it shall come (Mic. 4, 8) contracted from תֵּאָחֶזֶה (from אָחַז, אָחַב (in 1st sing. only for אָחַב) I love (Prov. 8, 17) as well as אָחַב (from אָחַב, אָחַב); but always in the Inf. with ל, as in לֵאמֹר for to say (i. e. saying) for לֵאמֹר.

2. In the 1st pers. sing. Impf. the second (the radical) א (to avoid the repetition of this feeble letter) is regularly dropped (§ 23, 3), as אֶמַר for אֶאמַר I will say, וַאֲמַר and I said. In the other cases, where the א is generally conceived of as quiescent with \bar{o} or \bar{e} , it is retained merely orthographically and for the sake of etymology. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following examples:

Continually in the contracted forms of אָסַף, thus תִּסָּף for תֵּאָסַף thou takest away Ps. 104, 29, וַיִּסָּף and he gathered 2 Sam. 6, 1. Compare also in the 1st pers. Micah 4, 6 and אֶסָּף 1 Sam. 15, 6 (with \check{i} according to § 60, Rem. 4); further more וַיִּסָּף 2 Sam. 19, 14, וַיִּסָּף 2 Sam. 20, 9, וַיִּסָּף Deut. 33, 21 (for וַיִּסָּף), according to another reading וַיִּסָּף or וַיִּסָּף, etc.; וַיִּסָּף thou goest away (from וַיִּסָּף) Jer. 2, 36, v. Rem. 1.

The Parad. I shows the weak forms in which א is treated as a quiescent (viz., Impf. Qāl), and merely indicates the more regular ones.

Rem. 1. In forms of the derived conjugations the א but very seldom quiesces, as in Perf. Niph. וַיִּסָּף Josh. 22, 9, Hiph. וַיִּסָּף and he took away Num. 11, 25, וַיִּסָּף (for וַיִּסָּף) and he set an ambush 1 Sam. 15, 5,

אָזין *I hearken* Job 32, 11, אָקיל (*ô* from *â*) *I cause to eat* Hos. 11, 4, אָבִידה (*ô* from *â*) *I will destroy* Jer. 46, 8, מִזִּין *giving ear* Prov. 17, 4; Imp. הָבִיאוּ *bring ye* (from אָבִיה) Is. 21, 14.

2. In *Pi.* the א is sometimes dropped by contraction (like ה in יִהְיֶה, יִהְיֶה, e. g. מִלֵּה (as in Aram., and Samar.) for תַּלְמִיד *teaching* Job 35, 11, יָהֵל for יִצְהַל *he shall pitch tent* Is. 13, 20, תַּחֲבִירָה *thou girdest me* 2 Sam. 22, 40 for תַּחֲבִירָה (Ps. 18, 40).

§ 69.

VERBS פ"י. FIRST CLASS, OR VERBS ORIGINALLY פ"י.

E. g. יָשַׁב *to dwell. Paradigm K.*

Verbs פ"י fall principally into *two classes*, which are different from each other in their origin and inflection. The *first* embraces those verbs which have properly a י for their first stem-letter. In Arabic and Ethiopic they are written with י (e. g. יָלַד, Arab. and Ethiop. *wälädä*), but in Hebrew (and Aramæan) by a change of sound which shows itself also, with few exceptions in the noun, they take י instead of it, wherever the first stem-letter begins the form, whereas after preformative the י either appears again, or is likewise changed into י, or finally is completely elided. The *second* class embraces those which are properly פ"י, and which have *Yôdh* also in Arabic (the so-called *Verba cum Jod originario* § 70). A few of these verbs פ"י, of both classes form, in some respects, a *third* class which is inflected like verbs פ"י (§ 71).

In the verb יָצַר the forms are distinguished according to the signification, viz.,—1) יָצַר (1st class, for יָצַר) *to be in a strait, Impf. יִצַּר, יִצַּר*;—2) יָצַר (2d class) *to form, Impf. יִצַּר, יִצַּר*.

The peculiar inflection of the *first class*, which is analogous to the Arabic פ"י, consists in the following particulars:

1. In the *Impf.*, *Imp.* and *Inf. constr.* of *Qāl* there is a twofold inflection according as the *Wāw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Yôdh*. The entire rejection (elision) takes place regularly in eight verbs (v. Rem.) after the following analogy:

A. *Impf.* יָשַׁב, with unchangeable *ṣērê* in the first and original *î* which in the tone-syllable (according to § 27, 2) is heightened to *ē* (thus יָלַךְ, יָצָא, יָרַד, יָלַךְ) or (under the influence of the gutt.) with *ā* in second syllable (יָרַע, יָקַע, יָחַר).

The tone-long *ē* of the 2d syllable may naturally become *Seghōl* or *Shewā*, e. g. יָשַׁב, יָשְׁבִי etc.; in the same way the *ā* becomes *Shewā* in cases like יָרַע etc., but in *pause* it is retained and heightened to *Qāmēs* (יָרָע) and before suffixes (יָרָעִים).

B. *Imp.* יָשַׁב, shortened from יָשַׁב by omission of the feeble י; and tone-long *ē* (derived from *î* as in *Impf.*).

C. *Inf.* שָׁבַת, from יָשַׁב with the addition of the feminine ending חָ, a *Segholate* form as in פָּ"ן verbs; cf. § 66, 1.

Rem. As the *Inf.* לָרָה, לָרַח (see below No. 2, Rem. 1) point to an original form *dī'āt*, *līdāt*, Barth (in ZDMG, 1887, p. 606) maintains that שָׁבַת was originally *shibt* (cf. from שָׁבַת); the apparent original *shabt* depends on the law that the *î* of the stem is changed to *ā* as soon as it is doubly enclosed by the addition of the feminine ending.

The greater part of these verbs are inflected with *stronger* forms, have the *Impf. A*, and retain the *Yôdh* at the beginning, viz. in—

Imp. יָרַשׁ and *Inf.* יָרַשׁ, as a *consonant*, but in

Impf. יִרְשׁ, as a *quiescent*, resolved into the vowel *î* (§ 24, 2).

In the 2d syllable the *Impf.* regularly has *ā*.

That the latter mode of inflection belongs to verbs actually פָּ"י (which has often been overlooked and falsely denied), is shown, partly by the numerous verbs which take these forms in *Qāl*, and at the same time have י in *Niph.*, *Hiph.*, and *Hoph.*, partly by the Arabic, where the verbs פָּ"י have likewise a double inflection, comp. *wālādā*, *Impf. jālīdu* (with the elision of the *Wāw*) and *wā'gilā*, *jaūgalu* (with the retention of the *Wāw* v. Rem. 3).

Even in the same verb are found both the weaker and the stronger forms, the latter with the *Yôdh*, the former without it, as יָצַק 2 K. 4, 41, and יָצַק *pour thou* Ez. 24, 3, (comp. *Infin.* יָצַקָה Exod. 38, 27); יָרַשׁ 1 K. 21, 15, יָרַשׁ Deut. 2, 24, also יָרַשׁ *possess thou*, lengthened יָרַשָׁה Deut.

33, 23; *Impf.* **יִקְרֶה** *he will kindle* Deut. 32, 22, and **יִקְרֶה** Is. 10, 16; **נִיִּיקָר** *it became dear* 1 Sam. 18, 30 and **יִקָּר** Ps. 49, 9 (comp. **יִקְרֶה** Ps. 72, 14).

NB. To the first mode of inflection belong, e. g. **יָלַד** *to bear* (offspring), **יָצָא** *to go forth*, **יָשָׁב** *to sit*, **יָרַד** *to descend*, **יָדַע** *to know* (*Impf.* **יָדַע** with *Pāthāch* in the last syllable so also, **יָבֵקַע**, **יָהֵר**); to the second belong **יָגַע** *to weary*, **יָצַן** *to counsel*, **יָשָׁן** *to sleep*.

2. The original *Wāw* appears always a consonant, wherever it must be doubled, as in the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* *Niph.* **הִישָׁב**, **הִישָׁב** (just like **הִקָּטַל**, **הִקָּטַל**); and also in the *Hithp.* of some verbs, e. g. **הִתְנַדַּע** from **יָדַע**, **הִתְנַכַּח** from **יָכַח**, and in some noun-forms, e. g. **וָלֵד** *offspring* from **יָלַד** *to bear*. The ו at the end of the syllable becomes ū (ו) as in all *Hōph'āl*, e. g. **הִוָּשָׁב** for **הִוָּשָׁב**; and in combination with a preceding *a*, as a diphthongal ō (ו) in *Perf.* and *Part.* of *Niph'āl*, and in all *Hiph'ūl*, e. g. **הִוָּשָׁב** for **הִוָּשָׁב**, **הִוָּשָׁב** for **הִוָּשָׁב**.—The *Yōdh* stands as a consonant in the *Perf.* and *Part.* **יָשָׁב** (etc., **יָשָׁב**, **יָשָׁב**) even when ו precedes, as **יָשָׁב** (yet we have **יָשָׁבָם** according to § 24, 1, *a*), in all *Pi.* and *Pu.*, as **יָחַל** *to wait for*, **יָלַד** *to be born*, also in the *Impf.* and *Part.*, as **יָחַל**, **יָדַע** *known* (from **יָדַע**), also usually in *Hithp.*, as **הִתְיָחַל**, **הִתְיָשָׁב** (as well as **הִתְנַדַּע** with *Wāw* as above).

NB. In those forms in which *Yōdh* does not appear, these verbs may be distinguished, in the *Impf.* of *Qāl* by the *Sērē* under the preformatives, in *Niph.*, *Hiph.*, and *Hoph.* by the *Wāw* (ו, ו, ו) before the second radical. (The defective orthography, as in **הִלִּיר**, is not frequent.) Forms like **יָשָׁב**, **יָשָׁב** are common to these and verbs פ"ן. *Hoph'āl* has the same form as in verbs ע"ע and ע"ו.

Rem. 1. The *Inf.* *Qāl* of the weaker form (**יָשָׁב** Gdf. **יָשָׁבָה**) takes *suff.* like **יָשָׁבָה**; and it very seldom has the masculine form like **יָדַע** *to know* Job 32, 6, 10, or the feminine ending **יָדַעָה** Ex. 2, 4. **יָדַעָה** Is. 37, 3, **יָדַעָה** *to descend* Gen. 46, 3. Instead of **יָדַעָה** stands **יָדַעָה** under the influence of the guttural **יָדַעָה**, with *Suff.* **יָדַעָה** etc. (on the other hand **יָצָא** : **יָצָא** from **יָצָא**). From **יָרַד** is found, Ps. 30, 4, in *Qeri* quite notably the strong form **יָרַדָה** (for **יָרַדָה**).—**יָלַדָה** *to bear* in 1 Sam. 4, 19 is contracted to **יָלַח** (§ 19, 2).—Examples of the regular or strong form are **יָרָא** *to fear* Josh. 22, 25, with prep. **יָרָא** Is. 51, 16; with *suffix* **יָרָא** Job 38, 4, **יָרָא** Ezra 3, 12. The strong form seldom has the feminine-ending, as in **יָכַלָה** *to be able*, **יָבֵשָׁה** *to dry up* Gen. 8, 7 (also **יָבֵשָׁה** Is. 27, 11).

2. The *Impf. Qāl* often has the lengthening הַ, as שִׁבְתָּה *sīt thou descend thou*. From יָהַב *to give*, Arab. *wāhābā*, there is found in Hebrew *only* the *Imper.* which is הַב *give*, lengthened הִבְה, mostly with the signification *L. age, go on!* (before ■ e. g. Gen. 29, 21 הִבְה, to avoid a hiatus); fem. הִבִּי Ruth 3, 15, probably *Mil'ra* after the analogy of the plur. הִבִּי (but Job 6, 22, before the tone syllable הִבִּי; comp. however Deut. 32, 3). On הִעֵת Prov. 24, 14 cf. § 48, 5, Rem.

3. The *Impf.* with ו elided takes *ā* in 2d syll., besides cases in No. 1, above in הִרַר Jer. 13, 17 and in the pausal form יִלֵּךְ Job 27, 21 (from הִלֵּךְ v. Rem. 8). The *ā* returns regularly before the *aff.* נָה (from הִנָּה etc.). Forms with *ē* in 2d syll. are shortened to *ē* by the drawing back of the tone (before a tone syllable and after ו consec.); e. g. יִשְׁבֶּנָּה Gen. 44, 33; וַיֵּשֶׁב but in pause יִשְׁבֶּנָּה and וַיֵּרֶךְ (but 1. p. s. וַיֵּרֶךְ). The *Impf.* יִירָשׁ, when lengthened, can also lose its radical ר, even when the preformative is ר, whose vowel (a long *i*) has then *Mèthegh* (see § 16, 2, b), as in יִרְשֶׁנִּי Is. 40, 30, יִרְשֶׁנִּי Is. 65, 23.—From רָכַל (*to be able*) we get exceptionally as the *Impf. Qāl*; comp. the Arab. form *yaurū'u* (*yôru'u*) from *warua*, and *yaugālu* (*yôgālu*) from *waḡila*; or even the vulgar Arab. *yūṣālu* from *waṣāla*. Others regard יִרְכַּל as *Impf. Hoph.* (of רָכַל) *he is enabled=he can*, which may have got into use instead of the *Impf. Qāl*. Cf. § 53, Rem. 12.

4. The section 44, Rem. 2 (comp. § 64, Rem. 1) refers to the attenuation of the *ā* into *i* in the *Perf.* (in a toneless closed syllable) which is found in some forms of רָכַל (Num. 11, 12, Ps. 2, 7 etc. always after a preceding ר) as well as of יִרְשָׁה, e. g. וַיִּרְשָׁה etc. Deut. 4, 1, 8, 1, 19, 1, 26, 1 (however only after וי for וי). In both cases one can explain the attenuation by the tendency to the assimilation of the vowel, at least if we pronounce ר as *i* (§ 47, 2). From the restoration of the *i* are explained also in the simplest manner the forms יִרְשָׁה Ez. 36, 12 and יִרְשָׁה Ps. 69, 36.

5. As an exception, the *Impf. Niph.* sometimes has ר instead of the ו; e. g. וַיִּחַל and *he waited* Gen. 8, 12; comp. Ex. 19, 13, 1 Sam. 13, 8 *Kethîbh*.—The first pers. sing. has always the form וַיִּשָּׁב not וַיִּשָּׁב; comp. § 51, Rem. 4. Part. pl. has in Zeph. 3, 18 וַיִּנָּה for וַיִּנָּה cf. § 27, 3, Rem. 1.

6. In *Pi'el*, the radical *Yôdh* is sometimes dropped after ר preformative, which takes its pointing (like א in § 68, Rem. 2); e. g. וַיִּגְדָּה for וַיִּגְדָּה and *he grieved* Lam. 3, 33, וַיִּהָדוּ for וַיִּהָדוּ and *they cast*, also in verse 53. And so also from a verb פִּי of the second class, וַיִּבְשָׁהוּ for וַיִּבְשָׁהוּ and *he dried it up* Nah. 1, 4; comp. וַיִּשְׁרֶם 2 Chr. 32, 30 *Qeré*.

7. In the *Imper. Hiph.*, instead of the usual form הוֹשִׁיב, *i* is also found in the 2d syllable: הוֹשִׁיב Is. 43, 8; הוֹשִׁיב Ps. 94, 1 (before ה, perhaps a mere misspelling for הוֹשִׁיב); הוֹשִׁיב Prov. 19, 25. With a closing guttural the 2d syllable has generally *ā*, e. g. הוֹשִׁב, comp. also הוֹשִׁב Prov. 25, 17. On the other hand *i* appears again everywhere in open syllables, thus הוֹשִׁיב and so always before suffixes (§ 61, 2).—The *Impf. Hiph.*, like *Impf. Qāl*, takes *Sēghôl* when the tone

is drawn back, as יוֹסֶה *let him add* Prov. 1, 5, וַיֹּסֶה *and he added* (יוֹסֶה Prov. 30, 6 is anomalous); in *pause* however also הוֹסֶה as *Jussive*, Job 40, 32 (usually, *Jussive* in *pause*: יוֹשֶׁב etc.; the latter form also outside of the *pause* after *Wāw consecutive* Gen. 47, 11, 2 Sam. 8, 4). With final guttural יוֹחֶה (*Jussive*) and וַיֹּחֶה etc. On forms like יְהוֹשִׁיעַ see § 53, Rem. 7.—In *Hoph.* are some cases of י for ו, as הוֹרֶעַ for הוֹרֵעַ Lev. 4, 23, 28, and יוֹרֵא for יוֹרֵה Prov. 11, 25. However comp. *Delitzsch*.

8. The verb הָלַךְ *to go* is connected in part with verbs פִּי of the first class, for it forms (as if from הָלַךְ) *Impf.* הֹלֵךְ, with *Wāw cons.* וַהֲלֹךְ, in *pause* וַהֲלֹךְ (§ 29, 4. Rem.), *Inf. constr.* הֹלֵכָה, w. suf. לְכַחֵי, לְכַחֵה, לְכַחֵם, *Imp.* הֹלֵךְ, w. ה cohort. לְכֹה, and also לָךְ Num. 23, 13, and so *Hiph.* הוֹלִיךְ. Rarely and almost exclusively in later books and in poetry, we find also the regular inflections from הָלַךְ, as *Impf.* יִהְיֶה, *Inf.* הֹלֵךְ (Num. 22, 14, 16, Eccl. 6, 8, 9), *Imp. pl.* הֹלְכֵי (Jer. 51, 50); on the contrary *Perf. Qāl* is always הָלַךְ, *Part.* הֹלֵךְ, *Inf. abs.* הֹלִיךְ, *Niph.* נִהְלַךְ, *Piel* הִלַּךְ, *Hithp.* הִתְהַלַּךְ, so that in this verb a פִּי nowhere distinctly appears as first radical. An obsolete stem הִלַּךְ may however be assumed, although in a word so much used as הָלַךְ, the feeble letter ה may itself be treated like ו, and so the inflection resemble פִּי. Comp. also the feeble פִּי, e. g. תוֹלֵי from תוֹלַי (§ 68 2), and הֹלְכֵי from הֹלֵךְ, *Impf. Hiph.* אֲבִידָהּ from אָבַד like אֲבִידָהּ 2 K. 6, 19 from הָלַךְ.

§ 70.

VERBS פִּי. SECOND CLASS, OR VERBS PROPERLY פִּי.

E. g. הָטַב *to be good. Paradigm L.*

The most essential points of difference between verbs properly פִּי and verbs פִּי are the following:—

1. *Qāl* has only the stronger of the two forms described in § 69, 1, viz. that in which the radical י remains, *Inf.* הָטַב, with the *Impf. A*, as הָטַב, הָטַב, הָטַב, also written הָטַב etc.; and so always with accented ā in the 2d syllable, even after *Wāw consec.* הָטַב the *Pāthäch* of which becomes *Sēghôl* when the tone shifts back, as הָטַב *and he awoke* Gen. 9, 24, הָטַב *and he formed* Gen. 2, 7. הָטַב Gen. 2, 19.

2. In *Hiph'il* the י is regularly retained in writing, and is pronounced as a diphthongal é (*Sērē*), e. g. הָטַב (from הָטַב), *Impf.* הָטַב, הָטַב; uncontracted with the diphthong ai, as in הָטַב *they make straight* Prov. 4, 25; הָטַב (*Imper.*), Ps. 5, 9 in *Qérē*, comp. Gen. 8, 17 in *Qérē*.

NB. The following are the only verbs of this kind: **יָצַח** *to be good*, **רָנַח** *to suck*, **רָקַח** *to awake*, **יָצַר** *to form*, **רָלַל** (only in Hiph. **רָלַלְתָּ**) *to bewail*, **יָשַׁר** *to be straight*, **רָבַשׁ** (Arab. *yābīṣā*) *to be dry* (yet like the **פִּי**, Hiph. **הִיבִישׁ**) and the Hiph. **יָרַמִּין** (denom. of **רָמִין**) *to go to the right*.

Rem. Of the *Impf. Hiph.* there is an anomalous form with preformatives put before the already contracted form: **יָרַמִּיב** Job. 24, 21; **יָרַמִּיל** *he wails*, **אֶרְמִיל** *I wail*, **יָרַמִּילוּ** *ye wail*, Is. 15, 2, 65, 14, Jer. 48, 31, Hos. 7, 14; also **יָרַמִּיב** Job 24, 21; and once even in *Impf. Qāl* in **יָרַמִּיב** Ps. 138, 6, from **יָרַע**. *Kimchi* and others explain the above forms from an exchange of sound between *Yôdh* and *Hê*, assuming as a base the non-syncopeated form **יָרַמִּיל** (comp. Is. 52, 5) etc. But then also **יָרַע** should be explained, with *Kimchi* as *Hiphil*. It might be more correct to suppose that originally the regular forms (**יָרַמִּיל**, **יָרַמִּיב**) were intended, but were separated in the later pronunciation in order to reestablish artificially the preformative which had been blended with the 1st stem consonant. Other anomalies also are: *Perf. Hiph.* **וְהִטְבֵּלְתִּי** Ez. 36, 11 (with separating vowel for **הִטְבֵּלְתִּי**) after the analogy of **עָוִי** **הִטְבֵּלְתִּי** (*Impf. Qāl* for **הִטְבֵּלְתִּי**) Nah. 3, 8; **וְהִנְיַחְתִּי** *Impf. Hiph.*, after the analogy of **עָוִי** Exod. 2, 9. In the same way **הִקְיַחְתִּי** from **קָחַךְ** is always used instead of the *Hiph.* **הִקְיַחְתִּי** (from **קָחַךְ**). On **וְהִנְיַחְתִּי** Nah. 1, 4, see § 69, Rem. 6.

§ 71.

VERBS **פִּי**. THIRD CLASS, OR CONTRACTED VERBS **פִּי**.

This class embraces those verbs **פִּי**, of the first and second class, whose **י** does not quiesce in long *i* or *ê*, but is assimilated like **נ**. Some verbs are exclusively of this class, e. g. **רָצַע** *to spread under*, Hiph. **הִרְצִיעַ**, Hoph. **הִרְצַע**; **רָצַח** *to burn up*, *Impf.* **רָצַח**, *Niph.* **נָצַח**, Hiph. **הִרְצִיחַ**; others have two forms, the one *sharp* with the **י** assimilated, the other weaker with the **י** quiescent, as **רָצַק** *to pour*, *Impf.* **רָצַק** and **וָרָצַק** (1 K. 22, 35); **יָצַר** *to form*, *Impf.* **וָיָצַר** and **יָצַר** (Is. 44, 12, Jer. 1, 5); **יָשַׁר** *to be straight*, *Impf.* **וָיָשַׁר** and **יָשַׁרְתָּה** (for **וְתָה** acc. to § 47, Rem. 3) comp. **אָסַרְתָּם** Hos. 10, 10 (1 Sam. 6, 12).—It is worthy of notice that the verbs which are thus inflected have an *s* sound as the second radical, with the exception of **וָיָקַץ** (1 K. 3, 15) and **הִקְלָתָה** (Gen. 40, 20, Ez. 16, 5) *Inf. Hoph.* from **וָקַלַּח**.

NB. Verbs of this class (which seldom occur) are inflected like verbs **פִּי**, for which they may easily be mistaken by the learner. When, therefore, a form has not a root **פִּי** in the lexicon, he should look for one of this class under *Yôdh*.

The first two classes are exhibited in their distinctive forms in Paradigms K and L, § 69. The third follows exactly verbs ע"י, and is besides very rare.

§ 72.

VERBS ע"י.

E. g. קום *to rise up. Paradigm M.*

1. In these verbs (with a few exceptions, Rem. 10 below) the middle stem-letter ע always gives up its consonant sound and *quiesces*; not merely in the usual cases (according to § 24, 1) when a Sh^ewâ precedes or follows, as עוש *bôsh* for עוש *b^ewôsh*, but also when it is both preceded and followed by a full vowel, as קום *Part. Pass.* for קום; קום *Inf. absol.* for קום. Hence the stem or root appears always as a monosyllable.

2. The vowel in which the ע quiesces is essentially the vowel of the second syllable, which, in the verb, almost universally characterises the form (§ 43, Rem. 1, § 67, 2). However we must here remark *a*) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in an accented closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph.*, v. No. 3) e. g. 3d pers. *Perf.* קם from קום, *fem.* קמה, *Pl.* קמו, but in the closed penult קמה etc.¹ *b*) that in the present forms the lengthening of the original short vowel is sometimes performed anomalously, e. g. *Impf. Qāl* יקום from יקום (the normal lengthening of *ū* appears again in the *jussive* יקם, *Impf. constr.* יקם); *Imper.* קום (from original קום lengthened normally in 2. *fem. pl.* into

¹ In the Aramæan, and also in Heb. Grammars before Kimchi, the long *ā* is found, as קָמָה, קָמוּ etc., but in our editions of the Bible, it is so only in *pause*, e. g. קָמָה Mic. 7, 8, קָמוּ 2 K. 7, 3, 4. If we explained (with *Olsh.* et al.) the *ā* of the *Perf. Qāl* קָם as a combination of two *āā* which have remained after the elision of the ע in קָם, then we ought to suppose that the language (or the Massôrā) was mistaken later in respect to the origin of this *ā*; for an *ā* contracted from *āā* could hardly be shortened, as it is in קָמָה etc. Nor could *ō* in בָּשָׁח etc. (v. Rem. 1) be kept in a closed penult, if it had arisen by contraction from *bāüşchti* and not rather by lengthening from *büşchti*.

קָמָה because long *û* could not be retained in a closed penult. Comp. with this No. 4.

The intransitive verbs *middle E* take in *Perf.* (and *Part.*) *Qāl* the form of מָת (from מָוֹת) *he is dead*; the verbs *middle O* take the form of אָוֹר (from אָוֹר) *it shone*, בּוֹשׁ (from בּוֹשׁ) *he was ashamed*. Comp. Rem. 1, below.

3. The preformatives in the *Impf. Qāl* and *Perf. Niph.*, and throughout *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, which before the monosyllabic stem form a simple syllable, take instead of the short vowel of the regular form the corresponding long one. In *Qāl* and *Niph.* the original *û* is the vowel which is lengthened and not *ĩ*, attenuated from *ǣ* (§ 67, 6), e. g. יָקוּם for יִקְוּם, הָקִים for הִקִּים, הָקִים for הִקִּים.

This vowel is changeable, and becomes Sh^wâ when the tone is thrown forward, e. g. before suff. יִמְחֶנֶּה *he will kill him*, and in the full plural form of the *Impf.* יִמְחֶנֶּה *they will die*.

The *ı* in *Hoph.* forms an exception; for it has become a quite firm and unchangeable vowel, as if it had been transposed, and so הָקִים had become הִקִּים, hence הָקִים.

4. The above (No. 2) mentioned cases of unusual vowel lengthening are: *Impf. Qāl* יָקוּם (also Arab. *jāqūmu*); on the other hand *Jussive* יָקֻם with retraction of tone יָקֻם (*jāqōm*), וְיָקֻם (in *pause* וְיָקֻם); *Imper.* קוּם (in the 2d fem. pl. קָמִיָּה, v. No. 2 above, *û* is normally lengthened); *Infin. constr.* קוּם. In *Hiph.* the lengthening of the original *ĩ* into *î* (הָקִים *Impf.* יָקֻם, *Jussive* יָקֻם with retraction of tone וְיָקֻם) corresponds entirely with the analogy of the strong verb (comp. § 53, 1). The following forms require a particular explanation: the *Part. Qāl* קָם may be traced to the groundform with *â* uninflected (Arab. *qātīl*, § 9, 10, 2, § 50, 2); after the rejection of the *ı* there was *qāim*¹ and this became קָם,—the *ĩ* being absorbed by the predominating *â*. The immutability of the *â* (pl. קָמִים, *constr.* קָמִי etc.) favors this explanation.—In the *Impf. Qāl* again there are found, besides the forms with original *û* (now *û*), forms with original *ǣ*. This *ǣ* became *ā* after the elision of *ı* and was again inflected into *ō*; so especially

¹ Arab. *qāim* (really *qā'im* in which the two vowels are united by the insertion of *ı*, comp. Aram. קָמִי) rarely contracted, as *sās* for *sāıs*, *hār* for *hāır*. Others think that קָם is for קָם, like the verbal adjective קָמֵל, comp. § 84, 1.

יבוא (יבא) etc. from the *Perf.* בא (he has come). In the *Impf.* יבוש from בוש to be ashamed, the \bar{e} of the preformative has been lengthened from \bar{i} (attenuation of original \bar{a}) and thus $y\bar{i}$ -bāsch became $y\bar{i}$ -bāsch and finally $y\bar{e}$ -bōsch. The *Niph.* יקום (יקום) *Impf.* יקום (יקום) have arisen in the same way (yiq -q[aw]ām = $yiqqām$) by the obscuration of \bar{a} which was lengthened from \bar{a} .

5. In the *Perf. Niph.* and *Hiph.* (in order to keep the long vowel of the stem), an \bar{i} is regularly inserted before the affirmatives (1st and 2nd person) that begin with a consonant, and \bar{i} is inserted in *Impf. Qāl* before the affirmative נה (comp. § 67, 4). As in verbs ע"ע, these separating vowels are an artificial opening of the preceding syllable in order that the latter may retain its long vowel; however there is also frequently found in the *Perf. Hiph.* before \bar{i} the reduction of \bar{i} into \bar{e} (as a normal lengthening of the original \bar{i}) especially after the *Wāw. consec.* as well as before the affirmatives הם and הן or before suffixes. For in all these cases the accent is removed from the \bar{i} to the following syllable, and this removal of tone produces, at the same time, a great weakening of the \bar{i} ; thus הקימו, (or הקי) but הקימו etc. (however comp. והקמי Micah 5, 4). In the same way in the 1st pers. sing. of the *Perf. Niph.*, the \bar{o} before the separating vowel is always modified into \bar{u} (קומי). In the *Impf. Qāl* the separating \bar{i} is always accented (תקמינה).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with tone-long \bar{o} and \bar{e} instead of \bar{u} and \bar{i} are found in *Impf. Qāl*, תשבן Ez. 16, 55 (also תשובינה in the same verse), in *Hiph.* as תנפח Ex. 20, 25, but also תניפוח in Job 31, 21, תשבנה Job 20, 10. Wholly abnormal is תקמינה Jer. 44, 25 probably a transposition of ימ (for תקמינה) or an incorrect vowel writing (for תקמינה or תקמינה).

6. The *tone*, as in verbs ע"ע, is not thrown forward upon the affirmatives ה, ו, י, e. g. קמה (however after *Wāw. consec.* also וקמה), קמי (however also קמי, וקמי), תקמי, יקמי; on the other hand before suffixes and with *Nūn paragogic* ויכנס 2 Chr. 28, 15; וקמי Deut. 33, 11. For the accent on the \bar{i} and \bar{i} , see No. 5. In those forms which do not take either of these endings, the accentuation is quite regular, e. g. קמת; so always in *Hoph.*, e. g. והקמת.

7. The conjugations *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.*, are very seldom found in the *weak* verbs ע"ו (comp. Rem. 10). The only instance of *Pi.* with the ר as a doubled consonant is עִיר to surround from עיר. In a few others י has taken the place of ר, as in קים Inf. קים Esth. 9, 31, 32 from קים; וְחִיבָתָם Dan. 1, 10 from חויב to be guilty, which forms belong to the laer Hebrew, and were borrowed from the Aramæan. On the contrary, the elsewhere rarer conjugation *Pīlēl* (§ 55, 2), with its passive and reflexive, is the common form employed in the sense of *Pī ēl*, and as its substitute; e. g. קומם from קומם or (after the elision of ר) from *qāmēm* with obscuring of *ā* to *ô* (comp. § 67, 8) to set up (from קום), רומם to raise, pass. רומם (from רום), reflex. הִתְעוֹרֵר to rouse one's self (from עור). More rare is the conjugation *Pilpēl* (see § 55, 4), e. g. כָּלַל to sustain, to nourish; pass. כָּלַל (from כול).

REMARKS.

I. On Qāl.

1. Of verbs *middle E* and *O*, which in the strong verb also have their *Perf.* and *Part.* the same (§ 50, 2), the following are examples; viz. *Perf.* מָת (מָוִית) he is dead, fem. מָתָה 2 masc. מָתָה, 1 sing. מָתָה, even in *Pause* Gen. 19, 19, 1 pl. מָתָנוּ, 3 pl. מָתוּ בּוֹשׁ (בּוֹשׁ) he is ashamed, בָּשָׁנוּ, בָּשָׁתָה, בָּשָׁנוּ it has shined, Plur. אֲוֹרֵי טוֹב, טָבוּ *Part.* מָת dead; בּוֹשִׁים ashamed ones Ezek. 32, 30. See the Paradigm M.

Isolated anomalies are also in the *Perf.* יִשְׁבֹּחַ (with the original ending of the fem. for יִשְׁבָּחָה Ez. 46, 17 (v. § 44, Rem. 4); יִצְקִין Is. 26, 16 (*Nûn* parag. with *Perf.* only Deut. 8, 3, 16). — In בָּנוּ 1 Sam. 25, 8 (for בָּאנוּ from בּוֹא) the א has been dropped contrary to custom. In בָּאוּ Jer. 27, 18 (instead of בָּאוּ) the Massora seems to point towards the *Imperf.* בָּאוּ, which might be expected there; as *Yôdh* precedes we may suppose that it is simply a mistake in writing. In the *Perf.* and *Part.*, the usual form קָם is only very seldom written with א (after the Arab. mode, § 9, 1), as in קָאם he rises Hos. 10, 14; לָאט being secret Judg. 4, 21; שָׂאטִים despisers Ez. 28, 24, 26, fem. 16, 57. The *Part.* in verbs med. *ô* takes at times also the form of קום for קם 2 K. 16, 7; even with a transitive sense, as לוֹט covering Is. 25, 7; בָּטִים for בָּטִים Zech. 10, 5.

2. Verbs whose imperfects have *â* take also *â* in the *Imper.* and *Inf. constr.*, thus יָקום, *Imper.* and *Inf.* קום; however for יָרוּשׁ he thrashes (*Inf.* רוּשׁ) the *Imper.* has רוּשׁ (fem.) Micah 4, 13; for יָמוּט he staggers the *Inf.* is מוּט; comp. נוּחַ (also נוּחַ) and נוּעַ Is. 7, 2 (elsewhere נוּעַ) with the *Impf.* נוּחַ and נוּעַ. The *Inf. absol.* has always *î* in the final syllable (like קָטוּל), as יָקוּמוּ קום *surgendo surgent* Jer. 44, 29. — Those verbs which have *î* in the *Inf. constr.* mostly retain it in the *Impf.*, as יָבוֹא he will come = בּוֹא, יָבוֹשׁ = בּוֹשׁ etc.

3. In the *Imp.* with affirmatives (קָיָמוּ, קָיָמוּ) the tone is on the stem syllable, with a few exceptions, as עֵינִי in Judg. 5, 12, an intended variation with עֵינִי and צֵינִי Is. 21, 2 likewise for rhythmical reasons. So too the lengthened form, as שָׁנָה Jer. 3, 12; Ps. 7, 8; עֵרָה Ps. 7, 7; but often also with the tone at the end, specially if an ׀ begins the next word, Ps. 82, 8; Judg. 4, 18, and so too before יְהוָה, because this was read as יְאֻרְנִי (§ 17), see Ps. 3, 8; 7, 7, even without א following 74, 22 (רִיבָה).

4. The shortened *Impf.* as *Jussive* (§ 48, 4), has the form יָקָם (see above No. 4) also יָקָם incorrectly written fully and even יָקָם which however differs only orthographically from יָקָם. In the form with *Wāw consec.* (וַיָּקָם, in pause וַיָּקָם) with a guttural or a *Resh*, the final syllable usually takes *Pä'thäch*, e. g. וַיָּסֶר and he turned aside Ruth 4, 1 (but also וַיָּנַח from נָחַח, וַיָּנַח and he rested Gen. 20, 11; וַיָּעַר and he wearied Judg. 4, 21; 1 Sam. 14, 28, 31 (on the other hand in open syll. always וַיָּקִימוּ etc.).

The full plural-ending וֵן has the tone (according to No. 6 on p. 177), e. g. תִּמְחָלוּ Gen. 3, 3, 4; יְנוּסוּן Ps. 104, 7; יְרִיצוּן Joel 2, 4, 7, 9.

II. On *Niph'al*.

5. In the Paradigm M. the form of the 1 pers. sing. Perf. נִקְיְמוֹתִי, which occurs repeatedly, as in נִפְיֵנִתִי, נִסְיֵנִתִי, is taken as the model also for the 2 pers. sing. נִקְיְמוֹתִי, נִקְיְמוֹתִי and for the 1 pers. plur. נִקְיְמוֹנוּ, although no examples of them occur; so too the 2 pers. plur., of which we find only forms with *ō* (not *a*), viz. נִקְיְמוֹתֶם Ez. 20, 43.—To the *i* (instead of *ā*) of the preformative may be traced the Perf. נִעִיר Zech. 2, 17 (*Impf.* נִעִיר for נִעִיר). The *Inf. constr.* occurs once in the anomalous form הִדְּשׁוּ Is. 25, 10; in לִאֲרִי Job 33, 30 the Massora supposes the syncopè of הִ (for הִלִּאֲרִי); but perhaps לִאֲרִי (*Qāl*) is meant. Comp. also Rem. 9.

III. On *Hiph'il*, *Hophal* and *Pilel*.

6. Examples of the Perf. without the inserted *i* are: הִנֵּפְתָּ thou liftest Ex. 20, 25; הִכְתָּה thou killest (from כָּוַת, comp. § 20, 1, a), הִסְתָּה 3d fem. Perf. *Hiph.* of מִית 1 K. 21, 25; הִכְנוּ 1 plur. Perf. *Hiph.* of כָּנַן 2 Chron. 29, 19, and even הִקְתָּם (§ 27, Rem. 3) Num. 17, 6; with *Wāw consec.* וְהִקְתָּ Is. 14, 30; com. וְהִטְלָתָּ Jer. 16, 13 and וְהִנְפָּתָּ Ex. 29, 24.—In these cases the *e* in the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the antepenult it becomes \bar{e} ; more frequently however \bar{e} , and in the syllable before the antepenult it is necessarily \bar{e} (e. g. וְהִקְמָתָּ Gen. 6, 18, and so always before the suffix).—As in verbs ע"ע (§ 67, Rem. 6) these verbs take before gutturals also *Pä'thäch* instead of \bar{e} ; thus in all the forms of עִיר Ex. 19, 23 and עִיר Is. 41, 25; 45, 13. The anomalous form וְהִשְׁבֹּתִים Zech. 10, 6 has arisen evidently from the confusion of two forms, viz. וְהִשְׁבֹּתִים (from שָׁבַת) and וְהִשְׁבֹּתִים (from שָׁבַת).—The Perf. *Hiph.* of בָּשׁ appears everywhere as הִבִּישׁ (הִבִּישׁ) after the analogy of פ"ו verbs (as if from בָּשׁ); also Isa. 30, 5 gives קֶרֶשׁ הִבִּישׁ for Kethîbh הִבִּישׁ (from בָּשׁ).

7. In the *Imperfect*, besides the shortened form הִקָּם, the lengthened הִקְמָה also occurs (but הִקָּם Isa. 44, 22 with silluq [cf. § 29, 4 c, Rem.], on the other hand, Ezek. 21, 35, for הִשָּׁב should be read הִשָּׁב, *Infinitive*). With suff. הִקְמִנִי; הִבִּיא Jer. 17, 18 is anomalous (for הִבִּיא Gen. 43, 16); perhaps הִבִּיא was meant (as in 1 Sam. 20, 40) or it was originally הִבִּיאָה. In the *Infinitive* the הִ is syn-

copated in לָבִיא Jer. 39, 7; 2 Chr. 31, 10 (for לִהְיֶיָהּ). With ה־ fem. להִנָּפֶה Isa. 30, 28; cf. Esth. 2, 18 and the analogy of the *Hāph'el Inf.* in Bibl. Aram. Dan. 5, 20 (cf. § 85 No. 46). — As *Inf. abs.* we find הִכֵּן Ezek. 7, 14 (perhaps Josh. 4, 3; Jer. 10, 23). The *participles* have *e* as vowel of the preformative like the ע"ע; for מִכֵּי (1 K. 21, 21 in *Kethîbh*) the *Qerê* is everywhere מִכֵּיָא.

The shortened *Impf.* has the form יִקֶּם (וִיקֶם), but always וִיקֶם comp. No. 4 above. The final syllable, when it has a guttural or *Resh*, takes *Pā'thāch*, as in *Qāl*, e. g. יָרַח 1 Sam. 26, 19; וִירַח Gen. 8, 21; וִיטַר and he took away Gen. 8, 13. Still the 1st *sing.* is usually like וִיאָשִׁיב Neh. 2, 20, more rarely וִיאָשֶׁב Josh. 14, 7; וִיאָעַר 1 K. 2, 42.

In the *Impf. Pīl'el*, before a following tone-syllable, the tone recedes but without shortening the vowel of the last syllable, viz. תִּרְוֹמֶםָּו Prov. 14, 34; תִּתְבַּגֵּן בִּי Job 35, 14; cf. also תִּתְבַּגֵּן 30, 20 (on — by — cf. § 16, 2, 1, b, γ).

Hoph. Part. in Gen. 43, 12 הִמּוּשֵׁב; cf. § 65, 1, c, Rem. 1.

Peculiar contracted *Pīl'el*- (if not transitive *Qāl*-) forms occur in וִיכַנְנִי Job 31, 15, יַעֲזֹרֵנוּ 42, 2; וְתִמְנִנֵנוּ Isa. 64, 6 for וִיכַנְנֵנוּ, etc., also תִּרְמֶםָּ Job 17, 4 for תִּרְמֶםָּ. — יַעֲזֹרוּ Isa. 15, 5 appears to arise from the *Pīl'el* עֲזָרוּ, since *ā* after rejection of ר was heightened to *ā*, and obscured to *ō*. — The anomalous form בִּתְקוּמִמִּי Ps. 139, 21 cannot (according to § 52, Rem. 6) be explained as a *Part.* with the rejection of מ, but is to be read בִּתְמִתְקִי.

IV. In General.

8. On account of the intimate relation between verbs ע"ע and ע"ע (§ 67), it is necessary, in analyzing forms, to note particularly the points in which these classes differ. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e. g. *Impf. Qāl* and *Hiph.* with *cons.*; *Pīl'el* of ע"ע and *Pō'el* of ע"ע. Hence it is that verbs ע"ע borrow forms from verbs ע"ע, as in *Perf. Qāl* כָּזַו he despised (from כָּזַו, as if from כָּזַו) Zech. 4, 10, טָח (for טָח) he besmeared Isa. 44, 18. *Perf. Niph.* גָּמַר Jer. 48, 11 (for גָּמַר from גָּמַר, as if from גָּמַר). Still other cases נִקְטָה Job 10, 1 for נִקְטָה (cf. § 67, Rem. 11) = נִקְטָה from קִיט, and נִקְטָו Ezek. 6, 9 (for נִקְטָו) וִירָמוּ Ezek. 10, 17, and וִירָמוּ v. 15 הִרָמוּ (*Imp.*) Num. 17, 10; יָפַג Mic. 2, 6; *Hiph. Perf.* הִתָּו Isa. 18, 5 for הִתָּו (cf. § 29, 4, c, Rem. 1), this for הִתָּו (from הִתָּו). On the other hand, the *Impfs.* יָמַר Ezek. 48, 14, and יָפַח Hab. 2, 3 (according to § 109, 2, b, Rem.) are to be regarded simply as rhythmical shortenings for יָמַר and יָפַח.

9. In common with verbs ע"ע (§ 67, 5), these verbs have also in *Niph.* and *Hiph.* the Aramaic and Rabbinic formation, which substitutes, for the long vowel under the preformatives, a short one followed by *Dāghē'sh forte*. This form and the common one are often both in use; e. g. יָפִיתָ to incite, *Impf.* יָפִיתָ (also יָפִיתָ, יָפִיתָ, יָפִיתָ) and he shows the way 2 Sam. 22, 33 (also יָפִיתָ Prov. 12, 26), יָפִיג to remove, *Impf.* יָפִיג (from כִּיג), also *Hoph.* הִפִּג Isa. 59, 14; sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הִינִיחַ to cause to rest, הִינִיחַ to set down, *Impf.* הִינִיחַ, *Imp.* הִנִּיחַ, plur. הִנִּיחוּ, יָלִין to spend the night, to abide, יָלִין, יָלִין to be headstrong or rebellious. Other examples: *Niph.* נִמּוּל (from מוּל, not נִמּוּל) to be circumcised Gen. 17, 26, 27, *Part. Gen.* 34, 22, with a guttural נִעוּר Zech. 2, 17; *Hiph.* הִנִּילוּ to despise Lam. 1, 8, יָלִיו they depart, Prov 4, 21.

¹ *Pass.* of this is *Hoph.* הִנִּיחַ, Lam. 5, 5 gives הִנִּיחַ.

To this class are perhaps to be referred some forms of verbs *Pē Guttural* with *Dāghē'sh forte implicitum*, which others derive from another root, or wish to amend, viz. וַתַּחַשׁ for וַתַּחַשׁ and she hastens (from חוּשׁ Job 31, 5, וַיָּעַט (others read וַיָּעַט) 1 Sam. 15, 19, 25, 14 from עֵיט, עֵיט to rush upon. Both forms would be correct *impf. apoc.* of חָשַׁח and עָטָה (ל'') ; both are found however with quite a different signification from that required in this case.

10. Verbs in which the middle stem-letter *Wāw* is sounded as a consonant are, in respect to this letter, perfectly regular; e. g. חָוִיר to be white, *Impf.* יִחְוִיר; גָּנַע to expire, *Impf.* יִגָּנַע; רָוַח to be wide; *Pi.* יִעוֹל, *Impf.* יִעוֹל to act wickedly; עָנַת to bend, *Hithp.* הִתְעַנַּת to bend one's self, especially in those which are also at the same time verbs צָוָה, as צִוָּה *Pi.* צִוָּה to command; קָנָה to wait; רָוָה to drink, *Pi.* and *Hiph.* הִרְוָה, הִרְוָה to cause to drink.

§ 73.

VERBS ע"י.

E. g. בִּין to discern. Paradigm N.

1. These verbs have the same inflection as verbs ע"י, and the י is here treated in the same manner as the ר of that class; e. g. *Perf.* Qāl שָׁת (for שִׁית) he has set, *Inf.* שִׁית, *Inf. absol.* שׁוּת (for שִׁוּת), *Imp.* שִׁית, *Impf.* תִּשִּׁית, *Jussive* יִשֶּׁת, with *Wāw consec.* וַיִּשֶּׁת.—But the *Perf. Qāl* has, in several verbs, still a second set of forms, which resemble a *Hiph'il* with the characteristic ה elided, e. g. בִּין Dan. 10, 1; בִּינוּתִי (similar to הַבִּינוּתִי) Dan. 9, 2, also בָּתָּה Ps. 139, 2; רִיבֹתָ Job. 33, 13, also רָבָתָ Lam. 3, 58. The above perfects (בִּין, רִיב, and the like) might be taken as forms *med. e* (really *ī*) whose *ī* has been lengthened into *ī* (as *ū* into *ū* instead of *ō* in the *Impf. Qāl* of קָם). It is more probable however that they actually are a shortened *Hiphil* form; especially as often complete *Hiph.* forms occur, e. g. *Perf.* הִבִּינוּתָם, הִבִּינוּתָם, *Inf.* הִבִּין (also בִּין), *Imp.* הִבֵּן (also בִּין), *Part.* מִבִּין. Elsewhere *Hiphil* forms are in use along with actual *Qāl*-forms with the same signification, so too מִרִּיב (also רִיב), מִשִּׁים putting (also שִׁים), מִצִּיץ glittering (also in *Perf.* צָצַץ). Moreover, as *passive*, we find a few times *Hoph. Impf.* יוֹשֵׁר from שָׁיר to sing, יוֹשֶׁת from שָׁת to set.

2. The above *Hiph.* forms may easily be traced to verbs ע"י, and possibly they in part belong to that class. The same may be said of *Niph.* נָבֹן, *Pi' lēl* בּוֹנֵן, and *Hithpā' lēl* הִתְבּוֹנֵן (as

if from *בָּקַע*). These verbs are in every respect closely related to verbs *ע"י*. Hence it is that we find several verbs used in the *Qāl*, as *ע"י* and *ע"י*, and with the same meaning in both forms, as *לָיַן* (*denom.* from *לַיַל* *night* but see Davies' Heb. Lex. under *v. לָיַן*, 1.) *to spend the night*, *Inf.* *לָיַן* oftener than *לָיַן*; *שָׂם* *to put*, *Inf.* *שָׂם* (rarely *שָׂם* Job 20, 4), *Impf.* *רָשָׂם*, once *רָשָׂם* (Ex. 4, 11), *Part. pass.* *שָׂם* and *שָׂם*. In other verbs, one of the two is the predominant form, as *גָּלַל* *to exult* (*גָּלַל* only in Prov. 23, 24 *Kethibh*). The following are mostly found as verbs *ע"י*;—*רִיב* *to contend*, *שָׂת* *to set*, *דָּיַן* *to judge*, *שִׂישׁ* *to rejoice*; so too *Perf.* *כָּל* (for in Arab. it is a verb *mid. Yôdh*) *to comprehend, to measure* Is. 40, 12, *עִיט* (as in Arab. and Syr.) *to rush upon*; and the *Perf.* *קָץ* (*denom.* from *קָרָץ*) *to pass the summer* Is. 18, 6, and *דָּיַג* (from *דָּג*) *to fish* Jer. 16, 16.

The older grammarians did not recognise such verbs, but referred all the forms to verbs *ע"י*. Indeed in many cases a decision is impossible, as imperfects like *רָשָׂם* may be just as well referred to the *Hiph.* of *שָׂם* and as participles, like *שָׂם* and other forms, agree already with the form of the *ע"י*. In modern Arabic we find an exactly corresponding abbreviation (comp. *בָּין* above No. 1) of the *Hīph'il* (Conj. IV.) of verbs *ע"י*. However forms still remain which can only be traced to verbs *ע"י* comp. Rem. 3. The Arabic, as also Ethiopic, has actual verbs *ע"י*, and *ע"י*, and the Hebrew has some with a *Yôdh* as a consonant, like *אָיַב* *to hate*, and *עָיַת* *to tire*, *הָיָה* *to be*, *חָיָה* *to live*.

The paradigm N is placed in connection with that of verbs *ע"י* (Parad. M), in order to exhibit the parallel between the two classes. The conjugations which Parad. N omits have the same form as in Parad. M.

Rem. 1. In the *Perf. Qāl*, 3d fem. sing. there is found once *וָלָנָה* Zech. 5, 4 instead of *וָלָנָה*, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* into *ē* (like fem. participles *וָלָנָה* Is. 59, 5); 1st pers. plur. *וָלָנָה* Judges 19, 13 for *lan-nū*. The lengthened imperative has before a the tone on the ultima (as by the verbs *ע"י* § 72, Rem. 3); *רִיבָה יְהוּהוּ* Ps. 35, 1, the same also elsewhere (Ps. 43, 1, 74, 22, 119, 154) for rhythmical reasons. Examples of the *Inf. absol.* are *רִיב* *litigando* Judg. 11, 25, *שָׂה* *ponendo* Is. 22, 7, but also *רִיב יְרִיב* Jer. 50, 34, *בֵּין תִּבְיִן* Prov. 23, 1.

2. The *Impf. apoc.* is *רָבַן*; with shifted tone it takes the form with *S'ghôl*, as *רָבַן לֹו* Judg. 6, 31. So with *Wāw consec.* *וָרָשָׂם* and *he placed*, *וָרָבַן* and *he perceived*; with guttural *וָרָבַט בָּהֶם* and *he flew at them* 1 Sam. 25, 14 (vide § 72, Rem. 9). As Jussive of *לָיַן* stands *תִּלָּן* Judges 19, 20 (in pause) and Job. 17, 2 for *תִּלָּן*.

3. As *Part. act. Qāl* we find once לָן *spending the night* Neh. 13, 21; *Part. pass.* שָׁרִים or שָׁרִים (according to a different reading) 2 Sam. 13, 32.

* * * *

4. Verbs ל"ג scarcely ever suffer their ל"ג to quiesce, and hence are to be regarded as verbs *'Ayin Guttural*, as in § 64. An exception where the ל"ג has lost its force as a consonant is: נָאִירָה *they are fair* (from נִאִירָה *Pi' lēl* to נָאִירָה really נָאִיר) Is. 52, 7, Cant. 1, 10. Very doubtful on the other hand is רִנָּה *it blooms* (Ec. 12, 5) *Impf. Hiph.* of רִנָּה, for רִנָּה; if the form has been correctly preserved, it could better be traced back to רִנָּה (with incorrect writing for רִנָּה) comp. *Delitzsch in loc.*

§ 74.

VERBS ל"ג.

E. g. רָצָה *to find. Paradigm O.*

The ל"ג is here, as in verbs ל"ג, treated partly as a consonant with a soft guttural sound (scarcely audible at the end of a syllable), partly as a quite inaudible (quiescent) letter, according to the following rules:—

1. In those forms which end with the third radical, the final syllable has always the regular vowels, e. g. מִצָּה, מִצָּה, מִצָּה, מִצָּה. In all these cases the ל"ג is simply absorbed into the long vowel without the latter being subject to any variations; at the utmost there might have been preserved originally a certain sound of the ל"ג after the quite heterogeneous ū. Therefore in the *Perf.*, *Impf.* and *Imp. Qāl*, in the *Perf. Niph.*, and *Pū'āl* and *Hoph.*, the *Pā'thäch* is lengthened before the feeble ל"ג into *Qā'měš* (§ 23, 1), as מִצָּה, מִצָּה, etc., which (—) however is movable (§ 25, 2), hence we have in the plural מִצָּהִים.

The *Impf.* and *Imp. Qāl* have *A* after the analogy of verbs *Lāmēdh Guttural*.

2. Also before affirmatives beginning with a consonant (ר, נ) the ל"ג is not heard, but is quiescent in the *Perf. Qāl*, in *Qā'měš*, as מִצָּה (for מִצָּה); in the *Perf.* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, in *Sērē*, as נִמְצָה; in the *Imp.* and *Impf.* of all the conjugations, in *Sēghôl*, as מִצָּה, מִצָּה.

The *Sēghôl* of these forms of the *Impf.* and *Imp.* may be considered throughout as an inflection and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ā* (v. § 8, 1). In the same way the *ē* of the *Perf.* forms in *Piel*, *Hiphil*, *Hithpael* may be traced to an original *ī* (as the usual 3d pers. sing. of this conjugation) although this *ī* may have been attenuated from an original *ā*. Regarding the *Niphal*, we might refer to traces of a weakening of the *ā* to *ī* with the verbs כָּנַח (§ 67, Rem. 5); the supposition however lies nearer that the *Niphal* has yielded to the pervading analogy of the other conjugations. The use of *Sērê* and *Sēghôl* is otherwise explained from the great resemblance between verbs נָחַל and לָחַל (comp. § 75, 2), and an approximation of the former to the latter. No form of this kind in *Pu'al*; in *Perf. Hoph.* only 2d masc. הִנָּחַל Ez. 40, 4, lengthened in accordance with the rule.

Before the suffixes הָ, הֵ, הֶ, the נ retains its character as a guttural, and takes (—); as נִמְצָאָה Cant. 8, 1, הִנָּחַל Ez. 28, 13; comp. § 65, 2, Rem. The reason (as in verbs *Lā'mēdh Guttural*) is, that those suffixes require before them a *Shewâ mobile*.

3. At the beginning of a syllable or before affirmatives beginning with a vowel, as well as before suffixes; the ׀ is a consonant, and the form regular, as מָצָאֵי *mā-ξ'û'*, מָצָאָה etc. (in *pause* מָצָאֵי, מָצָאָה).

REMARKS.

1. Verbs *middle E*, like מָלֵא *to be full*, retain *Sērê* in the other persons of the *Perf.* as מָלֵאתִי; yet 2 pl. יָרָאתָ in Josh. 4, 24; מָלֵאִי Esth. 7, 5. Instead of מָצָאָה is sometimes found the form קָרָאתָ for קָרָאתָ (after the form הִשְׁתַּלַּח, § 44, Rem. 4) *she names* Is. 7, 14, *it happens to* Jer. 44, 23, Deut. 31, 29, in *Niph.* נִפְלָאתָ Ps. 118, 23, in *Hoph.* הִנָּפְלָאתָ Gen. 33, 11.

2. In the *Inf.* *Qāl* occurs the *fem.* form מָלֵאתָ *to fill* Lev. 12, 4 (comp. מָלֵאתָ from מָלֵא); also מָלֵאתָ Job 20, 22 and Esth. 1, 5 written מָלֵאתָ. Compare similar forms Judges 8, 1, Prov. 8, 13; before suffixes Ez. 33, 12 and likewise in *Niph.* Zech. 13, 4.

3. The *Part. fem.* is commonly (by contraction) מִצָּאָה, seldom מָצָאָה Cant. 8, 10, and without the ׀ (see Rem. 4) יוֹצָאָה (from יָצָא) Deut. 28, 57. So too in *Niph.* נִשְׁאָה Zech. 5, 7 (cf. also 2 Sam. 19, 43, where it stands as a substantive, like L. *oblutum*=*oblatio, donum*) and 1 Ch. 14, 2; נִפְלָאתָ Deut. 30, 11.—The Plur. of *Part. Niph.* makes נִמְצָאִים dropping the *Qameṣ* (1 Sam. 13, 15, 2 K. 14, 14), which however remains in *pause* (Ezr. 8, 25); so from יָצָא the plur. נִבְאִים (but in p. נִבְאִים Ez. 13, 2); the *Qameṣ* remains also before suff. as נִמְצָאָה Is. 22, 3, and before *fem.* ending נִמְצָאָה 2 K. 19, 4, plur. נִמְצָאִים Gen. 19, 15. In the forms הִנָּחַל *sinning* 1 Sam. 14, 33, and הִנָּחַל *feigning them* Neh.

6, 8, the vowel is drawn back (§ 23, 2) and the **M** orthographically retained.

4. The **א** is sometimes dropped: a) in the middle of the word as in **יִצְחָק** Num. 11, 11, **יִצְחָק** Job 32, 18, comp. 1, 21, **יִצְחָק** Judges 4, 19. In *impf.* **יִצְחָק** Jer. 9, 17, Zech. 5, 9, Ruth 1, 14 (on the other hand the same form with pleonastic *Yôdh* analogous with ל"ה Ez. 23, 49 comp. Jer. 50, 20); *Niph.* **נִשְׁחָח** ye are defiled Lev. 11, 43; b) at the end of the word: **יִחַב** 1 K. 12, 12 *Kethîbh*; *Hiph.* **יִחַב** 2 K. 13, 6. *Hiph.* **יִחַב** to cause to sin Jer. 32, 35.

Upon the transformation of verbs ל"א into forms ל"ה v. § 75, Rem. VI.

§ 75.

VERBS ל"ה.

E. g. **גָּלָה** to reveal. *Paradigm P.*

These verbs, like the verbs פ"י (§§ 69, 70), embrace two different classes of the irregular verb, viz. ל"י and ל"ר, which in Arabic, and especially in Ethiopic, are still more clearly distinguished. But in Hebrew the original י and ר have passed over into a feeble ה, as a substitute for a final vowel (§ 23, 4), in all those forms which end with the third radical, and hence these verbs are called verbs ל"ה; e. g. **גָּלָה** for **גָּלִי** *he has revealed*, **שָׁלָה** for **שָׁלִי** *he has rested*. By far the greater number, however, of these verbs are treated as originally ל"י and only a few forms occur of verbs ל"ר. The separation of these classes is therefore not so distinct as in verbs פ"י and פ"ר.

A true verb ל"י is **שָׁלָה** to be at rest, whence (with a י conson.) 1 pers. sing. *Perf.* **שָׁלַחְתִּי** Job. 3, 26, *Part.* **שָׁלֵחַ** and the derivative **שָׁלָה** rest; yet in the *Impf.* it has **שָׁלִי** (with *Yôdh*). In **עָנָה** I (Arab. **عَنَى**) to answer, and **עָנָה** II (Arab. **عَنَّو**) to suffer, to be oppressed, are two verbs originally distinct, but with the same form in Hebrew (see Davies' Heb. Lex.).—In Syriac the intermingling of these forms is carried still farther, verbs ל"א being confounded with verbs ל"ה, i. e. with the two classes ל"י and ל"ר of the Arabic.

Of quite another class are those verbs whose third stem-letter is a consonantal ה (distinguished by *Mappîq*, § 14, 1), e. g. **גָּבַהּ** to be high. They are inflected throughout like verbs *Lamedh Guttural*.

The grammatical structure of these verbs (which *Paradigm P* exhibits) is as follows:—

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wāw* would have to stand at the end of the word, it is dropped and ה is set (cf. § 24, 2, *b*, Rem.) as an orthographical compensation, indicating that a long vowel precedes. Such an indication was necessary already for practical reasons in the still unvocalized consonant text. But even after the addition of vowel signs, the orthographic rule still remained with very insignificant exceptions (v. § 8, No. 4 and *ā* in קטלה etc.), that a final vowel must be pointed out by a so-called vowel-letter.—In the verb לה, the ה which here is employed as a vowel letter, is preceded in each particular form by the same vowel through all the conjugations. Thus appears the ending:

ה— in all the Perfects, נלה, נלה, נלה, etc.

ה— in all the Imperfects and Participles active, ילה, נלה, etc.

ה— in all the Imperatives, גלה, גלה, etc.

ה— in the Inf. absol. (except in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, also *Pi.*, see Rems. 10 and 15 below), גלה, etc.

The *Part. pass.* Qāl forms an exception, in which the original י appears at the end, גלי, as also in some derivatives (§ 84, *a* 1, *C*, *e*).

The *Inf. constr.* has, as a rule, the ending ו (cf. *fem.* ח); thus in Qāl גלות and also in *Pī'el* גלות (except הראה Judg. 13, 21).

In explanation of these forms we observe:—

That in the *Perf.* Qāl גלה stands for גלי (according to § 24, 2, *c*), so too in *Niph.*, *Pū'āl* and *Hōph'āl*. The *Pi.* and *Hithp.* are based on the forms קטל, הקטל (§ 52, Rem. 1), *Hiph.* on the form הקטל, after the manner of the Arabic 'āgtālā (§ 53, 1).

The final accented ה— of the imperfect is variously explained. The least plausible is a contraction of the original *Yôdh* (or rather the *i* into which it is dissolved) with preceding *ā*. For the language generally only has *ê* as contraction of the diphthong *ai*, which at the most may be weakened into *î* (v. No. 2). According to *Rödiger* the obscure ה— is in place of the distincter characteristic vowels of the corresponding forms of the strong verb, which have maintained themselves in Arab. and Ethiop. with greater purity also in these verbs, e. g. *Impf.* Qāl ילה (Arab. *yaġlū*) (vulgar *yaġlī*), Eth. *yēglū*; יבה (from יבה to weep), Arab. *yabkī*, Eth. *yēbkī*; יחיה (r. יחיה to live), Arab. *yachyā*, Eth. *yēchyaw*; ירעה (r. ירעה to feed), Arab. *yar'ā*, Eth. *yēr'ay*. So too in the other conjugations, e. g. *Pi.* ילה, cf. Arab. *yusāllū*, Eth. *yēsallū* (he

prays); Hiph. רָאָה (r. רָאָה to see), Arab. *yur'î*, Eth. *yâr'î*, etc. According to these examples in Arab. and Ethiop. the characteristic vowel has maintained itself everywhere, and from this we might conclude that also in Hebrew in the imperfects of the different conjugations of the ל"ה different vowels were originally employed, but in an endeavour after a complete analogy they all have become equally —. That such an effort has taken place, remains without doubt, if we also consider the uniformity of the forms, in *perf.*, *impf.* and *participle*. The only question now is, whether in regard to the imperfects, the uniformity of formation did not originally exist in an *ā* as a vowel to the final syllable. By the *Pual* and *Hophal* this would be a matter of course; but also elsewhere (especially in the *Qāl*, v. Rem. 4) the *ā* shows itself occasionally as the original vowel. Accordingly the accented — would be an inflection and lengthening of *ā* in an open syllable (as מִלֵּךְ for מִלְכָּה) instead of the full lengthening into *ā*. In the same way may be also explained the — of the participles, whilst the *constr. state* of the same (מִלְכָּה) is based upon a contraction of the original *ay*; comp. also the noun שָׂדֵה and שָׂדֵה (from שָׂדֵה) *field*; construct שְׂדֵה. The same as in these *constr. forms*, also in the *Imper.* (ending הִ—, contraction of *ay*) *Yôdh* must everywhere be supposed to be the final letter, the original ל"ה having also followed the analogy of ל"י.

2. Before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant (ר, נ), the original ׀ remains, and there arises *a*) in the *Perf.* the diphthong *ay* (רַ—); this diphthong should be contracted into *ê* (רִ—), but this *ê* is constantly found only in passive conjugations, whilst regularly in *Qāl* and other active and reflexive conjugations it appears to be further attenuated into *î* (comp. Rem. 7, 9, 14 and § 27, Rem. 1); but in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* before הֵ it is changed into the obtuse and accented *ê* (רֶ—). Here again we have the disputed question (v. above) whether this רֶ— must be considered the equivalent of רִ— (i. e. *ê* as contraction from *ay*) or whether after the dropping of the *Yôdh* (as in the 3d sing.) *ā* was inflected into *S'ghôl*. In the latter case the *Yôdh* which is still written everywhere in these forms, must be simply considered an orthographical remainder of the original form. Accordingly before affirmatives beginning with a consonant, there appears as chief vowel—

Perfect *Qāl î*, as רָאִי;

Perfects of the other active conjugations, and also in the reflexive, partly *ê*, partly *î*, as in רָאִי and רָאִי and רָאִי;

Perfects of the passives only *ê*, as *יִגָּלֶיךָ*;

Imperfects and Imperatives always *î*, as *תִּגְלִינָה, יִגְלִינָה*.

The diphthongal forms have been throughout retained in Arabic and Ethiopic, and the diphthong is contracted only by way of exception and in the popular idiom. In Aram. and Syriac, the contracted forms predominate, yet the Syr. also has in *Qāl* 2 p. sing. *יִגְלִיָּה* (but 1 p. sing. *יִגְלִיָּה*), and so too the West. Aram. has *יִגְלִיָּה* along with *יִגְלִיָּה*.

3. Before the vowel affirmatives (*ה*, *י*, *ה*), the *Yôdh* with the vowel before it is usually dropped, e. g. *יִגְלִי* (for *יִגְלִיָּה*), *יִגְלִי* (for *יִגְלִיָּה*), *Part. fem.* *יִגְלִיָּה*, *plur. mas.* *יִגְלִיָּה*; yet it is retained in ancient full forms, particularly in *pause*, as *יִגְלִיָּה* (see Rem. 4 and 13). Before *suffixes* also it is dropped, as in *יִגְלִיָּה* (Rem. 19).

4. In 3 *Perf. sing. fem.*, the old *fem.* ending *ת* returns, and, with the elision of the *Yôdh* arises the form *יִגְלִיָּה* (before suffixes) and tone-lengthened *יִגְלִיָּה*. But this ancient form is become very rare (see Rems. 1 and 19); and, as if this mark of the gender were not sufficiently distinct, a second feminine-ending *ה* is appended, before which the *Păthăch* of the ending *ת* becomes *Shewâ* so as to form *יִגְלִיָּהּ, יִגְלִיָּהּ* (*pause יִגְלִיָּהּ*).

See similar cases in § 70, Rem. and in § 91, 3.

5. The formation of the *shortened Imperfect* both as *jussive* and w. *ו* consec. (§ 48 and 49), which occurs in this class of verbs in all the conjugations, is strongly marked, consisting in the rejection of the *ה*, by which some other changes are occasioned in the form (see Rems. 3, 8, 11, 16). The *shortened Imperative* is also formed by *apocope* of the *ה* (Rems. 12, 16).

6. Of the *Imperfect lengthened* by *ה* (§ 48, 3), only the following examples are found in verbs *ל"ה*:—in *Qāl*, *אֶשְׁעָה* Ps. 119, 117, *אֶהְיֶה* (retaining *י*, see Rem. 4) Ps. 77, 4, and in *Hithp.* *נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה* Is. 41, 23 (toneless *ה* after long vowel).

REMARKS.

I. On *Qāl*.

1. For the 3 *Pers. fem.*, the older and simpler form *יִגְלִיָּה*, from *יִגְלִיָּה* (comp. the verb *ל"ה*, § 74, Rem. 1), is almost entirely banished from common use (see No. 4 above). One instance is *יִנְּשָׂה* it yields Lev. 25,

21 (comp. 2 K. 9, 37 *Keth.*). So in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, e. g. הִרְצָה *it enjoys* Lev. 26, 34, הִקְלָה *it is taken captive* Jer. 13, 19. But with *suffixes* this form is always used; see Rem. 19 below. In the 3d pers. plur. is found instead of the usual accent (קָלָה etc.) Ps. 37, 20, בָּלָה in *pause* and also in *rhythmical antithesis* to the preceding קָלָה. Regarding the accent of the *consec. perf.* v. § 49, 3 Rem.

2. The *Inf. absol.* has also the form רָאָה *videndo* Gen. 26, 28. The form שָׁהוּ Is. 22, 13 (also שָׁהוּ in the same verse) has been chosen, because it represents a similarity of sounds with שָׁהוּ; the same in 42, 20 in *Qeri* and Hos. 10, 4. As *Inf. constr.* גָּלוּה (once גָּלוּה or גָּלוּ) comp. רָאָה Gen. 48, 11, עָשָׂה 50, 20, or עָשָׂה 31, 28, and the feminine form רָאָהָ to see Ez. 28, 17, like קָשָׁה (§ 45, 1, b).

3. The *shortening of the Impf.* (see above in No. 5) occasions in *Qāl* the following changes:—

- a) The first stem-letter most commonly receives a helping *Sēghôl*, or, when the middle radical is a guttural, a helping *Päthäch* (§ 28, 4), e. g. הָגַל for הִגַּל; נִבְנֶה and he built; יִשֶׁע let him look (for יִשָּׁע).
- b) The *Chîrêq* of the preformative is also sometimes lengthened into *Sērê* (because it now stands in an open syllable), as יִרְאֶה let him see (from רָאָה). This however occurs mostly only after the preformative ה, whilst after the י the *î* being homogeneous remains, e. g. יִרְאֶה (also יִרְאֶה, יִרְאֶה) (also יִרְאֶה); and by verbs middle guttural יִרְאֶה (from רָאָה). The strange accentuation יִרְאֶה Zech. 9, 5, יִרְאֶה Micah. 7, 10 and יִרְאֶה (mid. *ê*) Gen. 41, 33 can be explained only to some degree from *rhythmical* reasons.
- c) The helping vowel is not used elsewhere, and especially not in the cases mentioned in § 28, 4; e. g. וַיִּשָּׁב and he took captive Num. 21, 1; and with *î* lengthened to *ê*, וַיִּשָּׂה and he drank, וַיִּבְכֶּה and he wept. The verb רָאָה has the forms יִרְאֶה let him see, and יִרְאֶה and he saw, the latter with *Päthäch* on account of the following ר.
- d) Examples of verbs which are *Pê Guttural* (§ 63) as well as *Lā'mēdh Hē*:—וַיַּעַשׂ and he made (from עָשָׂה), וַיֹּאמֶר and he answered (from אָמַר), וַיַּעֲלֵנוּ and we ascended (from עָלָה). On a few forms of פ"א v. § 76, 2, c. Sometimes the pointing of the first syllable is not affected by the guttural, as in וַיִּחַר and he was wroth, וַיִּחַר and he encamped, וַיִּחַר (with *Dag. lenè*, according to § 28, 4) let it rejoice Job. 3, 6. On וַיִּזַּק, וַיִּזַּק, וַיִּזַּק (both ל"ה and פ"א) v. § 76, 2, b.
- e) The verbs הָיָה to be and חָיָה to live, where analogy would require the *Impf. apoc.* to be יִהְיֶה, יִחְיֶה, change these forms to יִהְיֶה and יִחְיֶה, because the second *Yôdh* draws to itself the vowel *î*, and makes with it a long *î*; in *pause*: יִהְיֶה, יִחְיֶה, the original *ā* having been modified into *Sēghôl*. (Comp. the derivatives בָּכַר for בָּכַר, עָנִי for עָנִי, etc., § 85, No. V).—From הָיָה to be occurs once the form יִהְיֶה for יִהְיֶה he will be Ec. 11, 3, (on the ■ v. § 23, 3, Rem. 3).

The full forms, without the *apocopè* of ה־, occur sometimes even after *Wāw consec.*, especially in the 1st person and in the later books, e. g. וַאֲרָאָה and *I saw* (20 times) and Josh. 7, 21 in *Kethib* but never in the Pentateuch (וַאֲרָאָה, 15 times, 3 times in *Pent.*); וַיַּעֲשֶׂה and *he made* 4 times (but וַיַּעַשׂ over 200 times). At times also for the *jussive*, as in וַיַּעֲשֶׂה Gen. 41, 34, Jer. 28, 6.

4. The original י is sometimes retained before the affirmatives beginning with a vowel (comp. Nos. 3 and 6 above), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending ה־, or where for any reason an emphasis rests upon the word. *Perf.* הִסְתָּה *she trusts* Ps. 57, 2, הִסְתָּי *they trust* Deut. 32, 37 (comp. Ps. 73, 2 *Qeri*). *Imp.* בִּשְׂאֵי *ask ye* Is. 21, 12, *Impf.* יִשְׁלָיו *they are quiet* Ps. 122, 6, יִרְבִּיּוּ *they increase* Deut. 8, 13, Ps. 36, 9, more frequently like יִשְׁתְּיוּ *they drink* Ps. 78, 44, Is. 21, 12; 26, 11, Ps. 36, 8 (comp. Rems. 5, 7, 13 and 16).

5. The *Part. act.* has also a *fem.* retaining the 3d radical י, as in בֹּכֶיָה (= בָּכָה) *weeping* Lam. 1, 16, צִיפָיָה *spying* Prov. 31, 27, פֹּרִיָה *fruitful* Ps. 128, 3; in the *plur.* like אֹתִיּוֹת *coming* Is. 41, 23. The *Part. pass.* is still sometimes found with the י as 3d radical, as עָשִׂי *made* Job. 41, 25, צָפִי *Job* 15, 22, contracted from עָשָׂי, and the י has still its consonant sound before a formative ending, as עֲשׂוּרָה (read it as *ʿasûwôth*) 1 Sam. 25, 18 in *Kethibh*, נְשׂוּרָה (read *nešûwôth* Is. 3, 16 *Kethibh*).

6. The forms are at times written defectively, as in וְהָיָה 2 Sam. 15, 33, תַּעֲשֶׂנָּה Job. 5, 12, and (according to the Massora) תִּרְאֶינָה Mic. 7, 10, comp. תִּעֲנֶנָּה Judges 5, 29 (according to others in *sing.* with *suff.* of the 3d fem. sing.). Both cases must probably be considered in the sense of § 20, 2, c.

II. On Niph'al.

7. Here the forms with י־ in 1 and 2 p. sing. of the *Perf.* are the usual, the י־ being found only in יָקִיךָ Gen. 24, 8; but in 1 p. pl. the י־ is always used, as in נִגְזַלְנוּ 1 Sam. 14, 8. No examples of the 2 p. pl. occur in *Niph.* of these verbs.—The י is retained in *pause*, as in נִקְיִי Num. 24, 6.

8. The *apocopè* of the *Impf.* occasions here simply the rejection of ה־, יָגַל from יִגְלָה; yet in one verb *Á'yin Guttural*, we find a form with (י־) shortened to (י־), viz. יָמַה (for יָמָה) Ps. 109, 14 (but in *pause* יָמָה Ps. 109, 13). Similar also in *Pi.* is יָעַר (from יָעָרָה) Ps. 141, 8, and in *Hithp.* יָהֲרַע (from יָהֲרָרָה) Prov. 22, 24.

III. On Pī'el, Pū'āl, and Hithpā'el.

9. In the *Perf. Pi.*, the second syllable has *i* (*Chîreq*) instead of the diphthongal י־ in the greater number of examples, as in יָמִירָה, קָיִימָה, always in 1 p. pl. and before *suffixes*, e. g. כָּסִינוּ Gen. 37, 26, דָּבִירָה Ps. 44, 20. But in the *Paradigm* the form with י־ stands first,

as being older, though examples occur in the O. Test. only in 1st sing. as Joel 4, 21. In *Hithp.* not only לִי (Jer. 17, 16), but also לִי is sometimes found (Prov. 24, 10, 1 K. 2, 26, Jer. 50, 24). Yet *Pū'āl* has always *Šē'rê* (לִי), as in עָשִׂיתִי Ps. 139, 15.

10. The usual form of the *Inf. absol. Pi.* is like כָּהֵן, כָּהֵן (according to כָּהֵן, the more frequent form also in the strong verb, see § 52, Rem. 3), rarely like כָּהֵן Ps. 40, 2.

11. The *Impf.* loses, after the *apocopè*, the *Dāghē'sh fortè* of the second stem-letter (comp. § 20. 3, a); hence *Pi.* וְצִוִּי and he commanded, *Hithp.* וַיִּהְיֶה and he uncovered himself, Gen. 9, 21. Less frequently is *Pā'thäch*, in this case, lengthened into *Qā'mēš*, as וַיִּתֵּן and he marked 1 Sam. 21, 14, וַיִּתְּן he craves, *Hithp.* וַיִּתְּשֶׁת Is. 41, 10. Ps. 45, 12; according to the best texts however this should read וַיִּתְּשֶׁת.

12. In *Pi.* and *Hithp.* are found also *apocopated* forms of the *Imp.*, as צִוִּי for צִוֶּה command thou, נִסֵּי for נִסֶּה prove thou Dan. 1, 12; וַיִּתְּנִי feign thyself sick 2 Sam. 13, 5, Deut. 2, 24. Anomalous is Judges 9, 29 וַיִּתְּנִי for וַיִּתְּנִי increase; on וַיִּתְּנִי Prov. 26, 7 (according to some *Imperf. Pi.* for וַיִּתְּנִי) comp. *Delitzsch in loc.* In Ps. 137, 7 is found twice נָקִי naked instead of נָקִי (for נָקִי), but comp. 2 Chr. 24, 11.

13. The *Yôdh* is retained in some cases where it is more commonly omitted, e.g. *Impf.* וַיִּתְּנִי will ye liken Is. 40, 18, comp. vs. 25; וַיִּתְּנִי they cover them Ex. 15, 5.

IV. On *Hiph'ûl* and *Höph'âl*.

14. In the *Perf. Hiph.* 3 sing וַיִּתְּנִי, as also found besides וַיִּתְּנִי, especially וַיִּתְּנִי, וַיִּתְּנִי. The forms with *ê* are found throughout in the 1st sing. (except Prov. 5, 13), rarely in the 2d sing. masc. never in 1. pl. In the other pers. they are about equally common with *î*; before suffixes the latter is used as somewhat shorter than the other. The Paradigm P puts first the older form with *î*. In *Hoph.* only *î* occurs.

15. The *Šē'rê* of the *Inf. absol. Hiph.* is the regular vowel (as in וַיִּתְּנִי); *Hoph.* conforms to this *Inf. absol.*, as in וַיִּתְּנִי Lev. 19, 20. The verb וַיִּתְּנִי to be much has three forms of the *Inf.*; viz. וַיִּתְּנִי used as adverb (§ 131, 2) much, וַיִּתְּנִי as *Inf. absol.* with a finite verb (§ 131, 3), וַיִּתְּנִי as *Inf. constr.* Comp. Gen. 41, 49, 22, 17, Deut. 28, 63. On וַיִּתְּנִי Job. 17, 2 (with *Dag. f. dirimens*) v. § 20, 2, b.

16. The *Impf. apoc. Hiph.* is found either without a helping vowel, as וַיִּתְּנִי let him subdue Is. 41, 2, וַיִּתְּנִי let him spread Gen. 9, 27, וַיִּתְּנִי and he watered (see § 28, 4); or with it, as וַיִּתְּנִי (for וַיִּתְּנִי, see § 27, Rem. 2, c), as וַיִּתְּנִי and he led captive 2 K. 18, 11, וַיִּתְּנִי and he made fruitful Ps. 105, 24. Examples with gutturals: וַיִּתְּנִי Num. 23, 2, וַיִּתְּנִי etc., which can be distinguished from the like forms in *Qāl* only by the sense (comp. 28, 4).—The *Impf. apoc. Hiph.* has always the helping-vowel *Sēghôl* or *Pā'thäch*, as וַיִּתְּנִי increase thou (for וַיִּתְּנִי, וַיִּתְּנִי) Ps. 51, 4, וַיִּתְּנִי; וַיִּתְּנִי let alone (for

הָרָחָה (הָרָחָה) Deut. 9, 14, הָרָחָה (for הָרָחָה) Ex. 33, 12.—The *Impf. Hiph.* with *Yôdh* retained occurs only in הָרָחָה Job 19, 2, from הָרָחָה. Comp. Rem. 4 on p. 190.

V. In General.

17. In the Aramæan, where as before remarked, the verbs לִ"א and לִ"ה run into one another, both classes terminate in the *Impf.* and *Part.* of all the conjugations, without distinction, in אֲ— or יֲ—. As imitations of this mode of formation, we are to regard those forms of the *Inf.*, *Imp.*, and *Impf.* in הֲ—, more seldom אֲ— or יֲ—, which are found in Hebrew also, especially in the later writers and the poets. *Inf. Pi.* הָרָחָה Hos. 6, 9. *Imp.* Qāl הָרָחָה be thou Job. 37, 6, *Impf.* רָא let him see Gen. 41, 33; הָרָחָה he will do Is. 64, 3; אֲלִי־הָרָחָה Jer. 17, 17, אֲלִי consent thou not Prov. 1, 10, אֲלִי־הָרָחָה do thou not 2 Sam. 13, 12 (the same for Gen. 26, 29, Josh. 7, 9, Jer. 40, 16, *Qeri*); הָרָחָה Josh. 9, 24; הָרָחָה Dan. 1, 13. Comp. also in *Niph.* Lev. 5, 9; in *Pi.* Lev. 18, 7, 8, 12—17, 20, 19 (everywhere הָרָחָה and also הָרָחָה with small distinctives); הָרָחָה Nah. 1, 3; אֲרָחָה Ez. 5, 12 (with *Zaqeph*). The circumstance that many of these forms stand in *pause* and that at the same time they represent a *Jussive* or *Voluntative* (Josh. 7, 9), leads us to suppose that the long vowel has been chosen principally in order to heighten the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to distinguish, by sound, the *Jussive* from the usual *Imperf.* Elsewhere (Gen. 26, 29, Lev. 5, 9, Jer. 40, 16, Dan. 1, 13) the long vowel serves probably to avoid the hiatus which is produced by a following א or ע. We are not sure whether in the choice of the — we may not have a return to the original diphthongal final sound (in a manner that הָרָחָה be directly contracted from הָרָחָה).

The ending י־ is found for ה־ in the *Impf.* Qāl הָרָחָה and she committed fornication Jer. 3, 6 (before *Mäqqēph*) instead of ה־ in the *Perf. Hiph.* הָרָחָה he made sick Is. 53, 10 (perhaps for הָרָחָה from חָלָה as secondary form to חָלָה v. Rem. 21). Wholly Aramaic is the *plur.* הָרָחָה they intimidated (Josh. 14, 8).

18. In three verbs is found the rare conjugation *Pi'lel*, or its reflexive (§ 55, 2), where the third radical, which that conjugation requires to be doubled, appears repeated under the form וּה (see § 24, 2, c), viz. in הָרָחָה (contracted הָרָחָה) to be beautiful, from הָרָחָה archers Gen. 21, 16; but especially in הָרָחָה to bow, *Pi'lel* הָרָחָה, hence *Hithpāl* לֵל הָרָחָה to bow one's self, to prostrate one's self, 2d pers. in הָרָחָה and 1st pers. הָרָחָה, *Impf.* הָרָחָה, apoc. הָרָחָה for הָרָחָה (analogous to segholate forms like הָרָחָה for הָרָחָה).

19. Before *suffixes*, the ה final and the preceding vowel, are displaced by the so-called union-vowel (§ 58, 3, b), as הָרָחָה (in *pause* הָרָחָה) he answered me, הָרָחָה, in *pause* הָרָחָה Is. 30, 19 (and even outside of *pause* Jer. 23, 37) or like הָרָחָה Deut. 32, 6, הָרָחָה, *Impf.* הָרָחָה, *Hiph.* הָרָחָה. Very seldom י־ takes the place of the

final ה— or ה—, as in אֶפְסֵיהֶם Deut. 32, 26, רִבְסִימֹו *he will cover them* Ps. 140, 10 *Qeri*, הַכִּינִי *smite me* 1 K. 20, 35. By these examples we might suppose a return to the original ending *ay*; but perhaps they are based on a less correct full writing. The 3. *Perf. fem.* always takes before *suff.* the older form גָּלָה (see No. 4), e. g. כָּלָהּ for כָּלְהָהּ, Zech. 5, 4, in *pause* הִשְׁתַּחֲוִי Job 33, 4.

VI. Affinity of Verbs ל"ה and א"ל.

20. The verbs of each of these classes, in consequence of their intimate relation (being quite confounded in Aramæan), often borrow forms from one another, especially in the later writers and the poets.

21. Thus there are forms of verbs א"ל—

- a) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל"ה, e. g. *Perf.* כָּלָהּ *I restrain* Ps. 119, 101; *Part.* הִכָּה *sinning* Ec. 8, 12, 9, 18; *Pi. Perf.* מָלָא *he has filled* Jer. 51, 34; comp. 1 K. 9, 11, Am. 4, 2, Ps. 143, 3; רָפָא *I heal* 2 K. 2, 21; comp. Jer. 51, 9; *Niph. Perf.* פִּלְאָתָהּ (like נִגְלָתָהּ) *it was wonderful* 2 Sam. 1, 26; *Hiph. Perf.* הִפְלָא Deut. 28, 59, הִחְבֵּאתָהּ *she hid* Josh. 6, 17. On the other hand forms like יָשׁוּא Jer. 10, 5, הִרְבֵּאוּנִי (correct reading) Job 19, 2, are based upon syncope of א, v. § 74, Rem. 3.
- b) Which retain their own pointing, but have adopted the ה, e. g. *Imp.* רָפָה *heal thou* Ps. 60, 4; *Niph.* נִחְבֶּה Jer. 49, 10 and הִחְבֶּה *to hide one's self* 1 K. 22, 25; comp. Jer. 19, 11; *Pi. Impf.* רָמַלָה *he will fill* Job 8, 21.
- c) Which in all respects have the appearance of verbs ל"ה, e. g. *Perf.* צָמָה *thou thirstest* Ruth 2, 9, comp. 2 Sam. 3, 8; כָּלוּ *they kept back*, 1 Sam. 6, 10; מָלוּ *they are full* Ez. 28, 16, comp. 39, 26; *Inf.* חָטָו (v. Rem. 2) *to sin* Gen. 20, 6; *Impf.* יִכְלֶה (for יִכְלָא) *he will keep back*, Gen. 23, 6; הִרְפִּינָהּ *they heal* Job 5, 18; *Part. fem.* יָצָא Ec. 10, 5; *Part. pass.* נָשׂוּי Ps. 32, 1; *Niph.* נִרְפָּתָה Jer. 51, 9; גִּירָה Jer. 26, 9, *Impf.* יִרְפֶּה 2 K. 2, 22; *Pi. Impf.* יִרְפֶּה Jer. 8, 11, comp. Gen. 31, 39; *Hithp.* הִתְנַבֵּיחַ *thou prophesiest* 1 Sam. 10, 6, *Inf.* הִתְנַבֵּחַ 1 Sam. 10, 13. For the *Kethâbh* לִהְיוֹת 2 K. 19, 25 the *Qeri* gives the usual form לִהְיוֹת; the *Kethâbh* would read לִהְיוֹת (with syn. of א).

22. On the contrary, there are forms of verbs ל"ה which, wholly or in part, follow the analogy of verbs א"ל; e. g. in their consonants אָתָא *he comes* Is. 21, 12; וְרָצָאתִי Ez. 43, 27, יִשְׁנָא Lam. 4, 1, מָרַפָּא Jer. 38, 4, רָשָׁנָא Eccl. 8, 1, רָשָׁנָא *it is changed* Lam. 4, 1, שָׁנָא 2 K. 25, 29, וַיִּחָלָא *and he became sick* 2 Ch. 16, 12; in their vowels, אָחָבָהּ Jer. 3, 22, יִקְרָה Dan. 10, 14, תִּכְלָה 1 K. 17, 14; in both, תִּלְאָוּם 2 Sam. 21, 12 *Qeri*.

§ 76.

VERBS DOUBLY WEAK OR ANOMALOUS.

1. There are a number of verbs that have two stem-consonants which as weak letters are affected by the anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies might occur, usage must teach whether the verb is actually subject to both, or but one of them, or, as sometimes happens, to neither.

Thus e. g. from *נָחַר* to flee are formed *Impf.* נָחַר Nah. 3, 7, and נָחַר Gen. 31, 40 (after the analogy of verbs פִּי, *Hiph.* הִנִּיחַ (as a verb עִנֵּי), but in *Impf. Hoph.* נָחַר (as פִּי).

2. The following are examples of doubly anomalous verbs, and of difficult forms derived from them:—

- a) Verbs פִּי and לִי (comp. §§ 66 and 74); e. g. נָשָׂא to bear, *Imp.* נָשָׂא, *Inf. constr.* שָׂאָה (for שָׂאָה, also נָשָׂא; after the prefix ל always שָׂאָה (but once מִשָּׂאָה Job 41, 17 with *Syn.* of א); *Impf.* הִשָּׂאָה for הִשָּׂאָה Ruth 1, 14.
- b) Verbs פִּי and לִי (comp. §§ 66 and 75), as נָשָׂא to bend נָכָה to smite. Hence *Impf.* Qāl נָשָׂא, *apoc.* נָשָׂא and he bowed, נָשָׂא and נָשָׂא and he sprinkled (from נָשָׂא); *Perf. Hiph.* הִנִּיחַ he smote, *Impf.* הִנִּיחַ, *apoc.* הִנִּיחַ, so also נָשָׂא; *Imp.* הִנִּיחַ, *apoc.* הִנִּיחַ; *Inf.* הִנִּיחַ; *Part.* הִנִּיחַ.
- c) Verbs פִּי and לִי (comp. §§ 68 and 75), as אָבָה to be willing, אָבָה to come, אָבָה to bake. So *Impf.* Qāl אָבָה, *plur.* אָבָה, *Deut.* 33, 21 (for אָבָה), *Impf. apoc.* אָבָה Is. 41, 25 (for אָבָה), *Imp.* אָבָה Is. 21, 12, 56, 9, 12 (comp. אָבָה Exod. 16, 23) for אָבָה (§ 23, 3, Rem. 2, § 75, Rem. 4), *Hiph. Imp.* הִאָּבָה for הִאָּבָה (הִאָּבָה), Is. 21, 14; *Impf. apoc.* הִאָּבָה and he swore 1 Sam. 14, 24 (from אָבָה), really אָבָה, hence אָבָה and, with the obscuring to ô, אָבָה; instead of the simple *apocope*, which would give אָבָה, the א which had already disappeared, becomes again audible by the auxiliary *Seghōl*.
- d) Verbs פִּי and לִי (comp. §§ 69, 70 and 74), as יָצָא to go forth, *Imp.* יָצָא, *Inf.* יָצָא, *Hiph.* הוֹצִיאָה to bring out.
- e) Verbs פִּי and לִי (comp. §§ 69, 70 and 75), e. g. יָרָה to throw, in *Hiph.* to confess, to praise, and יָרָה to cast which are properly verbs פִּי, also יָרָה to be beautiful (which is really פִּי). *Inf.* יָרָה, *Imp.* יָרָה (cf. *Impf.* יָרָה Ez. 31, 7), with *suff.* יָרָה we shot them (from יָרָה) Num. 21, 30; *Pi.* יָרָה for יָרָה (§ 69, Rem. 6); *Hiph.* הוֹצִיאָה, *Inf.* הוֹצִיאָה *Impf.* יוֹצִיאָה, *apoc.* יוֹצִיאָה 2 K. 13, 17.
- f) Verbs עִי and לִי, particularly בֹּא to come, *Perf.* בָּא, *once* בָּא for בָּא 1 Sam. 25, 8; *Hiph.* הִבִּיאָה, *Impf.* הִבִּיאָה, *Impf.* אָבָה for אָבָה Mic. 1, 15. So יָנִי he refuses (*Impf. Hiph.*, from יָנִי) Ps. 141, 5.

- g) Moreover the verb *חָיָה* *to live* deserves to be noticed, which, besides its usual form *חָיָה fem. חָיָהּ*, is also treated as a verb *ע"ב*, and hence has *חָי* (*pause* *חָי*, w. *י* cons. *חָיִי*) in the 3 *Perf. Qāl* in Gen. 3, 22 and other cases; In Lev. 3, 22 is found even the contraction to *חָי*. The form *חָיָהּ* stands Ex. 1, 16 in *pause* for *חָיָהּ* (3. *fem.*) with *Dāgh.* omitted on acc. of the pausal lengthening of *ā* to *ā̄*.

§ 77.

RELATION OF THE WEAK VERBS TO ONE ANOTHER.

Several classes of weak verbs, e. g. those *פ"י* and *פ"י*, *א"ל* and *ל"ה*, *ע"ר* and *ע"ע*, stand in a very close relationship, as appears from the similarity in their meaning and inflection, from their mutual interchange of forms and especially from the fact that often the same biliteral root occurs in several weak verbs having the same meaning. These two root-consonants, to which the common signification attaches (*biliteral root*, § 30, 2), are constant, and the third feebler radical is not taken into account. Thus, *הָרַךְ*, *הָרַחַק*, *הָרַחַק* and *הָרַחַק*¹ are all developements of the crude-form (or ultimate root) *רָךְ*, and mean *to strike*, *to beat in pieces*; *נָדַד*, *נָדַד*, *נָדַד* (from the root *נָד*) *to flee*.

In this manner are related in form and signification—

1. Verbs *ע"י* and *ע"ע* (in which the essential stem-letters are the first and last), e. g. *מָכַר* and *מָכַר* *to become poor*, *מָשַׁח* and *מָשַׁח* *to feel or touch*, *נָדַד* and *נָדַד* *to flee*.

2. Verbs *פ"י* and *פ"י* (in which the two last are the essential stem-letters), are related both to each other and to the former class. They are related to each other in the verbs *רָצַב* and *רָצַב* *to place*, *רָקַשׁ* and *רָקַשׁ* (*yāqō'sh*) *to fowl*; to the former class, especially to verbs *ע"י*, in *יָרַח* and *יָרַח* *to fear*, *נָחַב* and *נָחַב* *to be good*, *נָפַח* and *נָפַח* [= E. *puff*] *to blow*; *נָפַץ* and *נָפַץ* *to smash*. Verbs *פ"א* are only seldom found connected with these classes, as *אָשַׁם*, *אָשַׁם* and *רָשַׁם* *to be destroyed*, *אָדַשׁ* and *אָדַשׁ* *to thresh*, etc.

3. Verbs *ל"א* and *ל"ה* (in which the first two consonants properly form the stem) are related both to each other and to the former classes; to each other in *הָבַח* and *הָבַח* *to break in pieces*, *קָרַח* and *קָרַח* *to meet* (comp. § 75, Rem. 20 ff.); to verbs of the former classes, in *מָצַח* and *מָצַח* *to suck*, *הָחַח* and *הָחַח* *to thrust*, etc.

¹ These verbs are *mimetic* or *onomatopoeitic*, mimicking the sound intended, and so are akin to our *dash* and *thwack* (see § 30, 3).—Tr.

§ 78.

DEFECTIVE VERBS.

It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use in the same signification, that both are *defective*, i. e. do not occur in all the forms. As, however, the missing forms or tenses are not generally the same in both, the two are combined to make out a complete verb, as in Greek ἔρχομαι, 2 aor. ἦλθον, fut. ἐλεύσομαι, and in Latin *fero, tuli, latum, ferre*; but with this difference, that in Hebrew these verbs are almost universally related in root as well as signification, like the Greek βαίνω, 2 aor. ἔβην, from the stem βά-ω.

A list of the most common verbs of this class:—

בושׁ *to be ashamed*, *Hiph.* הִבִּישׁ, but also הוֹבִישׁ (from רָבַשׁ).

טוב *to be good*, *Perf.*, טָוֵב; *Impf.* יִטֵּב (from טָבַע); *Hiph.* הִטִּיב (from טָבַע).

יָגַד *to fear*, *Impf.* יִגַּד (from יָגַד).

רָקַץ *to awake* only in *Impf.* יִרְקַץ; for *Perf.* the *Hiph.* הִקִּיץ is used (fr. קִיץ).

נָפַץ *to break in pieces*, *Impf.* יִפֹּץ (from פָּצַץ), *Imp.* פִּיץ; *Niph.* נִפְּץ; *Pi.* פָּץ: (from נָפַץ); *Pil'el* פּוֹצֵץ (from פָּצַץ); *Reflex.* הִתְפּוֹצֵץ; *Hiph.* הִפִּיץ. Also *Pilp'el* פִּצְּצֵץ Job 16, 12.

שָׁהָ *to drink*, used in *Qāl*; but in *Hiph.* הִשָּׁהָ *to give to drink*, from שָׁקָה, which is not used in Hebrew.

On הָלַךְ (הִלָּךְ) *to go*, see above in § 69, Rem. 8.

Rem. 1. The case is similar when different conjugations of the same verb, having the same signification, borrow *tenses* from each other;—

יָסַף (*to add*) borrows its missing *Inf.* and *Impf.* *Qāl* from *Hiph.* יוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיף.

נָגַשׁ (*to approach*) takes *Perf.* *Niph.* נִגַּשׁ for the *Perf.* *Qāl*, which is not in use; only the *Impf.* יִנָּשׂ, *Imp.* נָגַשׁ, and *Inf.* יִנָּשֶׁה of *Qāl* are in use.

נָהָה (*to lead*) has *Perf.* usually in *Qāl*, also the *Imp.* נָהָה; but the *Impf.* always in *Hiph.* יִנְהִיחַ.

נָהַךְ (*to pour out*) has *Perf.* *Niph.* נִתְהַךְ, along with *Impf.* *Qāl* נִתְהַךְ, but the *Impf.* *Niph.* and *Perf.* *Qāl* are not in use.

Rem. 2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formæ mixtæ*) in which, as they maintain, are united the character and signification of two different tenses, moods or conjugations. On correct grammatical principles most of the examples they adduce are

set aside; in others, the form seems to have originated in misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially through misunderstanding of an unusual full writing. Others again are nothing but false readings, or the erroneous combination of two originally different readings.

CHAPTER III.

O F T H E N O U N .

(*Substantive and Adjective.*)

§ 79.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. As according to § 30, 1 most word stems are developed into verbal stems as well as into noun stems; it has become customary, especially lexically, to trace back also the noun to the most simple ground form of the verbal formation viz: the 3d sing. perf. Qāl, and, as it were, to derive it thence. This is done not only with those noun stems which may be classified directly with the corresponding verbal stem (the so-called verbal nouns § 83) but also with the so-called primitive nouns i. e.: those whose verbal stem can no more be found in Hebrew (§ 82), as well as finally with Denominatives which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

NB. The *adjective* quite coincides with the *substantive* in form. On the process by which words with an abstract sense come to be treated as concretes or adjectives, see § 83, Rem.

2. A regular *inflection* of the noun by *cases* does not exist in Hebrew, although some ancient and almost wholly extinct traces of case-endings perhaps remain (§ 90). The relation of case in a noun is, therefore, either learned simply from its position in the clause, or indicated by prepositions. In either case the *form* of the noun undergoes no change (except for the construct state); and hence the matter belongs not to this division of grammar, but to the Syntax (§ 117). On the contrary, the connection of the noun with the feminine,

with the dual and the plural terminations, with suffixes, and with another noun following in the genitive, produces numerous changes in its form (see §§ 80, 87—89, 91—96), which is all that is meant by the *inflection*¹ of nouns in Hebrew. Even for the *comparative* and *superlative*, the Hebrew has no appropriate forms, and these relations must be expressed by circumlocution, as taught in the Syntax (§ 133).

§ 80.

FORMS WHICH MARK THE GENDER OF NOUNS.

1. The Hebrew, like all the Semitic languages, has but two genders, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Even inanimate objects or things and abstract ideas, which other languages generally express by the *neuter*, are regarded in Hebrew as either masculine or feminine, chiefly the latter (see the Syntax, § 122, 3).

2. The *masculine*, as being the prevalent and more important gender, has no peculiar indication.

The *feminine* had originally the ending הַ, as in the 3 sing. Perf. of verbs (§ 44, 1). The original הַ however has been retained (provided the principal form was not already created by the annexation of a simple ה, v. below lit. b) only in close connection with a following genitive or suffix (comp. § 89, 2, b and § 91, 4). Apart from these cases the feminine ending of the independent form (the so-called absolute state) is:

- a) Most commonly an accented הַ, as סוּסַה *horse*, סוּסַה *mare*; as in the 3d sing. fem. perf. (קָטְלָה etc.) this הַ has been produced by rejecting the closing ה and lengthening the *ā* in an open syllable; whereupon the ה has been added as an orthographical compensation for ה, as well as to point out the final long vowel (comp. the quite analogous creation in forms like גָּלָה for גָּלִי § 75, 1).
- b) Simple ה to nouns terminating with a vowel e. g. יְהוּדִי *Jew.*, יְהוּדִיָּה *Jewess*. The same termination ה is added very frequently to stems terminating with a consonant,

¹ This has been inexactly called the *declension* of the Hebrew noun.

however only (except before suffixes) with the aid of an auxiliary vowel, which as a rule is *Seghōl* but after gutturals *Pāthäch*, e. g. קָטַל *fem.* קָטְלָה *killing* (ground-form קָטַלָה, therefore before suffixes קָטַלְתִּי etc.); מוֹדַע *fem.* מוֹדַעַת *acquaintance*. The forms created in that way follow in every regard the analogy of the so-called Segholate forms (§ 94). The forms which have been developed by the aid of an auxiliary vowel maintain themselves also in the *status constructus*; except יוֹלְדֶה for the elsewhere used יוֹלְדָה Gen. 16, 11, Judges 13, 5, 7 and so regularly before suffixes e. g. יוֹלְדֶהוּ Prov. 17, 25.

Rem. 1. The feminine form הָ— is, in general, less frequent than the other, and occurs almost exclusively when the other in ה־ is also in use. It is only in Participles and Infinitives that it is found more frequently than the other (e. g. קָטְלָה oftener than קָטַלָה than לָדָה).

2. *Rarer feminine endings are:—*

- a) הָ— accented, as הָרְבִּיחַ *emerald* Ez. 28, 13, (also הָרֶבֶת Ez. 28, 17); נְגִינִית Ps. 61, 1; תִּחַת 74, 19; שְׂפָצֶה *crowd* 2 K. 9, 17 (if not a false reading); more often in *proper names* especially of places, among the Canaanites, the Phœnicians (in whose speech הָ— was the usual f. ending, § 2, 2) and other neighbouring tribes, as צִרְפָּת *Sarepta*, גִּבְעָת *Gibeath*, אֵילָת *Aelana* in Idumea, קִרְיָת *Kinjath*, גִּלְיָת *Goliath* (Philistine).
- b) הָ—, also in *names* of places, as בִּצְלָה, הַלְלָה, else mostly poetical, e. g. זִמְרָה Ex. 15, 2, Is. 12, 2, Ps. 118, 14 (probably instead of זִמְרֵי *my song* with suppressed termination before the following וִי, נַחֲלָה *heritage* Ps. 16, 6, either for נַחֲלֵי *my heritage* or for נַחֲלָה, comp. let. *f.*, as probably also עֲזָרָה *help* Ps. 60, 13, 108, 13, פְּרָה *prolific* Gen. 49, 22; שָׁנָה *sleep* (for שֵׁנָה) Ps. 132, 4 and in prose קָאָה *pelican* (which reading is also preferable in Is. 34, 11 to the form קָאָה); in prose also we find מָחָרָה *morrow* Gen. 19, 34.
- c) אָ—, Aramæan orthography for הָ—, found chiefly in the later writers, e. g. הֶאָה *fright* Is. 19, 17, שֵׁנָה *sleep* Ps. 127, 2, קָרְהָה *baldness* Ex. 27, 31, מִצָּרָה *mark* Lam. 3, 12.
- d) הֶ—, a weakened form of הָ— (§ 27, Rem. 4), only in זִוְרָה for זִוְרָה Is. 59, 5 and לָנָה for לָנָה Zech. 5, 4.
- e) הֶ—, without accent, as רֶחֱמָה Deut. 14, 17, בִּזְרָה *burning furnace* Hos. 7, 4; comp. Ez. 40, 19, 2 K. 15, 29, 16, 18. In all these examples there should be the usual accented הָ—, but the Punctists, not comprehending the feminine here, marked the הֶ— (by depriving it of the tone) as not feminine, but a kind of *locativus*

1 On the feminines not distinguished by their form, see § 122, 2, 3.

form (v. § 90, 2). Also לַיְלָה *night* (really *noctu* comp. new Greek ἡ νύκτα) appears by the tone to be such a form, particularly as it is always construed as *masc.*, and we find לַיִל, לַיִל also occurring. Also מְאִימָה *something*, might be considered as an old accusative (from מַאִים, מַיִם, *spot, point*). In the same way could be explained as accusatives אֶרְצָה Is. 8, 23 and (in *pause*) Job 34, 13; but there are also found forms in which the unaccented ה־ may be considered as a meaningless appendix, serving, at the most, as poetical emphasis, thus: אֶרְצָה (in P.) Job 37, 12; הַחֲרִיסָה *the sun* Judg. 14, 18 (else הָרִיס, הָרִיסָה *brook* Ps. 124, 4, הַמָּוֶתָה *death* Ps. 116, 15, and some other words. Much of this however is doubtful.

- f) ה־ only in poetry, e. g. אִימָתָה *terror* (=אִימָה), עֲזָרָתָה *help* (=עֲזָרָה), יְשׁוּעָתָה *salvation* (=יְשׁוּעָה), עֲוֹנָתָה *wickedness* (=עֲוֹלָה), see Ps. 3, 3, 63, 8, 92, 16, 94, 17, 120, 1, 125, 3, Job 5, 16, Ex. 15, 16, and other places. Those cases can hardly be taken for double fem. endings, for if they were, we could not explain why the final syllable has lost the tone; they are rather cases of an old accusative of direction (intention). In examples like עֲזָרָתָה *help!* (Ps. 44, 27 etc.) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and stands only for poetical emphasis; comp. § 90, 2.

3. It is wholly unsuitable to consider the vowel-ending ה־¹ as the original termination of the feminine, and the consonant-ending ת־ as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the ת constantly, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*), and in the Phœnician also the feminines end only rarely in ת, but mostly in ת, which is sounded *ath* in the words found in Greek and Roman authors (see *Gesenii Monumenta Phœnicia*, pp. 439, 440; *Schröder's Phön. Sprache*, pp. 169—74). The ancient Arabic has the weakened vowel-ending scarcely anywhere but in the *pause*; the modern Arabic is, in this respect, much like the Hebrew.

§ 81.

DERIVATION OF NOUNS.

Nouns are either *primitive*, i. e. those whose kindred relation to a verb-stem does not so easily appear (§ 82), as אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother* (see Davies' *Hebr. Lex.*); or *derivative*,

¹ In this ending the ת can be considered consonantal (*h*) only in the sense, that the original ת as aspirated mute was at first changed into a guttural (according to *Socin*, among a part of the modern Bedouins there is still heard an *h* as fem. ending); at any rate in Hebrew this final consonant sounding has been later entirely abandoned.

as being derived either from the verb (*Verbals*, §§ 83—85) in the sense given above in § 30, 1 and § 79, 1, as צַדִּיק *just*, צִדְקָה *righteousness*, from צָדַק *to be just*; רָם *high*, רֶמָה *high place*, מְרוֹם *height*, from רָם *to be high*; or (as in very few cases) from another noun (*Denominatives*, § 86), as מִרְגְּלוֹת *place at the feet*, from רֶגֶל *foot*.

Rem. 1. Many of the early grammarians, who admitted none but verbs as *stem-words*, classed *all* nouns among the verbals, and divided them into,—a) *Formæ nudæ*, i. e. such as have only the *three* (or *two*) stem-letters, and—b) *Formæ auctæ*, such as have received formative letters or syllables at the beginning or end, as. מְמַלְכֶה, מַלְכוּת. These formative letters are:

י, ה, ו, ז, ט, יו, יז, יח, יט, כ, כה, לו, לז, לח, לט, מ, נ, ס, ע, פ, צ, ק, ר, ש, ת, יוּ, יוֹ, יוֹז, יוֹזֵז, יוֹזֵזֵז.¹

According to the view of *roots* and *stems* given in § 30, 1, Rem. 2, the relation of the noun to the verb is, strictly speaking, somewhat different, since, according to it, many nouns are formed immediately from the (ideal) root. But we here retain the common view, as being easier for beginners. Comp. § 79, 1.

2. Of *compound* nouns, as *appellatives*, the number in Hebrew is very small, e. g. בְּלִיָּעַל properly *worthlessness, baseness*. As *proper names*, they occur frequently, e. g. אֱלֹהֵי מֶלֶךְ (man of God), יְהוֹרָקִים (whom יְהוָה raises up), יְהוֹזָקִים (whom יְהוָה strengthens), etc.

§ 82.

PRIMITIVE NOUNS.

1. The number of *primitives*, as explained in § 81, is very small, the nouns which are in most languages primitive being here usually derived from verbal ideas; e. g. most of the names of animals and natural objects, as שְׂעִיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שָׁעַר), שְׂעָרָה *barley* (prop. *bearded*, also from שָׁעַר), חֲסִידָה *stork* (prop. *pia*, sc. *avis*), זָהָב *gold* (from צָהַב=צָהָב *to be yellow*). There remain a few nouns, e. g. the names of members of the body in men and beasts, for which a suitable stem-verb can hardly be found, or at most only indirect ones (derived from the kindred Semitic dialects), as קֶרֶן *horn*, עֵין *eye*.

¹ From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are called also, by the old grammarians. *nomina heemantica*. Comp. § 5, Note 5, § 30 Rem. 1.

2. The *form* of the primitives is that of the simple verbals, as קָטַל, קָטֵל, etc.; and it makes no difference, in the grammatical treatment, to which class the nouns are referred.

E. g. אָדָם *man*, follows the analogy of the verbals No. 3 (§ 84 a), whether it comes from אָדָם (*to be ruddy*) or not: אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother*, have the same form as if derived from אָבָה, אִמָּם, and undoubtedly they may be traced back to these stems, although their corresponding signification (אָבָה *to procreate*, אִמָּם *to precede*) has not been preserved in the language.

§ 83.

VERBAL NOUNS IN GENERAL.

1. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in *form* and *signification* with certain forms of the verb, viz. the Participles and Infinitives, which, even without any change, are often employed as nouns; e. g. יָדַעַת (*to know*) = *knowledge*, אָיַב (*hating*) = *enemy*. Still oftener, however, we find that certain forms of the Infinitive and Participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb itself, though in use in the weak verb and in other dialects, are the prevalent forms employed for the verbal noun; e. g. the participial form קָטַל, the Infinitives after the (Aram.) form מִקְטֵל (as a noun also מִקְטֵל), farther קִטְלָה, קִטְלָה, קִטְלָה, קִטְלָה (§ 45, b) etc. Some (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the Participle.

2. As to *signification*, it follows from the nature of the case, that nouns which have the form of Infinitives regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely-related ideas (e. g. the *place* of the action), and are therefore mostly *abstract*; that participial nouns, on the contrary, denote, for the most part, the *subject* of the action, or of the state, and hence are *concrete*. It is to be noticed, however, that a particular sense is found in many isolated examples of derivative nouns, which does not hold good alike in all.

Rem. It must not, therefore, appear strange (for it is found in all languages), that a noun which in form is properly *abstract*, should be employed afterwards as a *concrete*, and *vice versâ*. So, in English,

we say *his acquaintance* for one *with whom he is acquainted*; the *God-head* for *God himself*; in Heb. כּוֹדֶעַ *acquaintance* and an *acquaintance*; פְּרִי *simplicity* and a *simple one*; on the contrary, חַטָּאת *that which sinneth* for *sin*, which use is frequent in the fem. of concretes (comp. § 122, 4).

In the following view (§ 84, 85), which substitutes in place of the former distinction of participial nouns a scientific classification, — are the derivatives of weak stems (former § 85), each of which is treated after the corresponding strong forms.

§ 84, a.

NOUNS DERIVED FROM SIMPLE STEMS.

I. Nouns with one, originally short, vowel.

1. Nouns with one of the three short vowels after the first stem-consonant (Groundform *qātl*, *qītl*, *qūtl*).

a) From the strong stems above mentioned the three ground forms are farther modified to קָטַל, קִטַּל, קֻטַּל (comp. § 27, Rem. 2 c, and in § 93, the explanation of Parad. I. a-c); without the helping vowel (§ 28, 4) קִשַּׁט *truth*. If the second or third stem-consonant be a guttural then, according to § 22, 2, a, it takes instead of the helping *Sēghôl* a helping *Páthäch* e. g. זָרַע *seed*, נֶצַח *eternity*, פָּעַל *work* (with middle ח however appears also לֶחֶם *bread*, רֶחֶם *womb*; so also with final א: פָּרָא *wild-ass*, etc.); with the middle guttural also is omitted the modification of *ā* into *è* e. g. נָעַר, רָהַב (except לֶחֶם, רֶחֶם; אָהַל, בָּהֵן). On the inflection comp. § 93, Parad. I a-f and the explanations. In חַטָּא *sin* the א has quite lost its consonantal value.

Examples of the Feminine: מַלְכָּה *queen* (directly from the Grdf. מֶלֶךְ *king*), כְּתָרָה *veil* (also כְּתֵר), אֲכָלָה *food* (also אָכַל); with middle guttural נַעֲרָה *maid*, טָהֳרָה *purity* (also טָהַר). Comp. also § 94, Parad. I.

b) From weak stems: α) פִּי e. g. אָף *nose* (from 'ānp, hence with *Dag. f. implic.* in פ; comp. אָפִי for 'anpī, *my nose*); עֵז *goat* (Grdf. 'īnz), Fem. חֲטָה *wheat*. β) עֵץ (§ 93, Parad. I, l-n): פֶּת *morsel* (st. פִּתָּה), but also with a lengthening of *ā* into *ā* יָם *sea*; fem. חַיָּה *life*, and with attenuation of *ā* to *i* מִדָּה *measure*; from the grdf. qūtl אִם *mother*, fem. גִּזָּה *fleece*; from the Grdf. qūtl חֶק *statute*, fem. חֻקָּה. γ) עֵץ (Parad. I, g and i) מוֹת *death*. (Grdf. māwt) or contracted: שׁוֹט *hostage* (for shāwt); fem. עוֹלָה *perversity* (also contr. עוֹלָה); from the Grdf. qūtl צֶר *rock*, fem. סוּפָה *breeze*. δ) עֵץ (Parad. I, h) זֵית *olive* (thus with helping *Chûrēq* instead of helping *Sēghôl*), or contr. חֵיק *bosom*, fem. שֵׁבֶה *grey hair*; from the Grdf. qūtl דִּין *judgement*, fem. בִּינָה *insight*. ε) לֵוִי (Parad. I, k) partly formations like בָּכָה *a weeping*, partly like בָּכִי, אֵרִי *lion* (Grdf. bāký, 'āry); comp. also שָׁחַי *a swimming* (Grdf. sāchw); fem. שְׁלֹוָה *rest*, גִּאוּהָ *highness*; fr. לֵוִי: אֵלֵיהָ *fat tail* and with

attenuation of *ā* to *i* שְׁבִיָּה *captivity*, also שְׁבִית (directly from masc. שָׁבִי with *ת* fem.); fr. the Grdf. *qūl* חָצִי (fr. *chāsy*); fr. the Grdf. *qūl* בָּהוּ (fr. *bōhw*); fem. שְׂנִיָּה *ship* (fr. *ānī* *fleet*).

In the masculine as well as in the fem. of these so-called *Segholates* the *abstract* is the proper and prevailing signification; yet the *concrete* often occurs, especially in the form קָטָל. The latter is then either secondary, i. e. derived from the abstract (e. g. נָעַר prop. *youth* (hence *a youth*), or its origin is from the form of another with a concrete sense: thus, e. g. מָלַךְ, עָבַר doubtless from participial forms (*mālik*, *ābād*) which signify *ruling*, *serving*.¹ In the form קָטָל the passive or abstract signification preponderates (comp. נָעַר *youth* as the abstract of נָעַר; אָכַל *food*, etc.)

2. Nouns with one of the three short vowels after the second stem-consonant (Grdf. *qetāl*, *qetīl*, *qetūl*, so-called after-sounding segholate forms); e. g. גָּבַר *man*, fem. גְּבִירָה (Grdf. *gēbart*); and so always with middle א: בָּאָר *well* (Grdf. *bār*), בָּאֵשׁ *stench* (Grdf. *bū's*, *bō's*) § 93, Rem. 4.

II. Nouns with an originally short vowel in both syllables.

3. Groundform *qātāl*, fem. *qātālāt*, in Hebr. developed into קָטָל (§ 93, Parad. II, *a*, *b*) and קְטִילָה (§ 94, 95, Parad. II, *a*, *b*), chiefly adjectives, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*, yet also substant., as דְּבָר *word*, and even abstracts, as אָשָׁם *guilt*, רָעָב *hunger*, שָׂבִיעַ *satiety*; fem. not seldom abstract, as צְרִיקָה *righteousness*; with initial guttural אֶרֶץ *earth*.—

From עֹרֶעַ probably belong here תָּם *upright*, רָל *lowly*, רַב *much* (the last two examples with *ā* on account of *Dag. f. implic.* in the final consonant, comp. fem. הִלָּה etc.).—In לֹו forms final *Yōdh* is almost always rejected, and the *ā* of the 2d syl. is changed to *è*. Thus שָׂדֵי *field* becomes שָׂדֶה with the compensating ה (as a vowel letter) in place of י (comp. § 93, Parad. II, *f*); fem. e. g. יָפָה (masc. יָפָה *fair*); comp. § 95, Parad. II. *c*.

4. Groundform *qātīl*, fem. *qātīlāt*, developed into קָטִיל (§ 93 Parad. II, *c-e*) and קְטִילָה, frequently in use as participles of verbs *mid. E.* (§ 50, 2) and therefore mostly with an intransitive sense; comp. זָקֵן *old*, an *old man*; כָּבֵד *heavy*; fem. בְּהֵמָה *cattle*.—From וֹעַ e. g. מֵת *dead person* (fr. *māwīt*), fem. מֵתָה.

5. Groundform *qātūl* developed into קָטֹול (but also written קְטֹול), mostly adjectives, as עָגֹול *round*, עֵמֶק *deep* (not to be confounded with the formations from the Grdf. *qātāl* under No. III, below); fem. עֵמֶקָה, עֵגֻלָּה.

¹ In Arabic the form *qātīl* always expresses an action or a quality inherent in the subject, as a secondary form to the usual participle *qātīl*, which indicates the casual or passing action or quality; thus, *mālīk* to rule, Part. *mālīk* ruling, *mālīk* rarely *malk*, ruler, king. Such an origin of מָלַךְ may be shown also from other examples. Comp. גִּירָה, as the name of a town, with גִּירָה (gdf. *gādir*) *wall*; and כָּתֵף shortened (in the *constr. state*) from כָּתֵף (kāṭīp) *shoulder*.

the original *ā* retained by the artificial sharpening of the following consonant (so in the pl. עֲלִים etc.)

6. Groundform *qūāl*, lengthened קָטַל (comp. § 93, Parad. II, Rem. 1), e. g. לֵבָב heart, עֵנָב grape, שֵׁכָר strong drink.

III. Nouns with an originally short vowel in the first and a long vowel in the second syllable.

7. Groundform *qātāl* in Hebr. always developed (with obscuring of *ā* to *ō*) into the form קָטַל. That this is also written קָטַל should not mislead us to confound these forms with No. 5 (Grdf. *qātūl*). Comp. גָּדוֹל great, קָדוֹשׁ holy; also abstract substantives like כְּבוֹד, honor, שְׁלֹמֶה peace (Arab. *sālām*); fem. גְּדוּלָה (with elimination of the short vowel, which before the tone, as in גְּדוּל, had been lengthened to *ā*).

8. Groundform *qātīl*, developed קָטַל (comp. § 93, Parad. IV, a and b), e. g. אֲסִיר captive, מָשִׁיחַ Messiah; the passive sense is also found here as well as the intransitive (e. g. צָעִיר little) and even the active e. g. נְבִיא prophet, פֶּקִיד overseer. Fem. נְבִיאָה etc.

9. Groundform *qātūl* developed קָטַל. Here belong all passive participles of *Qāl* and a few neuter adjectives, as עָצוּם strong, עָרִים cunning; from subst. e. g. יָקוּשׁ Fowler, שָׁבוּעַ week. Fem. e. g. בְּתוּלָה virgin (properly secluded).

10. Groundform *qītāl*, in Hebr. with reduction of *ī* to *Shewā* either קָטַל (comp. § 93, Parad. IV, c) or קָטַל, with obscuring of *ā* to *ō* (as No. 7 above). Comp. כְּתָב book (Arab. *kitāb*), קָרַב war; on the other hand חֲלוֹם dream, חֲמֹר ass (Arab. *chāmār*), אֱלֹהִים God (Arab. *ʾilāh*); with א prostheticum (§ 19, 4), אֲזוּרִים poor (also זְרוּיָם); fem. בְּשׂוֹרָה joyful news (Arab. *lāshārāt*); כְּתָבָת (Arab. *kītābāt*).

11. Groundform *qītīl* or *qūtīl*, in Hebr. always קָטַל e. g. בְּרִיל lead, בָּסִיל fool, חֲזִיר swine (the prop. name חֲזִיר suggests the Grdf. *qūtīl*; comp. Arab. *chānzūr*).

12. Groundform *qūtūl* or *qūtūl*, Hebr. קָטַל, e. g. גְּבוּל limit, לְבוּשׁ dress; גְּבוּרָה strong, אֱמִינָה true.

IV. Nouns with a long vowel in the first and an originally short vowel in the second syllable.

13. Groundform *qātāl*, in Hebr. always with obscuring of *ā* to *ō* קָטַל (קָטַל), e. g. עוֹלָם (§ 93 Parad. III, a), Arab. *ʾālm*, eternity חוֹתֶם (Arab. *chātām*) signet-ring, fem. חֲתָמָה (from *chōtāmt*). Here also belong the *Qal* participles of verbs ל' (comp. § 93, Parad. III, c) and the feminines of *Qal* participles which are formed with ת (קָטַלְת from *qōtālt*).

14. Groundform *qātīl* in Hebr. likewise always קָטַל. The substantives also of this form, like כֹּהֵן priest (Arab. *kāhīn*) are originally *Qal* participles. The fem. accords with the substantives of this form, with retention of the *ī* lengthened to *ē* before the tone, as יְלִירָה woman in labour; with the part. like יְלִירָה etc. with reduction of orig. *ī* to *Shewā*.

15. Groundform *qūtāl*, Hebr. קיטל (thus יכל stream Jer. 17, 8) or קיטל e. g. עיגב (usually עגר and so written acc. to Baer in Ps. 150, 4, not עגב) flute.

V. Nouns with a long vowel in both syllables.

16. קיטור, as קיטור smoke. The few forms of this species probably depend upon the Grdf. *qūtāl* (*qittāl* ?) i. e. *ō* is obscured from orig. *ā*.

§ 84, b.

NOUNS DERIVED FROM AUGMENTED STEMS.

Here belong all the forms which have arisen either through doubling of the middle stem-consonant or by repetition of one or two consonants of the pure stem.

VI. Nouns with a doubled middle consonant.

As in the corresponding verbal stems (comp. § 52, 2) so also in the nominal forms which belong here, there takes place almost always, through the doubling of the second stem-consonant a sharpening (intensifying) of the stem idea, and indeed partly an augmented energy of the action or condition, partly a greater stability of the condition or state.

17. Groundform *qūtāl* in Hebr. aside from infin. *Piel*, as שולח etc., mostly lengthened to קטל; comp. איל hart, fem. אילה cons. st. אילת (from 'äyyält); comp. also the feminines להבה flame (acc. to § 27, Rem. 2, b for lāhhābhā), דלקת burning fever, יבשת dry land, טבעת seal ring. It is remarkable that the so-called *nomina opificum* are treated in Hebr. as belonging to this form (at least in the constr. st. of the sing.), although the corresponding Arabic form *qūtāl* points to an original (unchangeable) *ā* in the second syllable; comp. גנב thief, טבח cook, חרש (for חרש) artificer (const. st. חרש, however in pl. (חרשי); of adjectives נגח apt to butt, קנא zealous.

18. Groundform *qūtāl*; thus masc. the adj. from ל'ה גאה haughty (with lengthening *ī* to *ē* because *ā* cannot be doubled); fem. אגלת folly (Grdf. 'üwält).

19. Groundform *qūtāl*; comp. the fem. כפסת spelt.

20. Groundform *qūtāl*; thus all infin. *Piël*, form קטל.

21. Groundform *qittāl*, in Hebr. lengthened to קטל. Here belong a tolerable number of adjectives which betoken bodily or mental fault or imperfection. Comp. אלים dumb, גבן hunch-backed, עור blind, חרש deaf (for חרש); קרח bald-headed, יגש perverse, etc.; פקח clear-sighted follows the same analogy.

22. Groundform *qūtāl*. Comp. No. 17 above upon the *nomina opificum*. Here belong also aramaicised infin. *Piël*, as בקשה entreaty. On the attenuation of the *ā* of these forms to *ī* depends without doubt:

23. Groundform *qittâl* e. g. אָכָר (Arab. 'akkâr) husbandman (prop. digger).

24. Groundform *qättôl* evidently a mere corruption of the form *qattâl* with atten. of *ā* to *ī* (like No. 23) and an obscuring of *â* to *ô* (as No. 10, 13); comp. גִּבּוֹר hero (Arab. *gāhbār*), סוֹר corrector, שָׁכּוֹר drunkard; yet also pass., as יָלוּד born.

25. Groundform *qättîl*, קָטִיל, almost exclusively of persons, expressing a quality intensively e. g. אָפִיר strong, צַדִּיק righteous, עָרִיץ (for עָרִיץ) mighty, but also pass. as אָפִיר fettered.

26. Groundform *qättîl*, קָטִיל e. g. חֲנוּן merciful, רַחוּם (with virtual doubling of ח) compassionate, חָרוּץ (for חָרוּץ) eager.

27. Groundform *qättôl*; thus besides the infin. absol. of *Piël* acc. to the form קָטֵל we have also קָנוֹא (also קָנָא thus obscur. the form *qättâl* No. 22) jealous.

28. Groundform *qättîl*, קָטִיל e. g. שְׁלוּם requital, שְׁקִין abomination, with concrete sense: לָמוּד learner, עָזוֹ strong; often in pl. with abstract signif., e. g. נַחֲמִים consolation.

VII. Nouns with repeated third consonant.

29. Groundform *qättîl* e. g. שְׁאַנָּה tranquil, fem. שְׁאַנָּה (with artificial sharpening of the second Nûn, to preserve the preceding short vowel).

30. Groundform *qättîl*, in Hebr. קָטֵל; here belong e. g. infinitives of the *Pilël* (prop. *Palël*) conjugation of *ʿ* verbs, e. g. רוּמָם (fr. *rawmîm*).

31. Groundform *qättîl*; thus the pl. גִּבְנָנִים ridges (with artificial sharpening of *Nûn*).

32. Groundform *qättîl* in פְּרָחָה brood.

33. Groundform *qättîl* in אָמָלָל faint.

34. Groundform *qättîl*, e. g. עֲבָטִיט robbery, סְרִיר heavy rain.

35. Groundform *qättîl*, e. g. שִׁפְרוֹר splendour Jer. 43, 10 Kethibh; נֶאֱפִפִּים adulteries.

VIII. Nouns with repetition of the second and third consonants.

36-39. Groundform *qetältâl*, *qetältîl* *qetältîl*, comp. אֶרְכָּבִים *flexuosus*, אֶרְכָּבִים reddish (fem. אֶרְכָּבִית); פְּתִלָּה perversus, שְׁחִרְחֹר blackish (in this category may also be classed פִּקְחֻקִּיח opening Is. 61, 1), אֶסְפָּכָף rabble (enlargement of the pass. part. אָסַף gathered).

IX. Nouns formed by repetition of whole (biliteral) stems.

Only ע' and ע'' stems of course come into consideration here.

Thus:

40. גָּלָל and (with obscur. of the first *ā* to *ī*) גָּלָל wheel (from גָּלָל) fem. חִלְחִלָה trembling (from חוּל or חִיל); comp. also כּוֹכֵב star (from כָּאֻכָּב, Arab. *kaukāb*, for כִּכָּב).

41. פָּלַל inf. *Pilpêl* (prop. *Palpêl*) from פִּיל; fem. טִלְטִלָה a hurling down (from טִיל).

42. כָּדָר perh. ruby (fr. *kādhkūdh*) st. כֹּדֵר.

43. קָרָקֹר *crown of the head* (for *qūdhqūdh*) from קָרָר; fem. גִּלְגִּילַת *scull* (*gūlgūlth*) st. גִּלְל.

44. וְרִיר *girded* fr. וָרַר; בִּקְפֹּק *flask* fr. בָּקַק.

§ 85.

NOUNS WITH CONSONANTAL ADDITIONS.

Here belong nouns derived directly from verbal forms with Preformatives (*Hiph'ûl*, *Hoph'al*, *Hithpa'êl*, *Niph'al*, etc.), nouns formed with other Preformatives (א, י, מ, נ, ת) and nouns terminated by affirmatives. In close connection with these forms come finally the *Quadriliterals* and *Quinquiliterals*, since they are almost always formed by the addition or insertion of one or two consonants into the triconsonantal stem.

X. Nouns with Preformatives.

45. Nouns with א preformative. Comp. also substantives with א *protheticum* (§ 19, 4), as אֶצְבַּע *finger*, אֶגְרוֹף *fist*, the adjectives אֶכְזָב *deceitful*, אֶיתָן *lasting* (for אֵיתָן). The fem. אֶזְכָּרָה *remembrance offering* is according to an Aramaic construction of *Hiph.* infinitives.

46. Nouns with prefixed ה. Aside from the ordinary infin. *Hiph.* (הִקְטִיל and הִקְטִיל) belong the verbals (aramaïcised infinitives), as הִפְרָה *aspect* (from הִפָּר, נִפְרָה) *waving* (fr. הִפָּר); perhaps also הִיכָל *palace* (fr. *hai-kāl*; if not a foreign word from the Assyrian, vide *Lex.*)

47. Nouns with prefixed י, as יֶחֱזֶה *oil*, יֶלְקוּט *pouch*, יֶנְשׁוּף *owl* (?); from stems י' ע' e. g. יָקוּם *being*.

48. Nouns with prefixed מ. This *mēm præformativum*, which without doubt represents מִי *who* and מָה *what* (§ 37), appears in a very great number of nouns, and serves to mark the manifold modifications of the stem idea. 1) מ *subjectivum*; thus as preformative of the participles of *Pi'êl*, *Hiph.*, *Hithp.* and other active conjugations; 2) מ *objectivum*, thus as preformative of the part. *Pu'al*, *Hoph'al* and other passive conjugations, as well as numerous nouns. 3) מ *instrumentale*, as מִפְתֵּחַ *key*, etc. 4) מ *locule* as מִדְבָּר *desert* etc. In regard to the formation of these nouns it is to be remarked that the מ *preformative* has, in most cases, an original short *ā* after it. This *ā* however often appears in the closed syllable attenuated into *ī*; in the open syllable before the tone it is strengthened to *ā* (just as *ī* attenuated from *ā* becomes *ē*); in the open syllable which does not stand before the tone it necessarily vanishes into *Shewā*. In special cases the following forms come into consideration: a) Grdf. *māqtāl*, in Hebr. מִקְטָל e. g. מִאֲכָל *food*, fem. מִמְלָכָה *reign*, מִאֲכֵלַת *knife*; from מִתֵּן *gift*; from מִפָּ: מוֹצֵא *exit*; from מִטֵּב: מִטְבָּ the good part (from *maîtābh*); with assimilated י (or ו) מִצֵּעַ *couch*; from מִכָּ: מִכָּף *cover*, and with elimination of *ā*

under the preformative מָמַר *bitterness* (developed from מָמַר into the Segholate form); from מָרָא: מָרָא *appearance*. Upon the attenuating of *ā* into *ī* depends probably: b) Grdf. *miqtāl* (the usual form of infin. *Qāl* in Aram.) Hebr. מִקְטָל e. g. מִדְבָּר *desert*, fem. מִלְחָמָה *warring*, מִרְכָּבָה *chariot* (*Seghól* instead of *ī* as obscured from *Pāthāch*) or as מִשְׁמֶרֶת *watch*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת e. g. מִסָּב *circle* (fr. *misbabb*; *ī* strengthened to *ē* in open syllable); from מִשְׁמֶרֶת: מִקְנָה *property* (fem. מִקְנָה); c) Grdf. *māqtāl*, Hebr. מִקְטָל e. g. מִכְסֵּר *incloser*, fem. מִכְשָׁל *ruin*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת: מִשְׁמֶרֶת *smiling*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת: מִגֶּן *shield* (fr. *magnīn*), fem. מִגֵּל *roll* (fr. גֵּל); from מִשְׁמֶרֶת: מִשְׁמֶרֶת *snare* (fr. *māw-qīsh*); upon the attenuation of *ā* to *ī* depends perhaps: d) Grdf. *miqtāl*, Hebr. מִקְטָל as מִכְסֵּר *wailing*, מִזְבֵּחַ *altar*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת e. g. מִסָּב *concessus*; e) Grdf. *māqtāl*, Hebr. מִקְטָל; thus the fem. מִמְכָּלֶת *fuel*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת e. g. מִעוֹן *fortress* (however with *suff.* מִעוֹנִי), fem. מִסְכָּה *covering* (st. סִכָּךְ). In like manner מִרָּךְ *fear* seems to have developed into the segholate form from מִרָּךְ (for *mamrōkk*). — With long vowel in the second syllable: f) Grdf. *maqṭāl*, Hebr. always obscured to *ō*, as מִחְסֹר *want*, מִלְקוֹחַ *booty*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת e. g. מִקוֹם. (Arab. *maqām*) *place*; מִגּוֹר *fear*, fem. מִגּוֹרָה and מְגוֹרָה (this reduction of *ō* to *ū* in the unaccented syllable is also at other times tolerably frequent); through attenuation of *ā* to *ī* there comes from *māqtāl*: g) Grdf. *miqtāl* Hebr. again מִקְטָל, as מִכְשׁוֹל *stumbling-block* (comp. above let. *c* *mākhshēlā*); h) the groundforms *magtāl* and *miqtāl* (comp. (מִקְמִים) are in use only from part. *Hiphil*; i) Grdf. *māqtāl*, as מִלְבוּשׁ *garment*.

Rem. On מ as preformative of the participles of all the conjugations except *Qāl* and *Niph.* comp. § 52, 1, Rem. Many of these participles have become substantives, as מִזְמֶרֶת *snuffers*, מִשְׁחִית *destroyer* and *destruction* etc.

49. Nouns with prefixed נ. Besides the part. of *Niph.* (Grdf. *nāqtāl*, still retained e. g. in נֹאדָר for *nāw/ādh*, but commonly attenuated to *nāqtāl*, Hebr. נִקְטָל) and the infin. *Niph.* of the form נִקְטָל we have here נִפְתּוּלִים *wrestlings* Gen. 30. 8 which in like manner points to the *Niph'al*.

50. With prefixed ש is found only שִׁלְהֶכֶת *flame*. Comp., on this *Shāp'el* form § 55, No 6.

51. Nouns with prefixed ת. Under the great number of forms of this kind, especially among the מִשְׁמֶרֶת and מִשְׁמֶרֶת, we again distinguish: a) Grdf. *tāqtāl* in תִּחְמָם *ostrich* (?); from מִשְׁמֶרֶת: מִשְׁמֶרֶת *settler*, fem. תִּחְמָת *expectation*, תִּחְמָת *reproof*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת: מִשְׁמֶרֶת *south*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת and מִשְׁמֶרֶת: תִּחְמָת *thanks*, תִּחְמָת *law*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת and מִשְׁמֶרֶת: תִּחְמָת *outlets*; b) *tāqtāl* e. g. fem. תִּפְאָרָה and תִּפְאָרָת *adornment*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת e. g. תִּקְוָה *hope*; c) *tāqtāl* e. g. תִּשְׁבִּיץ *checker-cloth*, fem. תִּרְדָּמָה *deep sleep*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת: תִּהְלָה *praise*, תִּפְלָה *prayer* (from תִּהְלָה and תִּפְלָה). With long vowel in second syllable: d) *tāqtāl* (for *thūhām* in Assy., the usual word for *sea*); e) *tāqtāl* (in Arab., the usual form of the 2d conj. corresponding to Hebr. *Pīl'el*), e. g. from מִשְׁמֶרֶת fem. תִּכְלִית *completeness*; pass. תִּלְמִיד *disciple*; f) תִּקְטָל, as תִּפּוּחַ *apple* (f. *tānpū'ach*), very often employed in the formation of abstracts, as תִּנְמוּלָה *benefit*, תִּנְמוּלָה *perverseness*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת: תִּבְנוּכָה *destruction*, תִּנּוּפָה *warring* etc., very often also as abstract pl., as תִּחְבּוּלוֹת *guidance*, תִּמְרוּרִים *bitterness*, תִּנְחוּמִים and תִּנְחוּמוֹת *consolations*; from מִשְׁמֶרֶת: תִּאָּנִים *toil*.

XI. Nouns with affirmatives.

52. Nouns with affixed ל. Thus perhaps חֶשְׁמֶל burnished metal, and certainly בַּרְזֶל iron, בָּרְמֶל garden (in both cases *Seghól* is a sort of strengthening of original *ā* in the tone syllable); in חֶרְגֶּל locust *ū* appears as connecting vowel.

53. Nouns with affixed מ. With orig. *ā* as connecting sound appear אֹמֶץ porch (although the *ā* in the *sing.* remains unchangeable), סֶלֶם ladder; with *ō* (orig. *â*?) the ל'ה formation פְּרִיִּם ransom (also פְּרִיָּן).

54. Nouns with affixed נ. The addition of נ by a simple helping vowel appears in כְּנַעַן Canaan and צַפְרֶן finger-nail; more frequently it is joined with accented *ā* which in Hebr. is modified to *Seghól* (thus גִּרְזֶן axe) or strengthened to *ā*; thus קַנְיָן gain, שִׁלְחָן table, קֶרְבֶּן offering; upon the obscuring of orig. *ā* to *ō* depend forms like פְּתִירוֹן interpretation; from ל'ה : גָּאוֹן majesty, הַמוֹן noise, חֲזוֹן vision, שְׂרִירוֹן cuirass; not seldom also with artificial doubling of the second stem-consonant, as זִכְרוֹן memorial, כְּלִיֹּן consumption, הָרִירוֹן (for הָרִיָּן) pregnancy. Very often in proper names occurs a rejection of the following *Nūn* and then arise forms like מְגִדוֹ also מְגִדוֹן, שְׁלֹמֹה (LXX Σολωμών or Σαλωμών; comp. Πλάτων, Plato). On the other hand the *Nūn* appears again in Patronymics and Gentilics (§ 86, 5), comp. שִׁילֹנִי Shilonite from שִׁילָה (now *Seilūn*). With the ending *ūn* are found יִשְׂרָאֵל (§ 86, No. 4) and other proper names.

Rem. On the affirmative syllables '—, '— and ית, ית. see under § 86, 2, No. 5, 6.

XII. Quadrilaterals and Quinquilaterals.

55. Upon the insertion of ל probably depend גְּלִמְדִּיר barren, חֶלְמִישׁ flint, the fem. זֹלַעְפָּה glowing heat etc.; comp. on the other hand חֶרְמִישׁ sickle, עֶקְרָב scorpion, בְּמָדָר vine blossom etc. — Quinquilit. (perh. compounded) צַפְרָדַע frog, [but comp. § 30, 4 Rem. and Ges. Lex. 8th ed.]

§ 86.

DENOMINATIVE NOUNS.

1. Such are all nouns which are formed *immediately* from another noun, whether the latter be primitive, or derived from a verb, e. g. קֶדְמוֹן eastern, immediately from קָדַם the east, which is itself derived from the verb קָדַם.

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already been given among the verbal nouns, the denominatives as secondary (though partly very old) forms, being entirely analogous to nouns derived from the verb.

The verbal with מ prefixed, e. g. was employed to express the *place of an action* (§ 85, No. 48); accordingly this מ *local* was prefixed to a noun in order to make it a *designation of place* (see No. 3 below).

The principal forms are the following:—

1. Like the *Participle Qul* (§ 84, a. No. 14), as שַׁעַר *porter*, from שָׁעַר *gate*; בָּקָר *herdsman*, from בָּקַר *herd*; כַּרֵּם *vine dresser*, from כָּרַם *vineyard*.

2. Like the § 84, b. No. 17 קֶשֶׁת *archer*, from קָשַׁת *bow*; מַלְיָח *seaman*, from מָלַח *salt, sea*. Both these forms (Nos. 1 and 2) indicate occupations inhering in the subject, like Greek nouns in τῆς, τεύς, e. g. πολιτής, γραμματεύς.

3. Nouns with מ prefixed, expressing the place in or near which a thing is found (compare No. 48 of § 85), e. g. מַעְיָן *place of fountains*, from עָיַן *fountain*; מְרַגְלוֹת *place about the feet*, מְרַאשׁוֹת *place about the head*, from רָאשׁ, רֶגֶל; מִקְשָׁה for מִקְשָׁא *cucumber field*, from קָשָׂא *cucumber*. Comp. ἀμπελόν, from ἄμπελος.

4. Adjectival designations, with add. of וֶן, וֶה, as קָדְמוֹן *eastern*, from קָדַם; אַחֲרוֹן *hinder*, from אָחַר; חִיצוֹן *exterior*, from חוּץ; לִוְיָתָן *coiled*, hence *coiled animal, serpent*, from לָוִיָּה *a winding*, מִשְׁתָּן *copper image*, from מִשָּׁה *copper*. Also *abstracts*, as עִוְרוֹן *blindness*, from עָוַר. Comp. § 85, No. 54.

וֶן forms a *diminutive* (like the Syriac וֶן), in אִישׁוֹן *little man* (in the eye), אֵישׁוֹ *apple of the eye* from אִישׁ; on the contrary שִׁפְיוֹן *little snake*, is really an adjective form, from שָׁפַף *to rub* (perhaps=rubber-like). In the same way יִשְׁרוּן is really a denominative from יָשַׁר (=יָשָׁר) and not a diminutive (*pious little people* and the like), but rather *upright* (*righteous people*); finally שְׁהָרוֹן is not *little moon*, but *artificial moon* (*jewelry*), and צִוְרִיָּה, not *little neck*, but *necklace* (from צָוָר *neck*). Comp. Delitzsch on Cant. 4, 9.

5. Peculiar to this class of nouns is the termination וֶה, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form *ordinals*, *gentilics*, and *patronymics*; e. g. נָכְרִי *strange*, from נָכַר *what is foreign*; שִׁשִּׁי *sixth*, from שֵׁשׁ *six*; מוֹאבִּי *Moabite*, from מוֹאָב; יִשְׂרָאֵלִי *Israelite*, from יִשְׂרָאֵל. When the substantive is a *compound*, it is commonly resolved again into two words, e. g. בְּנֵי־יְמִינִי *Benjaminite*, from בְּנֵי־יְמִין (for the use of the article with such forms, see § 111, 1, Rem.). Rarely instead of וֶה we have a) the ending וֶה (as in Aramæan), as כִּלְיֶה *deceitful* and in proper names, as בְּרִזְלֶה (*ferreus*, from בְּרִזְלֶה *iron*) Barzillai; and b) its parallel וֶה, as אֶשְׁה *belonging to fire* (אֶשׁ) *fire-food, sacrifice*; לִבְנָה (prop. *milky*) *white poplar*, arab. lubnay.

6. *Abstract nouns* formed from *concretes* by the addition of וֶה and וֶה (comp. the Eng. terminations -dom, -hood, -ness, etc.); e. g. מַלְכוּת *kingdom*.

kingdom, from מַלְכוּת; אֶלְמְנוּת *widow-hood*, from אֶלְמָן *widower*, אֶלְמָנָה *widow*; רֵאשִׁיָּה *principium*, from ראש = ראש *princeps*.

§ 87.

OF THE PLURAL.

1. The *plural* termination for the *masculine gender* is —ים, e. g. סוס *horse*, plur. סוסים *horses*, often also written defectively —ם, especially when in the same word a ו or י has already gone before as a so-called *fulcrum*, as in Gen. 1, 21 תַּנִּינִים. Nouns in —י end with —יים in the plural, as עֲבָרִיִּים *Hebrews* (Ex. 3, 18), from עֲבָרִי, but usually a contraction takes place, as עֲבָרִים, שָׁנִים *crimson garments*, from שָׁנִי. — Nouns in —ה lose this termination when they take the plural-ending, e. g. הֹזֵה *seer*, plur. הֹזִים (comp. § 75, 3). — In regard to the removal of the accent from the —ם in the two old plurals מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, comp. § 96. The termination —ים is found sometimes also with feminines (comp. נָשִׁים *women*, § 96, under אִשָּׁה; שָׁנִים *years* from שָׁנָה; רָחֵלִים *ewes*, from רָחֵל) and is employed elsewhere to represent intensive ideas (§124, 1), so that the designation of gender is not necessarily attached to it (comp. also No. 3).

This ending *im* is also prevalent in Phœnician, e. g. צִדְנִים *Sidonians*; in Aramæan it is *in*, in Arabic *ün* (nominative) and *în* (the other cases), in Ethiopic *ân*. Compare also the ending *in* in 3d pers. pl. mas. of verbs.¹

Less frequent terminations of the *plur. masc.* are:

- a) —י, as in Aramaic (aside from the poetical use in some older and even the oldest portions), almost exclusively in the later books of the O. Test., e. g. מְלָכִין *kings* Prov. 31, 3, צִדְיִין 1 K. 11, 33, רִצְיִין *a guard* 2 K. 11, 13, חֲשִׁיין *wheat* Ez. 4, 9; defectively אִיִּין *islands* Ez. 28, 18, יָמִין *days* Dan. 12, 13. Comp. also מַדְיִין *carpets* Judges 5, 10 (in the north Palestinian song of *Deborah* which shows also other linguistic peculiarities); עֲרִיִּין *ruins* Micah 3, 12 (apparently caused by the following ר); מְלִיִּין *words* (from the Aram. מְלָה) Job 4, 2 and in 12 other places (also מְלִיִּים, 10 times); further Job 24, 22, 31, 10, Lam. 1, 4. — Doubtful is however:

¹ On the connection between all these endings, see *Dietrich's Abhandlungen zur Heb. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, 8vo., p. 51 etc.

- b) — (with ם cast off, as according to some in dual יָרִי for יָרִים Ez. 13, 18; comp. the *constr. st.* § 89, 2), e. g. מִנִּי chords Ps. 45, 9, for מִנִּים (if it is not to be written so); עַמִּי peoples Ps. 144, 2 and prob. also Lam. 3, 14, (2 Sam. 22, 44 satisfies the rendering *my people*; comp. in paral. ex. Ps. 18, 44 עַם; also in Cant. 8, 2 would the י of יָמִי better be taken as a *suff.*). If according to this nearly all cases of this sort are more or less doubtful (comp. also 2 Sam. 23, 8; 1 Ch. 11, 11, 1 Sam. 20, 38 K^{ethibh} and Gesenius's *Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache*, S. 524 ff.), for the whole question, it has at least its analogy in the other Semitic languages. On the Assyrian plural ending *i* compare, *Schrader* in the *Zeitsch. der DMG.* XXVI, p. 218 ff. (e. g. *malki*, princes). In Syr. we have the corresp. plur. *malkê* (ܡܠܬܐ), likewise in the idiom of the Babylonian Talmud מַלְכֵי *men*; finally the apocopè of the ם or ן is very common in the pronunciation of the West. Aram. e. g. הָלֵי for הָלִים *Psalms*.—More doubtful still is—
- c) — (like the *constr. state* in Syriac); and here are reckoned, e. g. הוֹרֵי white cloths Is. 19, 9, שָׂרֵי princes Judg. 5, 15, חַלּוּנֵי windows Jer. 22, 14. This last is also taken for dual (§ 88, Rem. 1) two windows, but it is probably a corrupt reading for חַלּוּנִים; שָׂרֵי may be *my princes* (with *suff.*), and — in הוֹרֵי is a formative syllable (*white cloth*). Further חֲשׁוּפֵי in Is. 20, 4 is either *constr. st.*, comp. § 89, Rem., or likewise coll. sing. with the ending —; שֵׁרִי the Almighty, from the stem שָׁרַר, is formed with the adjective ending —, while in the collectively used singular גֹּזֵר locust-swarm Am. 7, 1, Nah. 3, 17 (from גָּזַר) the — belongs to the stem (cf. שָׁרִי Ps. 8, 8, f. שָׁרָה); finally, in אֲדוֹנֵי the Lord (prop. *my lord*, from the so-called plural of Majesty, אֲדוֹנִים lord) the *ay* is originally a suffix; see § 135, 5, Rem. 3.
- d) ם, as supposed plural ending in מִנִּים=מִנִּים midges, which however is rather a collective singular (of the stem מָנַן) with the formative syllable ם (comp. § 84, No. 15); likewise סֻלָּם ladder, prop. steps (from סָלַל I), comp. our stairs. Cf. § 85, No. 53.

2. The plural termination for the feminine gender is וֹת (often written defectively ת—), which takes the place of the singular feminine-ending ת—, ת—, ה—, when the noun in the singular ends with one of these; otherwise it is merely appended to the form of the singular, as תְּהִלָּה song of praise, plur. תְּהִלּוֹת; אֶפְרָת letter, plur. אֶפְרָתוֹת; בְּאֵר a well, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת. Feminines in ת— form their plural in וֹת—, and those in וֹת—, in וֹת—, e. g. מִצְרַיִם an Egyptian woman, plur. מִצְרַיִמוֹת; מַלְכוּת kingdom, plur. מַלְכוּתוֹת. These last plurals have, however, for their basis, the singular endings יָה— and יָה— before which *Yôdh* to be retained as a consonant must be doubled.

Rem. It is only from mistake or disregard of these feminine-endings **וִי** and **יָיָה**—that some words ending with them, form their plural by the addition of **־ים**, e. g. **הַנִּיחַת** *spear*, plur. **הַנִּיחִים** and **הַנִּיחֹת**; **זִנוּת** *whoredom*, plur. **זִנוּתִים**; **אַלְמָנוּתִים** *widowhood*, and many other instances. After the manner of the Syriac is the formation of the plural (before suffixes) **עֲדוֹת** (*‘ēdhē-wô’t’h*) *laws*, with *Wāw* as a consonant, from the singular **עֲדוּת**.

This ending **וִי** (*-ôth*) stands for *-âth* (as it sounds in Arab., Ethiop. in the construct state of the West. Aram. in Eastern Syriac also in Assyrian, Schrader l. l. p. 222; see on the change of *â* to *ô*, in § 9, 10, 2), and *-âth* is properly only a longer and stronger form of the singular-ending *âth* (§ 80, 2). The strengthening is intended partly to denote the plural and partly as intensive; and this ending is thus by a further application appended even to such nouns as have not *-âth* in the singular.

How the changeable vowels of the noun are modified by the addition of the plural endings, is explained in §§ 92—95.

3. Words which are of two genders (§ 122, 4) have often, in the plural, both the masculine and the feminine termination, e. g. **עָב** *cloud*, pl. **עָבִים** and **עֲבוֹת**; both forms may be employed as masculine and feminine, but their gender must be determined by observing the usage of the language in respect to each word. But a number also of other words of one invariable gender have both (*masc.* and *fem.*) plural-endings, e. g. **דּוֹר** *m. an age*, plur. **דּוֹרִים** and **דּוֹרוֹת**; **שָׁנָה** *f. a year*, plur. **שָׁנִים** and **שָׁנוֹת**. The gender of the singular is in such cases retained with both the plural forms, e. g. **אַרִּי** *m. a lion*, plur. **אַרְיֹת** *m.* (*Zeph. 3, 3*), **דּוֹרוֹת** *m.* (*Job 42, 16*).

Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, **יָמִים** *days* and **שָׁנִים** *years* are the usual, but **יָמוֹת** (only *constr.* *Deut. 32, 7*, *Ps. 90, 15*) and **שָׁנוֹת** are rare poetic forms.

A difference of sense appears in the use of several words for members of the body, the dual (see § 88) being used for the living members themselves, while the plural in **וִי** denotes something like them but without life; e. g. **יָדַיִם** *hands*, **יָדוֹת** *artificial hands, tenons* *Ex. 26, 51*, **כַּפָּיִם** *hands*, **כַּפּוֹת** *handles (L. manubria)*; **קַרְנָיִם** *horns*, **קַרְנוֹת** *horns (of the altar)*; **עֵינָיִם** *eyes*, **עֵינֹת** *fountains*.

4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in **וִי**—, while many feminines have a plural in **־ם**—. The gender of the singular, however, as a rule remains in the plural; e. g. **אָב** *father*, plur. **אָבוֹת**; **שֵׁם** *m. name*, plur. **שְׁמוֹת**;

on the contrary, מִלָּה *f. word*, plur. מִלִּים; פִּלְגֶשֶׁת *f. concubine*, plur. פִּלְגִּשִׁים.

5. It is only in adjectives and participles that we find the two plural-endings strictly and constantly distinguished according to the gender, e. g. טוֹבִים *boni*, טוֹבוֹת *bonæ*; קְטָלִים *m.*, קְטָלוֹת *f.* So also in substantives of the same stem, when the difference depends on sex, as בָּנִים *filii*, בָּנוֹת *filiae*; מְלָכִים *reges*, מְלָכוֹת *reginæ*.

Rem. 1. In some few words, there is added to the plural form in וְ the other termination of the plural יִם (יִ— in construct state, comp. § 89, 2) or that of the dual יִם (יִ—); e. g. בָּמָה *height*, *pl.* בָּמוֹת, *construct state* בְּמוֹתַי מִרְאֲשׁוֹתַי שָׂאוֹל *from places at the head of Saul* 1 Sam. 26, 12; חוֹמָה *wall*, plur. חוֹמוֹת (*mœnia*), whence *dual* חוֹמוֹתַי *double wall*. This double designation of the plural appears also in the manner of connecting suffixes with the plural forms in וְ (§ 91, 3).

2. Some nouns are used only in the sing. (e. g. אָדָם *man*, collectively *men*) a series of other nouns are used only in the plural, e. g. מְרִים *men* (in Eth. the *sing.* is *mēt man*); and some of these have a singular sense (§ 124, 1), as פָּנִים *face*. Also when the actual plural of the latter is required, there is but the same way of expressing it; hence, פָּנִים means also *faces* in Gen. 40, 7, Ez. 1, 6; אֱלֹהִים *God* and also *gods*.

§ 88.

OF THE DUAL.

1. As a most ancient modification of the plural, we have the *dual*, which however in Hebrew is used only in substantives (v. No. 2) not in adjectives, verbs, and pronouns. It is indicated in both genders by the ending יִם, appended to the singular, as יָדַי *both hands*, יוֹמַי *two days*; but instead of the feminine-ending הָ, the dual-form always takes the old ending *ath*, with a long *ā* (on account of the open syllable), thus יָדַיִם, as שֵׁפָה *lip*, שֵׁפָתַיִם *both lips*; the ת of the termination תִּ— remains, as נֶחֱשֶׁת, in *dual* נֶחֱשֶׁתַיִם *double fetters*.

With nouns which stand in sing. without the fem. ending the dual ending is added to the ground form; which however generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the removal of the tone, e. g. כָּנָף *wing* (ground form *kānāph*), *Dual* כְּנָפַיִם (the first *ā* becoming *Shēwā*, since it is no longer

pretonic, and the second *ă* being lengthened before the new tone syllable). But in most cases the original form remains before the dual ending, in the segholate forms (§ 84, *a*, 1), as רֶגֶל *foot* (Grdf. *rägl*), dual רַגְלַיִם; yet קַרְנִים is used as well as קַרְנִים (from קָרַן *horn*), לָחַיִם from לָחַי *cheek* (as from the plurals קַרְנוֹת, לָחִים).

Rem. 1. Unusual forms of the dual, mostly occurring only in proper names, are;—*a*) יָנִי (as in West. Aram.,—comp. *aini* of the Accusative in Arab.) and יָנִי (—*âni* of the nom. in Arab.), as יָנִי Gen. 37, 17, and יָנִי 2 K. 6, 13 (*pr. name* of a city, prop. *two wells*); בְּרֶמֶן (dual of בְּרֵית) name of a town, called also בְּרֵיתָיִם in 1 Ch. 6, 61, Josh. 21, 32 (so too the Moabite cities in Mēsha's Inscription in line 10 קִירְיָתָן *Qiryathân* or *Qiryathên*=בְּרֵיתָיִם in O. Test.; in line 30 בֵּית דְּבָלָיִם=בֵּית דְּבָלָיִם Jer. 48, 22; in lines 31 and 32 הַרְנָנִים=חֹרֶנֶן in O. Test., also line 15 צָהָרִים=צָהָרִים *noon*; in line 20 מֵאָתָיִם=מֵאָתָיִם *two hundred*);—*b*) יָם, prob. in the *pr. n.* הַיָּמִים *the double spring*, and יָם in שְׁנַיִם *two* in the combination שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר *twelve* (besides the usual form שְׁנַיִם);—*c*) יָרֵי (with יָ cast off) יָרֵי Ez. 13, 18 (if we do not read יָרֵי here), perhaps also יָרֵי (double windows) Jer. 22, 14 (but see § 87, 1, *c*).

2. Only seemingly dual are the words יָמַי *water*, שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, יְרוּשָׁלַיִם *Jerusalem*. The former two are plurals from the lost singulars יָמִי (comp. § 87, 1); the latter is probably a distended form for the older יְרוּשָׁלַיִם,¹ and the Massora, with its *Qerî perpet.*, did not mean a dual; comp. the shorter form שָׁלַם Ps. 76, 3, and the Aramaic יְרוּשָׁלַיִם.

2. The use of the *dual* in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, etc. (§ 97), chiefly to such objects as are by nature or art in *pairs*, as יָדַיִם *both hands*, חֲפָזַיִם *both fists*, אָזְנוֹיִם *both ears*, שִׁנַּיִם *set of teeth* (used of the *two* rows); further נַעֲלָיִם *pair of shoes*, מֵאֻזְנוֹיִם *pair of scales* (Lat. *bilanx*), or at least are thought of as forming a *pair*, as יוֹמַיִם *two* (successive) *days*, Lat. *biduum*, שְׁנַתָּיִם *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*, אַמָּתָיִם *two cubits*.

Rem. In the former case the dual is used also for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, as שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם *six wings* (i. e.: three pairs) Is. 6, 2, Ez. 1, 6; שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם *seven eyes* Zech. 3, 9; כָּל־יָדַיִם² *all hands* Ez. 21, 12; כָּל־בְּרָכָיִם *all knees* Ezek. 7, 17; מִצְלָתַיִם *cymbals* Ezr. 3, 10; שְׁפָתַיִם *double-hooks* Ez. 40, 43.—With some emphasis the dual takes also the numeral *two*, as in Amos 3, 12, Judg. 16, 28.

¹ See Gesenii Thesaurus Ling. Hebrææ, p. 629.

² With this use of the *dual* may be compared the Welsh *dwy-law* (*two-hands*) used for the only plur. of *llaw* (*hand*), and *dwy-fron* (*two-breasts*) for the *chest*, but *bronau* (the reg. pl. of *bron*) for the *breasts*.—*Tr.*

See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87, Nos. 3 and 5, Rem. 1.

It cannot be doubted that the Hebrew, at an earlier period, made a more extensive and free use of the dual, and that the restrictions and defects above specified belong to a later phase of its developement. The ancient Arabic forms the dual in the noun, pronoun and verb, almost co-extensively with the Sanskrit or Greek; but the modern Arabic omits it almost entirely in verbs, pronouns and adjectives. The Syriac has it without living force, only in a couple of words, and that somewhat as in the Latin forms *ambo*, *duo*, *octo*. In like manner, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the more modern East-Indian tongues; and its full use in the Old-Slavic has been later, e. g. in the Bohemian, confined as in Heb. to *pairs*, as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see *Grimm's Gramm.* I. p. 814, 2d ed.

§ 89.

THE GENITIVE AND THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

1. The Hebrew has no longer the living use of *case-endings*,¹ but indicates the *relations of case*, either not at all, which is true of the *nominative* and generally also of the *accusative*, or by prepositions (§ 129); but the *genitive* relation is indicated by a close connection between two nouns. The noun, which serves in Latin or Greek as genitive to limit another (*nomen rectum*), in Hebrew remains unchanged, and is only uttered in more close connection with the preceding (*nomen regens*), and the two nouns are sometimes said to be in *regimen*. In consequence of this connection, the tone hastens on the second (the genitive) of the two nouns² and the first (or governing noun) suffers a shortening by changes chiefly in the vowels (when changeable), e. g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים *word*, דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים *word of God*, literally *word-God* (where we reverse the order, as *God's-word*, like *fruit-tree*); יָד הַמֶּלֶךְ *hand*, יָד הַמֶּלֶךְ *hand of the king*; and partly in both consonants and vowels, e. g. דְּבָרִים

¹ On some traces of obsolete case-endings, see § 90.

² In accordance with the universal tendency of the tone, in the Hebrew, as well as other languages, to hasten towards the end of words (§ 29, 1); observe, for instance, in German the natural accentuation of the last word in "*der Thron des Königs*".

words, **הָעָם הַבְּרִי** *words of the people*. Thus in Hebrew,¹ the noun which stands *before a genitive* suffers a change (when there is any), by which this relation is indicated, and in grammatical language it is said to be in the *construct state*, while a noun which is not thus followed by a genitive is said to be in the *absolute state*. This goes to show that the construct state is not strictly the result of the syntactical relation, but merely an effect of the relations of tone.

Whether such words are (as often happens) connected by Mäqqēph (§ 16, 1) or not, does not affect the sense, but depends on the accentuation. On the further use of the *construct state*, see the Syntax, § 128.

2. The *vowel-change* which many nouns exhibit in the *construct state* are fully taught in the Paradigms, §§ 92—95. This *construct* form of the noun has, moreover, peculiar *endings* better fitted for union with the following noun. Thus:—

- a) In place of the plural and dual *endings* **—ים** and **—ים**, it has, by throwing off the *m*, simply **—י** (comp. Rem. below); e. g. **סוּסִים** *horses*, **סוּסֵי פַרְעֹה** *horses of Pharaoh*; **עֵינַיִם** *eyes*, **עֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ** *eyes of the king*.
- b) In place of the usual feminine-termination **—ה** (in the *absol. state*), it always takes the original ending **—ת**, as **מַלְכָּה** *queen*, **מַלְכַּת שֶׁבָּא** *queen of Sheba*. But the feminine-termination **—ת** remains unchanged in the *constr. st.* as well as the plural ending **—ות**.
- c) Nouns in **—ה** (from verbs **ל"ה**, § 85, V.) form their *constr. st.* in **—ה**; as **רֹאֶה** *seer*, *constr.* **רֹאֶה**; undoubtedly this **—ה** is contracted from original **—י** (the **ה** being orthographically retained) whilst the *absol. state* has been changed, after the *Yôdh* had been dropped, from **רֹאֶ** into **רֹאֶה** (v. § 75, 1); the same contraction is found with **חַי** *constr.* **חַי** *sufficiency*; **חַי** *life*, *constr.* **חַי**, and so also **גֵּיא** (**גֵּי**) *valley*, *constr.* (**גֵּי**) **גֵּיא**.

¹ What is here said of the Heb. mode of expressing the relation of the genitive, is applicable in almost every particular also to the Keltic. In Welsh, for instance, they express *word of God* by *gair Duw*, i. e. *word-God*, without any change in either noun, their close connection in utterance being all that indicates the genitive case.—*Tr.*

On the ending י and ך in the *constr. st.*, see § 90

Rem. to a). Probably the liquid ך at the end of a word was pronounced obscurely, like the Latin *-m* before a vowel, and hence might be wholly lost in pronunciation, just as the *m*, in the case alluded to (commonly called *ecthlipsis*), was obscured or slurred over in the language of common life and in poetry. (*Quinct. Inst. Orat.* IX. 4, § 40; *Schneider's Lat. Gram.* I. pp. 153, 300). So also the corresponding *n* of the plural-ending in Arabic and Aramæan is slurred over, and that of the plural-ending ך in the verb (§ 44, 1, and § 47, Rem. 4). After the rejection of the *m*, the final vowel *i* of the plural-ending was strengthened by a foregoing *a* (*Guna*, in Sanskrit grammar), so that *ai* arose, which was then contracted to *ê* (§ 7, 1, and § 9, 6). Instead of ך, the Syriac still has ך: in Hebrew, too, this form may be clearly traced in the suffixes to the plural noun (§ 91, 2). Of this we have, perhaps, an example in the form שְׁמֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Is. 20, 4.—It is obvious that the ך of the *dual* has come from ך (יְרֵי from יְרֵי).

§ 90.

TRACES OF ANCIENT CASE-ENDINGS.

ה local, י and ך appended to the *construct state*.

1. As the Arabic distinguishes three cases by terminations, so we find also in the Hebrew noun three endings, which correspond in sound to those of the Arabic, but have mostly lost their significance. These endings (the so-called *paragogic letters*) appear only as crumbled remains of a fuller and more vital organic developement, than the language exhibits in the Old Testament, where it no longer ordinarily distinguishes the cases by terminations.

The Arabic case-endings in the fully declined nouns (*Triptota*) are: *-u* for the nominative, *-i* for the genitive, and *-a* for the accusative (corresponding to the three primary vowels); in the so-called *Diptota* the ending *a* represents also the genitive. In modern Arabic, these endings have almost entirely disappeared; and when they are now and then used, as by the Bedawins, it is done without regularity, so that one is used for the other (*Wallin*, in *Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Gesellsch.* Bd. V., 1851, p. 9, Bd. XII., p. 874; *Wetzstein*, *ibid.* Bd. XXII., 1868, p. 113). Already, in the Sinaitic inscription, the regular use is not adhered to (*Beer*, *Studia asiatica*, III., 1840, p. XVIII; *Tuch*, in *Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges.* Bd. III., p. 139); and even at present among the Arabs of the peninsula of Sinai, one may hear e.g. *'ammuk* (thy uncle, in the

nom.) used also for 'ammik (*gen.*) and 'ammak (*acc.*). In central Arabia the three endings are still heard in the mouth of the people of the towns; farther south and east the *-a* stands for the *-i*, and nearer the coast these endings are heard no more (*Palgrave's Narrative of a Year's Journey through central and eastern Arabia*, Vol. I., p. 465, Lond. 1865). The Ethiopic, likewise, has preserved only the *-a* (in pr. names—*hâ*), which is, however, still used for the whole scope of the accusative, and moreover (the distinction of case being dropped) as a termination of the *constr. st.* for connecting it with a following genitive. *Philippi* gives a lucid discussion of the questions belonging here in: "Wesen und Ursprung des Status constr. im Hebrew. — Ein Beitrag zur Nominalflexion im Semitischen überhaupt." Weimar 1871, p. 96 ff. (Compare the criticism on it by *Nöldeke* in the *Götting. gel. Anzeig.* 1871. St. 23.)

2. The *accusative* relation is still most obvious in the ending ה־ (usually without accent), which is appended to the substantive—

- a) Mostly to denote *direction* towards an object, or *motion* to a place¹ (answering to our *-ward*), e. g. יָמָה *seaward, westward*, צָפוֹנָה *northward*, אֲשׁוּרָה *to Assyria*, בָּבֶלָה *to Babylon*, הָרָה (from הַר) *mountain-ward* Gen. 14, 10; אֶרֶצָה *to the earth*, בֵּיתָה *into a house*, תִּרְצָה *to Tirzah* (from תִּרְצָה) 1 K. 14, 17; עֲזָתָה *to Gaza* (from עֲזָה) Judg. 16, 1; with the article, הַהָרָה *to the mountain*, הַבֵּיתָה *into the house*, הָאֹהֶלָה (Grdf. 'ühl) *into the tent* (also הָאֹהֶלָה Gen. 18, 6; Exod. 18, 7); even after the *constr. state* with a genitive following, בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף *into Joseph's house*, אֶרֶצָה הַיָּנָב *to the south land* Gen. 20, 1; אֶרֶצָה מִצְרַיִם *towards Egypt's land* Ex. 4, 20; מִדְבָּרָה *towards the wilderness of Damascus*, 1 K. 19, 15; מִזְרָחָה שֶׁמֶשׁ *(here with the tone, contrary to rule) towards the rising of the sun, eastward*, Deut. 4, 41; and even after the plural, כְּשֶׁרִימָה *to the Chaldeans*, Ezek. 11, 24; הַשָּׁמַיִמָה *the heavens-ward*.
- b) Sometimes in a weaker sense, as merely pointing to the place *where*² something is; e. g. מַחֲנֵימָה *at Mahanaim* 1 K. 4, 14; שָׁמָּה *there* (usually *thither*) Jer. 18, 2, comp. 2 K. 23, 8. (On the other hand בָּבֶלָה Jer. 29, 15 and זִבְלָה Hab. 3, 11, must be taken as the usual accusatives of direction: *to Babylon, in the dwelling*; also expressions like: פָּאָה צָפוֹנָה *the side towards the north* Josh. 15, 5; comp. 18, 15, 20; Ex. 26, 18; Jer. 23, 8).
- c) The proper sense of the ending ה־ is still more disregarded when a preposition is prefixed to the word, and this not only after ל or עַל (which is easily explicable), e. g. לָמַעְלָה *upwards*, לָמַטָּה *downwards*, לְשֹׁאֵלָה *into the grave* Ps. 9, 18; עַד־אַפְקָה *unto Aphek*, Josh. 13, 4; but

¹ See on this force of the accusative, § 118, 2, and compare the Lat. local accusative, as *Romam profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire*.

² So also elsewhere the accusative, § 118, 2.

also after ב and even after מן e. g. בַּנְגְבָה in the south Josh. 15, 21; מִבְּבֶלְהָ from Babylon Jer. 27, 16. Comp. 1, 13; Josh. 10, 36; 15, 10; Judg. 21, 19.

Rem. Locative (i. e. originally accus.) endings without their original force are found in

a) לַיְלָה (*noctu*, mod. Greek ἡ νύχθα) *night*, the principal form לַיִל, contracted to לַי, is used in poetry (לַיִל Isa. 16, 3); further in מְאוֹמָה *something* (from מָאוֹם, מָוִם *point*). These forms are also explained as accusative אֶרֶץ Isa. 8, 23 and in *pause* Job 34, 13, also the name of the place יְהֻצָּה Josh. 21, 36. In other cases the toneless הַ can be regarded as without meaning and at most giving poetical emphasis to the form to which it is attached; thus אֶרֶץ (in *pause*) Job 37, 12; הַחֶסֶד the sun Judg. 14, 18 (elsewhere הָרֶם; הַפְּוֹתָה death Ps. 116, 15; נַחֲלָה brook 124, 4; הַחֶשְׁמֶלֶה bright metal Ezek. 8, 2, etc.; Josh. 15, 12 הַיָּדָה is only an error.

β) in the ending הַ for feminines, so often used in poetry; e. g. אִימָתָה *terror*, (= אִימָה), עֲזָרָתָה *help* (= עֲזָרָה), יְשׁוּעָתָה *salvation* (= יְשׁוּעָה), עֲוֹלָתָה *malice*, Ex. 15, 16; Jer. 11, 15; Ps. 3, 3; 63, 8; 92, 16; 94, 17, 120, 1; 125, 3; Job 5, 16; עֲיִפְתָּה *darkness* 10, 22, etc. This is not to be regarded as a double fem. ending, but as an old *acc. of direction*.

This termination הַ has usually reference to *place* (hence called *He local*); yet in rare cases it also refers to *time*; so, in עַתָּה (with the tone on the last syllable) *now, at this time* (from עָת), הַלְיָלָה *from year to year*. Its use is peculiar in הַלְיָלָה, prop. *ad profanum*! = μὴ γένοιτο, *absit*, or *God forbid*!

As the ending הַ is properly unaccented, the vowels of the word, as the above examples show, undergo mostly no change; in מְדַבֶּרָה (*const. state*, v. § 26, 3, c) the short vowel *ä* remains even in open tone-syllable. The segholate forms, as אֶרֶץ, יָדָה, appear according to their original form, without the helping-vowel (cf. also שְׂמִימָה); so too the feminine ending appears in its older style (§ 80, 2), only that the *ä* of the ending הַ is lengthened to *ā* in the accented open syllable, as in הַיָּדָה.—Moreover, the הַ itself is in some cases shortened to הֶ, as נֹבָה to *Nob* 1 Sam. 21, 2, 22, 9; דִּדָּנָה to *Dedan* Ez. 25, 13, אֵיֶה *whither* 1 K. 2, 36, 42.

An accented הַ *directive* is seen in מְרוֹחָה Deut. 4, 41; גִּתָּה and עֵתָה Josh. 19, 13, etc.

3. Much less frequent, and almost exclusively poetical, is the use of the two other endings, which along with the accusative in הַ, are presumed to correspond to the Arabic case endings, viz. the so-called *literæ compaginis* יַ (the original *genitive* ending) and יָ (also יָ in proper names) the

obsolete *nominative* ending. The reference to case in these forms is *quite lost*, and they are to be regarded simply as *archaisms*, which occur in poetry or in elevated speech, and are found besides in many compound names handed down from early times. As in these names, so also elsewhere, these terminations stand only in the closest connection of noun with noun, viz. in the *constr. state*.¹

- a) The ending ׀— is not quite rare in the *construct state*, and it usually has the tone, e. g. בְּנֵי אֲתָנִי *his ass's colt* Gen. 49, 11, עֲזָבִי הַצֹּאֵן *forsaking the flock* Zech. 11, 17, שֹׁכֵנִי סִנְהָ *dweller in the bush* Deut. 33, 16; appended to the feminine, לַיְלָה גִּנָּבְתִּי *stolen at night* Gen. 31, 39 (in excited speech), מְלֵאֲתִי מִשְׁפָּט *full of justice* Is. 1, 21, עַל הַדְּבָרִי מְלִכִּי־צֶדֶק *after the manner of Melchizedek* Ps. 110, 4. To the same category belong the apparently numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the construct and the absolute state (comp. § 130, 1) without abolishing the relation of dependence e. g. רַבָּתִי בְּגוֹיִם *mistress among the nations* Lam. 1, 1 (the removal of the tone from the ׀— here may have proceeded from the foregoing לְמִי רַבָּתִי, where the drawing back of the tone resulted from the following tone syllable; however comp. also אֶהְבֵּתִי לְדֹרֶשׁ Hos. 10, 11); אֶסְרִי לִצְמֶן *binding to the vine* Gen. 49, 11, comp. Ex. 15, 6, Obad. 3, Ps. 113, 5—9 (partly in freer constructions; v. 8 even with *Infinitive*). Outside of the *constr. st.* is found the *Chîrêq compaginis* e. g. Is. 22, 16, Mic. 7, 14, Ps. 123, 1, and besides these in like manner it is found with some particles which are strictly nouns in the *constr. st.*, as זֹלָתִי (= זֹלָתָהּ) *besides*, מִי (poet. = מִן) *from*, בְּלִתִּי *not*, and in compound proper names, as מְלִכִּי־צֶדֶק (i. e. king of righteousness), גִּבְרִיָּאל (man of God), הַנִּיָּאֵל (favour of God), and others; comp. the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. הַנִּיבֵּעַל (favour of Ba'al).

¹ In ancient combinations of words, other endings are also often retained which have disappeared elsewhere, or are but seldom employed; e. g. the feminine-ending ת— with the noun in the genitive connection (§ 89, 2, b) and with the verb in connection with suffixes (§ 59, 1). In like manner, many peculiarities of the language are retained in proper names, and also by the poets.

- b) The always accented ending ך— is of much rarer occurrence, in prose only in the Pentateuch, and that in more elevated style, Gen. 1, 24 חַיְהוֹר־אֶרֶץ *the beast of the earth* = חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ v. 25 (the same is copied in Ps. 50, 10, 79, 2, 104, 11, 20, Is. 56, 9, Zeph. 2, 14); other cases are בְּנוֹ בְּעֹר *son of Beor* Num. 24, 3, 15, בְּנוֹ זִפְּוֹר *son of Zippor* 23, 18, and מַעְיֵנוּ מַיִם *fountain of water* Ps. 114, 8.—On the ending ך—, see the following Rem.

Rem. As these two terminations ך— and ך have wholly lost their significance, they can no longer pass for proper case-endings; yet it is probable that once they, as well as ך— (No. 2), were so used in the living language; for we find that the ancient Arabic had exactly corresponding endings, and like the Hebrew (see above) lost them at a later period. This is the case also in other tongues. In Latin, for instance, we find a trace of the so-called locative case (in names of towns, *rurī, domī*, etc.) with the same ending as in Sanskrit; in modern Persian the plural-endings *ân* and *hâ* are ancient terminations of case, which are no longer so used; not to mention the Germanic and Roman languages.—Even in cases where the ancient Arabic incorporated, with stronger sound, case-endings with the stem, as in אָבִי, אָבִי, אָבִי (constr. st. of אָב *father*), the modern uses all three forms without distinction of case. Hence also probably in the Hebrew constr. state אָבִי, אָבִי, אָבִי, we have properly a genitive-ending; and in West. Aram., אָבִי, in Heb. מְרִי (in prop. names as מְרִישָׁלַם and מְרִישָׁלַם, שָׁמִי, (שָׁמִיאל) שָׁמִי, (שָׁמִיאל) שָׁמִי, a nominative-ending, so that we can better understand how מְרִישָׁלַם occurs along with מְרִישָׁלַם, and אָבִי with אָבִי.

§ 91.

THE NOUN WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

In connecting the noun with pronominal suffixes, which in this case stand for the genitive of the pronoun and therefore necessarily are appended to the construct state of the noun (§ 33, 2, b), we have, as in the verb (§ 57 etc.), two things to notice, viz. the form of the suffixes themselves and the changes in the form of the noun. Here we take up chiefly the first, as the second will be treated of under the inflection of nouns in § 92. A general view of the suffixes is given also in Paradigm A. We exhibit the suffixes, first, as appended to the singular, and then as appended to the plural and dual of the noun.

1. The suffixes to the singular Nouns are these:—

<i>Singular of Pronoun.</i>		<i>Plural of Pronoun.</i>	
1. <i>com.</i> אֲנִי	<i>my.</i>	1. <i>com.</i> $\text{אֲנֵינוּ, אַנְּנוּ}$	<i>our.</i>
2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{אֲנִי, אֲנִי} \\ f. \text{אֲנִי, אֲנִי} \end{array} \right.$	<i>thy.</i>	2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{אַתָּה, אַתָּה} \\ f. \text{אַתָּה, אַתָּה} \end{array} \right.$	<i>your.</i>
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הוא, הוּא}; \text{הוּא, הוּא} \\ f. \text{היא, הִיא}, \text{הִיא, הִיא} \end{array} \right.$	<i>his.</i> <i>her.</i>	3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הֵם, הֵם}, \text{poet.} \\ f. \text{הֵן, הֵן}, \text{poet.} \end{array} \right.$	<i>their.</i>

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms here than when they are attached to the verb, and their use is as follows:—

- a) The forms without a union-vowel are joined to the few nouns which in the *constr. st.* end with a vowel, as $\text{אֲבִירָה, אֲבִירָה}$ and $\text{אֲבִירָה, אֲבִירָה}$, $\text{אֲבִירָה, אֲבִירָה}$.
- b) The forms with a union-vowel (§ 58, 3, b), are joined to nouns ending with a consonant. The union-vowel is usually *a* in the 3rd *sing., fem.* הִיא (for *aha*), and 3rd *plur.* $\text{הֵנָּה, הֵנָּה, הֵנָּה}$; also in 3d *sing. masc.* הוּא , הוּא of which the \hat{o} is contracted from *āhū* (הוּא) as well as the pausal form of the 2d *masc.* הוּא (as a half lengthening of original הוּא). The forms with *e* are in the above mentioned *pers.* only used with nouns in הֵם (from the stem ל"ה) *constr. st.* הֵם (contracted from *ay*) e. g. שָׂדֵהוּ *his field* (for *sadāihū* or directly from *sadē-hu*); מַרְאָהוּ from *marajhā* = *marāhā* with the rejection of *Yôdh* and the half lengthening of *ā* to *Seḡhōl* in the accented open syllable; but שָׂדֵהָ *her field* from *sāda[j]hā*. Outside of these ל"ה forms is found the union vowel *e*, but rarely with 3d *pers.* e. g. אִירָהוּ *his light* Job 25, 3, לְמִינָהוּ *after its kind* Gen. 1, 21, 25; but in 2d *sing. fem.* אִירָהּ and in 1st *plur.* נִינוּ , are the customary forms, while אִירָהּ, נִינוּ are of rare occurrence; see Rem. 2.—Instead of אִירָהּ, נִינוּ (with *Shewâ mobile*), when the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, we have אִירָהּ, נִינוּ as in רוּחָהּ *thy spirit*, בְּרָאָהּ *thy creator* Is. 43, 1, רֵעֶהּ *your friend* Job 6, 27.

2. Rare forms are—

Sing. 2d *pers. m.*, in pause בְּכַףְךָ , in בְּכַףְךָ *thy hand* Ps. 139, 5; *fem.* בְּכַףְךָ Ez. 5, 12, בְּכַףְךָ Ps. 103, 3, Jer. 11, 15; once בְּכַףְךָ in בְּכַףְךָ *thy envoys* Nah. 2, 14, comp. No. 2, Rem. 2, also בְּכַףְךָ (Is. 22, 1).—3d *pers.* הוּא , e. g. in the frequent אֲהָבָהוּ Gen. 9, 21, 12, 8, 13, 3, 35, 21 (throughout with *Qeri* אֲהָבָהוּ); קָצָהוּ 2 K. 19, 23, *Kethibh*, for which we find קָצָהוּ in Is. 37, 24; סִיתָהוּ and עִירָהוּ Gen. 49, 11 (*Qeri* עִירָהוּ , *Sithi*).

Plur. 1st *pers.* נִינוּ , in pause קִרְבָּנֵינוּ Job 22, 20, comp. Ruth 3, 2, Is. 42, 10.—2d *pers. fem.* בְּכַףְךָ Ez. 23, 48, 49.—3d *pers. m.* הֵם

2 Sam. 23, 6 (from which is contracted the usual form סִיָּה). Fem. סִיָּהָ 1 K. 7, 37, Ez. 16, 53; נָהָ Gen. 41, 21, נָהָ Ruth 1, 19, elsewhere mostly in pause; finally נָהָ as suff. to a noun, only in Is. 3, 17.

2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes must be considered to be appended to the original ending of the *construct state* (יָ comp. § 89, 2, Rem.). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2d *fem.* In most cases we find, what occurs in the *construct state* without suffixes, viz. the contraction into יָ (so throughout the plur.), whilst in the 2d *masc.* and 3d *masc.* and *fem. sing.* (except in the poetic. suff. יָהָ) the *Yôdh*, which has been virtually dropped, is retained orthographically. The preceding *ā* is either lengthened into \bar{a} (3d *masc. sing.*) or inflected into accented *Sêghôl* (2d *masc.* and 3d *fem. sing.*). On the 1st *masc. sing.* see below under letter *b*. Thus we have the following:

Suffixes of Plural Nouns:

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
1. com. יָ	<i>my.</i>	1. com. יָהָ	<i>our.</i>
2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{יָהָ} \\ f. \text{יָהָ} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \right\}$ <i>thy.</i>	2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{יָהָם} \\ f. \text{יָהֶן} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \right\}$ <i>your.</i>
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{יָהָ}, \text{ poet. } \text{יָהָהָ} \\ f. \text{יָהָ} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \right\}$ <i>his.</i> <i>her.</i>	3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{יָהֶם}, \text{ poet. } \text{יָהֶם} \\ f. \text{יָהֶן} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \right\}$ <i>their.</i>

In these forms the original יָ is *a*) contracted in the 3d *sing. masc.* יָהָ and throughout the plural, as סִיָּהָ etc.; *b*) retained unchanged in the 1st *masc. sing.* סִיָּהָ , the real suffix ending יָ or יָ being blended with the final *Yôdh* into יָ , and in the 2d *fem. sing.* סִיָּהָ (with auxiliary *Chirëq* after the *Yôdh*); on the other hand *c*) the *Yôdh* of יָ is abandoned and α) the \bar{a} lengthened into \bar{a} in the 3d *masc. sing.* סִיָּהָ i. e. *sûsāw*; β) \bar{a} inflected into accented *Sêghôl* in the 2d *masc. sing.* סִיָּהָ from *sûsākhā* and in the 3d *fem. sing.* סִיָּהָ from *sûsāhā*.

Rem. 1. The *Yôdh* of these forms (letter *c* above), being only orthographically retained, is occasionally omitted (which in unpointed MSS creates slight confusion with the sing.), e. g. יָהָ for יָהָ *thy*

ways Ex. 33, 13, רֵעֵיהֶוּ for רֵעֵיהֶוּ *his friends* Job 42, 10, לְבָרֵיהֶם *after their kinds* Gen. 1, 21. This omission of the *Yôdh* occurs esp. with the *suff.* 3d pers. *m. sing.*, where we very often find וְיֵי, which is, however, almost invariably changed in the Q'rê to וְיֵי, e. g. הַצֵּי *his arrows* Ps. 58, 8 in Q'rê וְיֵי.

2. Unusual forms are: *sing.* 2d pers. *fem.* וְיֵי (after the unchanged interjection אֲשֶׁר־ *blessed!* Eccl. 10, 17, comp. *Delitzsch*), וְיֵי (comp. Syr. וְיֵי) 2 K. 4, 3 and 7 in *Kethibh*; Ps. 103, 3—5; entirely abnormal is מְלָאֲכָה (so acc. to *Kimchi Lex.*) *thy messengers* apparently for מְלָאֲכָי = מְלָאֲכָי Nah. 2, 14.—3d pers. *masc.* וְיֵי (quite an Aramaic form) Ps. 116, 12; 3d *fem.* וְיֵי Ez. 41, 15.—*Plur.* 2d pers. *fem.* וְיֵי Ez. 13, 20; 3d pers. *masc.* וְיֵי Ez. 40, 16, *fem.* וְיֵי Ez. 1, 11.

3. On וְיֵי see § 103, 2, Rem.

3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yôdh* in these suffixes belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *constr. st.* of the masculine plural. Yet this was so far lost sight of by those who spoke the language, that there arose the strange peculiarity (in fact the inaccuracy) of appending these *suffix-forms* (already embodying the plural-ending וְיֵי) to the feminine plural in וְיֵי, as סִסְוֹתֵינוּ, סִסְוֹתֵיהֶם, where in reality a double indication of the plural occurs.¹

NB. This is the rule; yet the bare suffix (as in No. 1) is sometimes appended to the ending וְיֵי, as עֲדוֹתֵי Ps. 132, 12 (if not the *sing.* for עֲדוֹתֵי acc. to *Kimchi* in the Lex. תַּחֲנוּנֵי 2 K. 6, 8, for תַּחֲנוּנֵי); מִבְּהָרֵי Deut. 28, 59 (acc. to analogy of inf. לֵהֲבִיאָה). In the 3d *plur.* this is even the more prevalent mode; e. g. אֲבוֹתָם *their fathers*, oftener than אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם; so also שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דּוֹרוֹתָם *their generations*, obviously to avoid the excessively long forms with וְיֵי.

4. We now subjoin, in illustration of the preceding statements, a Table of the *masculine* and the *feminine nouns* with *suffixes*; and choose for the purpose a word whose stem-vowel is unchangeable. It should be remarked however that the *construct-ending* ת־ of the *feminine* retains its *Păthăch* before the *grave* suffixes כֶּם, כֵּן, but changes it to *Qă'měş* before the *light* suffixes.

¹ See an analogous case in § 87, 5. Rem. 1. Comp. the double feminine-ending in the 3 *Sing. Perf.* of verbs לָהֵא *§ 75, 4.*

*Masculine Noun. Feminine Noun.**Singular.*

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סוּס ¹	a horse	סוּסָה	a mare.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סוּס	horse-of.	סוּסָה	mare-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סוּסִי	my horse.	סוּסָתִי	my mare.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסְךָ	thy horse.	סוּסָתְךָ	thy mare.
2. { <i>fem.</i>	סוּסְךָ	thy horse.	סוּסָתְךָ	thy mare.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסָיו	his horse.	סוּסָתָיו	his mare.
3. { <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֶיהָ	her horse.	סוּסָתֶיהָ	her mare.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סוּסֵינוּ	our horse.	סוּסָתֵנוּ	our mare.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם	your horse.	סוּסָתֵכֶם	your mare.
2. { <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן	your horse.	סוּסָתֵכֶן	your mare.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶם	their horse.	סוּסָתֵיהֶם	their mare.
3. { <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶן	their horse.	סוּסָתֵיהֶן	their mare.

Plural.

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סוּסִים	horses.	סוּסוֹת	mares.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סוּסֵי	horses-of.	סוּסוֹת	mares-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סוּסִי	my horses.	סוּסוֹתִי	my mares.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיךָ	thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ	thy mares.
2. { <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיךָ	thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ	thy mares.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיו	his horses.	סוּסוֹתָיו	his mares.
3. { <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהָ	her horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיהָ	her mares.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סוּסֵינוּ	our horses.	סוּסוֹתֵנוּ	our mares.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם	your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם	your mares.
2. { <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן	your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן	your mares.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶם	their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם	their mares.
3. { <i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶן	their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן	their mares.

§ 92.

VOWEL-CHANGES IN THE NOUN.

1. The vowel-changes in a noun (often called its *inflection* comp. § 79, 2), are caused—*a*) by a noun following in the

¹ In learning this Paradigm and the others, let the accent be carefully placed on the last syllable, except when it is marked elsewhere (see § 15, Rem. 3).—*Tr.*

genitive, —*b*) by pronominal suffixes, —*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, of the absolute state, as well as of the construct (before the following genitive of a noun or suffix).

2. The tone, in all these cases, is moved forward one syllable or more, or even (*Stat. cons.*) thrown upon the following word. We here meet with three cases, viz. —

a) When the tone is moved forward only one place, as is the case in appending the plural and dual endings ים— and ים— as well as all the monosyllabic suffixes, or those which have their accent on the 1st syllable. In dissyllabic nouns the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel of the 1st syllable becomes *Shewâ* (because it no longer stands before the tone); on the other hand the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel of the 2d syllable is retained (as being now the pretonic vowel), e. g. דָּבָר *word* (groundform *dābār*), plur. דְּבָרִים, with the light suffix, commencing with a vowel: דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרֶיךָ, plur. דְּבָרֶיךָ, etc.; כָּנָף *wing*, dual: כְּנָפַיִם; also with the unchangeable vowel in the 2d syllable: פְּקִיד *overseer*, plur. פְּקִידִים with the suff. to the sing.: פְּקִידִי etc.; to the plur. פְּקִידֶיךָ, etc.; with the unchangeable vowel in the 1st syllable: עוֹלָם *eternity*, plur. עוֹלָמִים, with the suff. עוֹלָמִי etc. But in participial forms with tone lengthened *ē* (originally *i*) in the 2d syllable, this *ē* is reduced to *Shewâ mobile* before the accented suffix e. g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, plur. אֹיְבִים, with suff. אֹיְבִי etc., likewise in the formations analogous to קָטַל (§84, *b*. No. 21) e.g. אָלֵם *dumb*, pl. אֲלֵמִים.

b) When the tone is moved forward two places, as in the dual and plural construct, and when the *grave*¹ suffixes are appended to the plural (יָהֶם, יָהֵם). In this case the tone-lengthened vowel of the 2d syllable becomes *Shewa*, and the vowel of the first syllable which had been

¹ Nearly all the suffixes are *light*, being so called in distinction from the few that always carry a strong accent or tone, and which hence are called *grave*, namely יָהֵם, יָהֶם, יָהֵן, יָהֶן, יָהֵם, יָהֶם, יָהֵן, יָהֶן.

lengthened, as being pretonic, becomes short again, e. g. *הָעָם* *words of the people*, *דְּבָרֶיְכֶם* *your words*, *דְּבָרֵיהֶם* *their words* (in which cases the *i* of the 1st syllable is everywhere attenuated from *ā*).

Rem. In the so-called S'ghô'late forms, in the singular the suffix is appended throughout to the groundform (*מֶלֶךְ* *my king*, *מֶלֶכְךָ* etc.); on the other hand, before the ending *—ים*, *—ו* (partly also bef. *—ים*) a *Qā'mēs* is inserted as pretonic vowel, before which the vowel of the first syllable disappears (*מֶלֶכִּים*, *מֶלֶכֻּוֹ*). This *Qā'mēs* is retained also before the light suffixes which are attached to the *pl. masc.*, so that (as with *דְּבָרִי* etc. from *דְּבָר*) it has a semblance, as if the suffixes were attached, not to the *constr. state*, but to the *absol. state* (*מֶלֶכֶּיךָ*, *מֶלֶכֶּיהָ* etc.). On the contrary the *construct state* plural and dual form, according to letter *b* *מֶלֶכֵי*, with grave suffix *מֶלֶכֵיכֶם* etc.

- c) Before the *Sh'wâ mobile* which precedes the suff. *ה* when appended to a consonant, the tone-long vowel of the penult is retained (being now in an open syllable before the tone) e. g. *דְּמָהּ*, *דְּבָרָהּ*; but before the grave suffixes *כֶּם* and *כֶּן* in the same position it is shortened, thus *דְּבָרְכֶם* (*d'bār^ekhēm*) etc. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ā* or *ē* of the 2d syllable in the *constr. sing.* is shortened, the tone going forward to the following word, e. g. *דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים*; *חֵצֵר הַבַּיִת* (from *חֵצֵר*).

3. The vowel changes in the inflection of *fem. nouns* (§ 95) are not so considerable, the addition of the feminine-ending to the *masc.* having already occasioned similar changes to those produced by appending the light suffix (§ 94).

Besides the above (No. 1 and 2) mentioned vowel changes which take place according to general laws (§§ 25--28) there are other phenomena occasioned by the inflection of nouns, to judge correctly of which, it is necessary to go back to the original forms §§ 84—86. Here belong e. g. the rejection of the *ה* of the *ל"ה* stems (comp. § 91, 1, b), the doubling of the final consonant of the contracted *ע"ו* stems in cases like *רוֹקַח*, *רוֹקְחָהּ* etc.

NB. There is this striking difference between the vowel-changes in the verb and the noun, namely, that in the verb the *second* of two movable vowels mostly disappears (*קָטַל*, *קָטְלָהּ*, *קָטְלוּ*), in the noun the *first* (*דְּבָר*, *דְּבָרִי*, *דְּבָרֶיךָ*), comp. § 27, 3.

For greater convenience attention will now be given in the next sections to the Inflections of Nouns, with explanatory remarks (founded on the Paradigms); first the masculines (§ 93), then the feminines (§ 95), the theory as to the vowel-changes in the latter being premised in § 94.

§ 93.

INFLECTIONS OF MASCULINE NOUNS.

Masculine nouns of a simple stem may be most conveniently arranged, with reference to their vowel changes, in four classes, as in the following Table. The necessary explanations are subjoined. We here only remark in general,—

- a) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 122, 1, 3) are inflected like masculine nouns (e. g. *חֶרֶב* *f. sword*, like *מֶלֶךְ* *m. king*), except that in most cases they take the plural ending *וֹת*—; so *חֶרֶב* has *plur. absol. חֲרָבוֹת*, *const. חֲרָבוֹת*, which is also the form before *suffixes*; see § 95.
- b) That in the plural of the first three classes the lengthened pretonic vowel remains unchanged before the so-called light suffixes, whenever it is found already before the plural-ending *ים*—. Comp. § 92, 2, *b*, Rem. and Note ¹; also § 91, 1, Rem. 1, *b*, last clause.

Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מֶלֶךְ (king)	סֵפֶר (book)	קֹדֶשׁ (sanctuary)	נָעַר (a youth)	נֶצַח (perpetuity)	מַעַל (work)
” <i>constr.</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נֶצַח	מַעַל
” <i>with light suff.</i>	מֶלְכִי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נַעְרִי	נֶצְחִי	מַעְלִי
” <i>with grave suff.</i>	מֶלְכֶם	סִפְרֶם	קֹדְשֶׁם	נַעְרֶם	נֶצְחֶם	מַעְלֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מְלָכִים	סִפְרִים	קֹדְשִׁים	נַעְרִים	נֶצְחִים	מַעְלִים
” <i>constr.</i>	מְלָכִי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נַעְרִי	נֶצְחִי	מַעְלִי
” <i>with light suff.</i>	מְלָכִי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נַעְרִי	נֶצְחִי	מַעְלִי
” <i>with grave suff.</i>	מְלָכֶם	סִפְרֶם	קֹדְשֶׁם	נַעְרֶם	נֶצְחֶם	מַעְלֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	רַגְלַיִם (feet)	קַבְצָיִם (two heaps)	מִתְנַיִם (loins)	נַעֲלָיִם (sandals)		
” <i>constr.</i>	רַגְלִי	Pr. N.)	מִתְנִי	נַעֲלִי		

I.

	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מָוֶת (death)	זֵית (olive)	שׁוֹט (scourge)	פֶּרִי (fruit)	יָם (sea)	אִם (mother)	חֵק (law)
” <i>constr.</i>	מָוֶת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פֶּרִי	יָם	אִם	חֵק
” <i>with light suff.</i>	מָוֶתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	פֶּרְרִי	יָמִי	אִמִּי	חֵקִי
” <i>with grave suff.</i>	מָוֶתְכֶם	זֵיתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם	פֶּרִיכֶם	יָמֶכֶם	אִמְכֶם	חֵקְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מָוֶתִים	זֵיתִים	שׁוֹטִים	צִבְרִים (gazelles)	יָמִים	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּים
” <i>constr.</i>	מָוֶתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	יָמִי	יָמִי	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּי
” <i>with light suff.</i>	מָוֶתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	יָמִי	יָמִי	אִמּוֹתִי	חֻקִּי
” <i>with grave suff.</i>	מָוֶתְכֶם	זֵיתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם	יָמֶיכֶם	יָמֶיכֶם	אִמּוֹתְכֶם	חֻקְכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>		עֵינַיִם (eyes)	יּוֹמִים (two days)	לְחָיִם (cheeks)	כַּפַּיִם (hands)	שִׁנַּיִם (teeth)	
” <i>constr.</i>		עֵינִי		לְחַיִּי	כַּפִּי	שִׁנִּי	

II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	דָּבָר (word)	חָכֶם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	כָּתֵף (shoulder)	חֲצֵר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ <i>constr.</i>	דְּבַר	חָכֶם	זָקֵן	כָּתֵף	חֲצֵר	שָׂדֶה
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקֹנִי	כָּתְפִי	חֲצָרִי	שָׂדֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרְכֶם	חָכְמֶכֶם	זָקֻנְכֶם			
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	דְּבָרִים	חָכְמִים	זָקֵנִים		חֲצָרִים	[שָׂדִים]
„ <i>constr.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקֹנִי		חֲצָרִי	שָׂדֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקֹנִי		חֲצָרִי	שָׂדֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵיכֶם	חָכְמֵיכֶם	זָקֻנֵיכֶם		חֲצָרֵיכֶם	שָׂדֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	כְּנָפַיִם (wings)	חֲלָצִים (loins)	יָרֵכִים (thigh)			
„ <i>constr.</i>	כְּנָפִי					

III.

IV.

	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	עוֹלָם (perpetuity)	אֹיֵב (enemy)	חֹזֶה (prophet)	פֹּקֵד (overseer)	עָנִי (poor)	כָּתָב (writing)
„ <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָם	אֹיֵב	חֹזֶה	פֹּקֵד	עָנִי	כָּתָב
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	פֹּקִידִי	עָנִי	כָּתְבִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלָמְכֶם	אֹיְבֵכֶם	חֹזֶם	פֹּקִידְכֶם		כָּתְבְּכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	עוֹלָמִים	אֹיְבִים	חֹזִים	פֹּקִידִים	עָנִיִּים	[כָּתְבִים]
„ <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	פֹּקִידִי	עָנִי	[כָּתְבִי]
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	פֹּקִידִי		[כָּתְבִי]
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלָמֵיכֶם	אֹיְבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵיכֶם	פֹּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנִיְכֶם	[כָּתְבֵיכֶם]
<i>Dual absol.</i>	מְלָקְחַיִם (tongs)	מֵאֻזִּים (balance)		שְׁבָעִים (fortnight)		
„ <i>constr.</i>		מֵאֻזִּי				

EXPLANATIONS.

1. *Parad.* I comprises the whole circle of the so-called *segholate* forms (§ 84, *a.* No. 1). In the first three examples with a strong stem, the ground forms, *מִלְכָּךְ*, *כִּפְּרָךְ*, *קָרְשׁ*, have been developed by the adoption of an auxiliary *Sēghôl* into *מִלְכֶּךְ* (*ā* inflected into *ē*) *כִּפְּרֶךְ* (*i* lengthened into *ē*) *קָרֶשׁ* (*ū* lengthened into *ō*). The next three examples show, instead of the auxiliary *Sēghôl*, an auxiliary *Pā'thäch*, on account of the middle (*d, f*) or closing (*e*) gutturals. In all these cases the *constr. st.* agrees entirely with the *absolute*. The singular suffixes are added to the groundform; but in *c* and *f* the original *ū* is replaced by *ō*, and, in *d* and *f* the guttural demands an echo of the *ā* and *ō* in the shape of a *Châtēph* (בְּכַרִּי, בְּפַעְלִי); before a following *Sh'wâ* this *Châtēph* is changed into a simple auxiliary vowel (*ā, ö*) according to § 28, 3; thus *נַעֲרָה* etc. In the plural there is inserted, before the accented ending *—ים*, a pretonic *Qā'mēs*, according to § 92, *b*, Rem., whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes *Sh'wâ*. This *Qā'mēs* is again evanescent in the *constr. st.* so that now the short vowel comes to stand after the first stem consonant, in an open syllable (מִלְכִּי not מִלְכִּי). On the other hand the pretonic *Qā'mēs* of the *absolute state* maintains itself before the light plural suffixes, whilst the grave suffixes are added to the form of the *constr. st.* The ending of the *absolute state* of the dual is added, as a rule, to the ground form (as with *a—d* and *h*; comp. however *k*); the *constr. st.* of the *dual* is always the same as that of the *plural* (except in cases like *k*).

The paradigms *g* and *h* give forms with middle *ו* and *י* (§ 84 *a. 1. b. γ* and *δ*); the ground forms *מִוֶּךְ* and *מִיֶּךְ*, with the exception of the *absolute sing.*, have been contracted everywhere into *מוֹת* and *יִת*. *Parad. i* represents one of the numerous forms, in which the contraction of a middle *ו* or *י* has been performed already in the *absolute sing.* (ground form *šaw!*). *Parad. k* is a form from a stem *ל"ה* (§ 84, *a. 1, b. ε*).

The *paradigms l, m, n* are forms of stems *ע"ע*, therefore contracted out of *לָמַם*, *לָמַם*, *לָמַם* with regular lengthening into

קם, אס, חק. These forms take *Dāghé'sh* in the last stem letter before suffixes, e. g. נָמִיר, נָמִים etc. (s. § 84, a. 1, b. β).

REMARKS.

1. To I *a* and *d* (Groundf. קָטַל). In *Pause* there occurs mostly the full lengthening into *ā*, like פָּרֶם *vineyard*, זֶרַע, זֵרַע, *seed*, and so always with אֲרֶץ *earth*, with the article הָאֲרֶץ (comp. also by the LXX the writing Ἀβέλ, Ἰαφῆθ for הָבֵל, יֵפֶת). However there is sometimes found along with the form with *ā* in *Pause* also the simple inflection of *ā* into *è*, e. g. חֶסֶד, together with חָסֶד, and very frequently the form with *Seghol* only, e. g. מִזְּהָרִים *east*, מִזְּזֵרֵם *help*, etc.—With two *Seghols* in spite of the middle guttural is found לֶחֶם *bread* (*Pause* לָחֶם) and רֶחֶם *womb* (*Pause* רָחִים) together with רָחַם (*Pause* רָחֶם); before the closing *א* stands always auxiliary *Seghol* as אֶשְׁנָא, אֶפְלָא, אֶפְרָא etc. (also written פְּרָה).

The *constr. st.* is almost always like the *absolute*, though there occurs sometimes a removal of the characteristic vowel to the second stem-consonant (v. No. 4) e. g. זָרַע, זָרַר, זָרַע, זָרַע, also זָרַע etc.

The so-called ה— local is added to the groundform, thus אֶרְצָה in *Pause* אֶרְצָה; however compare also נִנְבָּה from נָגַב *south* and קָדְהָ (perhaps from a secondary form קָדַם).

The suffixes of the singular are added likewise to the groundform in middle gutturals with *Châṭeph Pāthäch* instead of the *silent Shewā*: נָעַר etc. (however there is also לָחֶמֶר, לָחֶמֶר etc.). With rather a large number of קָטַל forms before suffixes in the singular, as well as in the *constr. pl.* and *dual*, the *ā* of the first syllable is weakened into *ě*, as בָּטְנִי *my body*, יָרָה; the same with שָׁמַשׁ, פָּצַע, גָּנַח, וָבַח and many others. In a few cases of this kind, besides the form with *ā* there may exist another with original *ě* in the first syllable; it is certainly thus with יָשַׁע and יָשַׁע, נָצַח and נָצַח etc. With the abolishing of the firm close of syllable is found בָּגַד etc. from בָּגַד and רָקַב Deut. 15, 14 and 16, 13, in both cases plainly through the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *ě* for *ě*: חָבְלִי, חָבְלִי etc.

In the plural there is found sometimes, along with the ending יָם— also the ending וֹת, e. g. נִפְשֹׁת, נִפְשֹׁת, together with נִפְשִׁים (Ez. 13, 20) etc.; construct state נִפְשֹׁת, אֲרָצֹת. Others have only the ending וֹת e. g. אֲרָצֹת const. אֲרָצֹת from אֲרָץ. Without *Qāmēs* before the ending יָם— is found רֶחֶם *entrails* (comp. however also the numbers עֶשְׂרִים, twenty, שִׁבְעִים 70 and הֶשְׁעִים 90).

In the construct plural there is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, a firm close of the syllable, e. g. בָּסְפִי Gen. 42, 25, 35 (before suffixes); רִשְׁפִי Canticles 8, 6, טָרְפִי Ez. 17, 9; צִמְחִי Is. 5, 10 (on the other hand, according to the best testimony, *not* in חֲסִרִי Is. 55, 3 al.). Very frequently there occurs also here the weakening of *ā* into *ě* (v. above) e. g. יָלְחִי. Even יָלְחִי Is. 57, 4 besides יָלְחִי Hosea 1, 2 al.

In the dual absol. are found with the forms like אֶלְפִים *two thousand*, סַנְדָּלִים *sandals*, בְּרָכָיִם *knees* (ā weakened into ǝ), with suffix בְּרַכְיָי, also forms with pretonic *Qā'měš* like קַרְנֵי־ם (also קַרְנֵי־ם) *horns*, דְּרָבָיִם *double way*.

2. To the paradigms *b* and *e*. By rejecting a final א (which however is preserved orthographically) there is found חַטָּא *sin*.

The first guttural, before suffixes, generally receives *Seghôl* instead of the original ǝ, e. g. חֲלָקִי, חֲזָרִי etc.; the same in construct plur. חֲנָלִי etc.; חַטָּא forms חַטָּאִי 2 Kings 10, 29 etc. by preserving the א of חַטָּאִים before weak א.

3. To paradigms *c* and *f*. Without an auxiliary vowel stands קִשְׁטֹ Prov. 22, 21; with middle gutturals חֲזַל etc., with ה however also אַחַל, בִּחַן; with a closing guttural חֲבַח, חֲבַצ etc., with א however אַחַא. Before suffixes reappears sometimes in the singular the original ǝ; e. g. גְּדֹלִי (Ps. 150, 2) and also גְּדֹלִי from גְּדֹל *greatness*; סִבְלִי (with *Dāghē'sh forte dirimens* and the echo of the ǝ in the form of אֵ) Is. 9, 3.—Corresponding to the form פְּדֹלְכֶם *pōdō'khēm* stands קִטְבָּה Hos. 13, 14 even without middle guttural. In the forms פְּעָלִי Is. 1, 31 (instead of פָּעָלִי) and חֲזָרִי Is. 52, 14 (for חֲזָרִי 1 Sam. 28, 14) the lengthening of the original ǝ into ō is retained even before the suffix; comp. § 63, Rem. 4.

In the same way remains the ō before the אֶ- local, e. g. חֲזָרָה, חֲזָרָה Gen. 24, 67 (also חֲזָרָה 18, 6).

In the *absol. pl.* the original ǝ vanishes generally before *Qā'měš* e. g. בִּקְרִים from בִּקְרִי *morning*, פְּעָלִים *works*, רִמָּתִים *lances*; on the other hand with initial gutturals the ǝ remains as *Chateph Qā'měš*, e. g. חֲדָשִׁים *months*, חֲזָרִים *gazelles*, אֲרָחוֹת *ways*, and the same, without initial gutturals, חֲדָשִׁים *sanctuaries*, and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (*qōdhashīm* etc. with ō as the orthographical representative of אֵ); also before light suffixes חֲדָשִׁי etc., whereby however the reading frequently wavers between חֲדָשִׁי and חֲדָשִׁי (the latter especially after the article הַחֲדָשִׁי); comp. with these forms especially § 9, Rem. 2.

From אֶתֶל *tent* is found אֶתְלִים and אֶתְלִים (after the Syriac; comp. above פְּעָלִי); with light suffixes אֶתְלִי etc.; so from אֶתֶל *way*; אֶתְלִי (also אֶתְלִי). It seems that by these different ways of writing, a distinction was to be made between the plural of אֶתְלִי *Caravan* and that of אֶתֶל *way*; however there is also found with the former signification אֶתְלִי (constr. state Job 6, 19) and with the latter אֶתְלִי (e. g. Job 13, 27 according to the reading of *Ben Naphtali* and *Kimchi*).

In the constr. state plur. with original ǝ there is only חֲכָסִי Ps. 31, 21; elsewhere like חֲכָסִי, חֲכָסִי etc.

4. Besides the forms treated hitherto there belong here also a series of forms which have the characteristic vowel only after the *second* stem-consonant, as is ordinarily the case in the Aramaic. Thus: *a*) after the form חֲזַל (comp. § 84, a. No. 2): חֲזַל *honey*, חֲזַל *little*, in pause: חֲזַל, חֲזַל; חֲזַל *man* Ps. 18, 26 (elsewhere חֲזַל and infinitives like חֲזַל, § 45, 1, a);

שָׁמַח, *ā* being modified into *è* (pause however שָׁמַח); *Local* שָׁמַח, also שָׁמַח, Hos. 6, 9; with suffixes in the usual manner שָׁמַח Gen. 19, 33, 35 (as *infinitive* with vocal *Shewā*, not שָׁמַח). On the other hand the *ā* is retained in the *plural absol.* before the artificially doubled final consonant; אֲנָחִים (*constr.* אֲנָחִי) *morasses*, מְרִיטִים *myrtles*, מְרִיטִים; *b*) after the form כָּטַל בָּאֵר well, זָאב wolf etc. *Local* בָּיִרָה, with *Suff.* בָּאֵר, *Plur.* זָאבִים, זָאבִי, on the other hand בָּאֵר, construct בָּאֵר; *c*) after the form כָּטַל בָּאֵשׁ *stench* (with *suff.* בָּאֵשׁ) perhaps also לֵאמֹן *Nation*, *Pl.* לֵאמֹנִים, and the large number of infinitives, like כָּטַל with *suffix* כָּטַל etc.

5. Parad. *g*—*i* comprise the *segholate* forms with middle " or י, *a*) after the form כָּטַל with *Wāw* as firm consonant whereby the original *ā* is almost always lengthened into *ā* (Parad. *g*), thus מָוֶת = *death*, מִשָּׁפָה *wrong* מִשָּׁפָה *midst*; with final א: מִשָּׁפָה *vainness*; comp. however also מִשָּׁפָה *width*. In the *constr. state* occurs always a contraction: מִוֶּת etc. (from the original *mawt*), likewise before suffixes מִוֶּת etc. Exception: כָּטַל as *constr. state* Ez. 28, 18 (according to *Kimchi*) and with *suff.* מִוֶּת. The contraction remains throughout the *plur.* (*v.* however below letter *c*); *b*) from the form כָּטַל with *Yôdh* consonant (Parad. *h*). With א at the end מִוֶּת (*י*) *constr.* מִוֶּת (*י*). The uncontracted form (in the absolute state with auxiliary *Chû'rêq*) remains also before *local* מִוֶּת, e. g. מִוֶּת (on the other hand in the *construct state*, e. g. מִוֶּת יוֹסֵף). In the *plur. absolute* there are found uncontracted forms, like מִוֶּת *springs*, מִוֶּת *bucks* etc.; *c*) with the contraction of ו and י already in absolute state sing. (Parad. *i*). In this manner there rise formations which are throughout unchangeable; thus from the groundform כָּטַל: יוֹם (from *yawm*), סוֹף, שוֹר (in the plur. however with a stronger formation שוֹרִים *cattle*) etc.; with middle *Yodh*: הוֹל (also הוֹל) Is. 21, 11 (elsewhere לֵיִל, in *prose* הוֹלָה); from the groundform כָּטַל: עוֹר, שוֹר (v. however § 96); from the groundform כָּטַל: עוֹר etc.

Strong forms in the plur. are הוֹרִים *pots* and שוֹרִים *streets*. Finally belong here also forms with ■ quiescent, like ראש *head* (modified from ראש = ראש v. § 96) and צֹאן *flock*.

6. To paradigm *k*, *segholate* forms from the ל"ה stems. Besides the strong formations mentioned § 84, *a. 1, b. 2*, like בָּכָה etc. as well as שָׁוָה (employing the original ו as auxiliary vowel), there are found *a*) from the groundform כָּטַל nearly everywhere forms like כָּטַל, כָּטַל, כָּטַל etc.; in *pause* כָּטַל, כָּטַל, כָּטַל, on the other hand כָּטַל Judg. 14, 18; with suffixes כָּטַל (weakened from *pāryō*) however also כָּטַל etc.; before grave suffix *כָּטַל*, but also *כָּטַל*. *Plur.* כָּטַל (*constr.* כָּטַל v. above No. 2 *הַטָּעָה*), אֲרָבִים and אֲרָבוֹת; with softening of the ו into א: אֲרָבִים, אֲרָבִים from אֲרָבִים, אֲרָבִים; *b*) from the groundform כָּטַל *half*, in *pause* כָּטַל, with suffix *כָּטַל* etc. Probably belongs here also עֵר *time* (properly *idy*, then with rejection of *Yôdh* and ה *fem.* עֵרָה, finally

with assimilation of וּ=ד (נֶדֶּה), with suff. נָהוּ plur. נֶהוּם. With stems of middle *Waw* rise formations like אִי (from 'ivy = אִוִּי plur. אִיִּים etc.; c) from the groundform קָטַל partly forms like בָּהוּ, הָהוּ (from *tāhw*, *būhw*), partly like הָלִי, הָלִי, and also without initial guttural צָרִי (also צָרִי Gen. 37, 25), רָאִי etc.; in *pause* הָלִי etc., with suffix הָלִי plur. הָלִיִּים.

7. To paradigms *l—n*, Segholate forms from stems ע"ט (v. §84, a. 1, b β).

a) In the *qaṭl* form the *ā* of the contract form is partly lengthened in the *absolute state sing.*, as in הָם (so also in the *constr. state*, except in the combination הָם-סִיָּה *a weedy-sea*; even before *Māqqē'ph*: הָם-הַמֶּלַח *a salt-sea*), partly it remains short before *Dāghē'sh f. implic.* e. g. פֶּת morsel, עַם people, but even these formations have *Qā'mēš* in *pause* as well as mostly after the article (e. g. הָעָם). In the *constr. state* חַי life, and כִּי sufficiency are contracted into חַי, כִּי. הַרְחֵם mountainwards Gen. 14, 10 (v. § 22, 1) has to be noticed as a הֵ directive (also הַרְחֵם). However forms like חַי may possibly be derived from the groundform חָרַי, especially as there is also found חָרַי Jer. 17, 3 (v. *Parad.* II). Before suffixes and in the *plur.* there occurs sometimes the attenuation of *ā* into *ī*, e. g. בָּחַי, בָּחַי etc.—Some nouns (especially in poetical speech) have besides the contracted forms, also the uncontracted ones e. g. חָרַי Gen. 14, 6 *Plur. constr.* חָרַי; עָמַי Neh. 9, 22, Judges 5, 14, עָמַי Neh. 9, 24 (elsewhere עָמַי, עָמַי); b) *qīṭl*-forms: אֵש, אֵש fire, חֵן favor etc.; c) *qūṭl*-forms: הֶן, הֶן totality, before *Māqqē'ph* חֵן, חֵן, with suff. חָרַי etc., the *Dāghē'sh f.* falling out (according to § 20, 3, b) also חָרַי, חָרַי; with עֵז strength even עָזִי etc. also עָזִי.

The *Segholates* with assimilated middle *Nûn* follow likewise the analogy of *Parad. l—n* e. g. אַף wrath (אַפִּי *Dual* אַפִּים for 'anp; כֵּז goat כֵּזִים for 'inz.)

2. *Paradigm II* comprises all formations with original short vowels as well in the first as in the second syllable; comp. § 84, a. No. 3–6 and the general laws of formation § 92, No. 2.

Rem. 1. To paradigms *a* and *b*, groundform *qāṭāl*. The lengthening of *ā* into *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only with א"ל-forms e. g. צָבָא army, צָבָא. For the construct forms חֵלֶב milk and לָבָן white Gen. 49, 12, we must adopt, instead of the usual absolutes חֵלֶב, לָבָן, a secondary form חֵלֶב, לָבָן. Sometimes an artificial doubling of the final consonant takes place in order to keep the preceding vowel short e. g. חֲמֹרִים camels, קְטַנִּים small ones, מְלָחִים brooks.—The weakening of the *ā* of the first syllable into *ī* does not take place in the *constr. state plur.* nor in some instances with non-gutturals, e. g. זֵנְבוֹת tails, כְּנָפִים wings, from זָנַב, כָּנַף.—The *Dual* נְהַרִּים from נָהַר stream, shows an abnormal remainder of the *ā* before an accented ending.

From ע"י stems rise according to § 72, 4 formations like קָם (*Part.*

Qāl), *high* with unchangeable *Qāmēš*.—In the *ע"ע* the contraction is mostly prevented by the lengthening of the two short vowels, therefore e. g. *חָלָל*, *עֵנָן* etc. But undoubtedly also contracted adjective forms belong here, like *לָל* *low*, *לָל* *light*, etc. (for *לָלָל*, *לָלָל*). Their inflection follows naturally *Parad. I, l*. Under the influence of a guttural arise forms like *רָע*, *רָעִים*, *רָעִי* (for *רָעִים* etc.). On *הָר* *mountain*, comp. above *I, Rem. 7*.

The few nouns of the groundform *qāṭāl* follow the same analogy, such as *לֵב* *heart*, *שֵׁכָר* *strong drink*, *גֵּב* *grape* etc. For *שֵׁכָר* *hair* is found besides *שֵׁכָר* also the *constr. state* *שֵׁכָר* (*שֵׁכָר* having been treated as a Segholate form); for *צֵלָב* *rib* is also found *צֵלָב* and even *צֵלָב* 2 Sam. 16, 13, both probably ancient secondary forms (also in the absolute state) for *צֵלָב*; comp. also *צֵלָבִי* and *צֵלָבִי*, as well as the *constr. state plur.* *צֵלָבִים*; also of *נֶכֶד* *strangeness* stands Deut. 31, 16 the *constr. state* *נֶכֶדִים*.

2. To *paradigms c—e*, groundform *qāṭīl*. Here the shortening of the *ē* of the second syllable into *ā* in the *constr. state*, is quite peculiar (except with *ל"א*, e. g. *מָלֵא* *full*, *מָלֵא*; comp. however also *יָקָב* Gen. 25, 26 from *יָקָב* *heel* and *אָבֵל* Ps. 35, 14 *mourning*), e. g. *זָכָר*, *חָדָל*, *זָכָר* etc. *Parad. d* represents forms which treat the word *כְּתָבָה* as if it were a segholate, accented upon the first syllable (v. *Parad. I Rem. 4*) or in other words they convert it into a real segholate; in the same way are formed *גֵּר*, *רֵגֶל*, from *גֵּר* *wall*, *רֵגֶל* *thigh*.—In the *plur. constr.* the *ē*, lengthened from *ī*, is retained with the verbal adjectives of these forms e. g. *שָׁמַח*, *שָׁמַח*, *שָׁמַח*, *רָשָׁע*; comp. also *רָשָׁעִי* (under the protection of the secondary tone) from *רָשָׁע* *nail*.—From *ע"ו* stems come forms like *מֵת* *dead person* (from *māwīt*), *נָר* *stranger*, *עֵד* *witness* with unchangeable *Šērē*, thus *מֵתִים*, *מֵתִי* etc.

Related to this are the forms of the groundform *qāṭīl*. The latter is according to the rule, lengthened into *qāṭōl*, e. g. *עָגֹל* *round*, *עָמֹק* *deep*, *אָדָם* *red*; on the other hand before affirmatives the *ū* comes back again, guarded by the artificial doubling of the following consonant, as *עָגֹלִים* etc.

3. To *paradigm f*, groundform *qāṭāl* from *ל"ה* stems. With *שָׁרָה* is also found the form *שָׁרִי*, preserving the final *Yōdh* (comp. § 85, V, 2); in the same way the closing *ו* is preserved in *עֲנִיִּים* *sufferers*, *constr.* *עֲנִיִּי*. The plural of *שָׁרָה* is *שָׁרוֹת*, *constr.* *שָׁרוֹת* (also *שָׁרִי*). Also the word *פָּנִים* *face*, *פָּנִי*, *פָּנִי* etc. belongs undoubtedly to the category of these forms.

In some forms of this kind the vowel of the second syllable has already been abandoned in the *sing. absolute state*; thus in *יָד* *hand* (for *יָדָה*), *constr.* *יָד*, with *suff.* *יָדִי*, but *יָדָם*, *plur.* *יָדָה*, *constr.* *יָדָה*, *Dual* *יָדִים*, *יָדִי*, with *suff.* *יָדִי*, *יָדִים* etc.; in the same way *דָּם* *blood* (for *דָּמָה*), *constr.* *דָּם*, with *suff.* *דָּמִי*, but *דָּמָם* (*ā* weakened into *ī*, *plur.* *דָּמִים*, *דָּמִי*).

3. *Paradigm III* comprises forms with unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable

has been lengthened from an originally short vowel and is therefore changeable. Here we must distinguish the cases where the originally short vowel has been lengthened, as well in as before the tone, but vanishes elsewhere, when standing in an open syllable (*parad. a*, to which also examples like *אֲרָצִים wheels*, for *אֲרָצִים* must be reckoned) also the cases where the vowel becomes Sh'wâ, even before the accent (*parad. b*); finally the entire rejection of the ending in the forms *ל"ה* which belong here (*parad. c*).

Rem. 1. In the category of *עולם* (which however has been modified from *âlām*) belong in regard to inflection also the following forms of those cited in § 85, No. 48 *b*. *מַקְטָל* with the only difference that the *ל"א* of this form maintain the *Qamṣ* in the inflection, e. g. *מַקְרָא plur. constr. מַקְרָאִי*; No. 54 *שִׁלְחָן table (plur. שִׁלְחָנוֹת constr. שִׁלְחָנוֹת)*, *קָרְבָן*, *קָרְבָן*, therefore in *constr. plur.* with suffix *קָרְבָנֵיהֶם* Lev. 7, 38; No. 49 *נִקְטָל*; No. 55 *עֲקָרָב plur. עֲקָרָבִים* (with the doubling of the final consonant for *עֲקָרָבִים*, compare also *בָּרָדִים*, *בָּרָדָם*); § 85, No. 48 *a* *מָתָן*; No. 48 *h* *מָגֵן*; No. 48 *e* *מָעֹז*, where the *ā* of the first syllable maintains itself against the rule, even where it is not pretonic, e. g. *מָעֹזִי*, *מָגֵנִי*; No. 48 *a* *מוֹשֵׁב* etc.; No. 51 *a* *תוֹשֵׁב*.

2. (*Paradigm b*.) Instead of the shortening of the *ē* into the original *i* in forms like *אֵיבָכֶם* it is more frequently shortened into *ē*, e. g. *אֵצְרָךְ thy creator*, and with a closing guttural there are found forms sometimes like *שִׁלְחָךְ* sometimes like *בִּרְאָךְ*. According to the same analogy are inflected: § 84 *a*, No. 14; 84 *b*, No. 21 *גִּבֹּן* etc. (however there are exceptions, as *שְׁלֵשִׁים*, *רִבְעִים*, § 85, No. 48 *c*; but also here are found exceptions like *מִקְהֵלִים* Ps. 26, 12).

3. (*Paradigm c, Part. Qāl* of verbs *ל"ה*, differing from *Parad. II, f*. by the stability of the vowel in the first syllable.) The *e* in *abs. st. Ez. 17, 15* seems abnormal. The *ל"ה* forms of § 84 *a*, No. 13, and § 85, No. 48, *a, b* belong here according to their formation.—In some cases, before a suffix commencing with a consonant, the original *āy* of the ending has been contracted into *ē*, and thus are produced forms that have apparently the plural suffix; as *מִרְאֵיהֶם their appearance* Dan. 1, 15, Gen. 41, 21 comp. 47, 17 *b* (on the other hand the examples mentioned farther back from Is. 14, 11, 30, 23, Gen. 47, 17, 1 Sam. 19, 4 are real plurals). Before the plural ending the original ending *āy* has come back again in *מִמָּחֵי* Is. 25, 6 (*Part. Pu.* from *מָחָה*).

4. *Paradigm IV* comprises forms with a changeable (*a, b*) or already vanished vowel (*c*) in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second one. With *Parad. c* are also connected all the forms, which have in both syllables

unchangeable vowels and can therefore (like כָּהֵן) not submit to any flecational changes.

Rem. 1. Analogous with פָּקִיד (Groundform *ṭāqīd*) are: § 84 *a*, No. 7 גָּדוֹל etc. (with *ó*, not changeable *ō* for *ū*); in substantives like שָׁלוֹם the *ó* has been inflected from *á* (arab. *sālām*); No. 8, 9 אָסִיר, אֶסִיר etc.; § 85, 54 זָכָרוֹן, constr. זִכְרוֹן; בָּלִיָּו, constr. בְּלִיָּו (but comp. the constr. st. עֲצָבוֹן and קִנְמוֹן); § 85, No. 55 חֲלָמִישׁ, constr. חִלְמִישׁ; § 85, No. 48, *a*, מָקוֹם etc.

2. עָנִי (groundform *ʿanīj*, stem עָנָה) represents forms in which the closing *Yódh* has been blended in *i*; before formative additions the *Yódh* under the protection of a *Dághē'sh forte* becomes again a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable vanishes; comp. § 84 *a*, No. 8 נָקִי, *Plur.* נָקִיִּים.

3. כָּתָב with unchangeable *á* in the second syllable whilst the *Shewá* comes from a short vowel (arab. *kūtāb*); constr. state כְּתִב־ Esth. 4, 8 (readings like יָקָר Esth. 1, 4, כָּתָב 4, 8, 2 Ch. 35, 4 are simply errors). In a stricter sense belong here the forms numbered § 84, *a* No. 10-12; in a larger sense those which have throughout unchangeable vowels, thus § 83 *a*, No. 16; § 84 *b* No. 22 (קָטַל comp. however the anomalies mentioned there), § 84 *b*, 23-28, 34, 35, 39 as also in part § 85 No. 45-55 (esp. 48, *f* to *i*; 51 *d-f*).—In opposition to the anomalous abbreviations of the form קָטַל (*v.* above) there are found elsewhere cases, where the vowels before the accent maintain themselves also in the antepenult (with the secondary accent); comp. above No. 2, Rem. 2 and No. 3 Rem. 3, as well as, of the form קָטַל (really *qāṭīl*) the examples פָּרִיצִים, חֲרִיטִים, פָּרִיצִים, שְׁלִישִׁים, whilst the constr. state sing. reduces according to the rule the *ā* into *Shewá* פָּרִיס and פָּרִיץ. (Forms like פָּרִיץ *tyrant*, for פָּרִיץ, therefore with unchangeable *Qāmēš*, must not be mistaken for the above.) Of the forms קָטַל (*qāṭīl*) belong here שָׁבִיעַ *week*, plur. שָׁבָעִים and שָׁבָעוֹת, constr. שָׁבָעוֹת, but with *Méthēg* of the secondary tone in the fourth syllable before the last: שָׁבָעִיתִים.

§ 94.

FORMATION OF FEMININE NOUNS.

1. The feminine ending הָ— appended to the masculine forms (see § 93), effects almost everywhere the same changes, which are produced by adding a light suffix to masculine nouns, as in both cases the tone is removed one place farther forward (*v.* § 92, 2). In the following summary are kept the same divisions and subdivisions as in § 93; a few special forms are treated in § 95, in connection with the paradigm of the feminine noun.

Parad. I (segholate forms, everywhere with the appending of the feminine ending to the ground form), *a*) מַלְכָּה *queen*,

כִּבְשָׁה and with the weakening of *ä* into *i* כִּבְשָׁה *lamb*, חֲזָקָה *strength* (if not belonging to parad. *b*); *b*) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סִתֵּר), not to be mistaken for the unchangeable forms of ל"ה stems, created by a prefixed מ, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת; עֲדָנָה *grace, delight* (עֲדָן); *c*) חֲלָהּ proper noun (חֲלָה *mole*), אֹכֶלָה *food* (אָכַל); *d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נָעַר); *e*) בְּאִשָּׁה *weed*, טְהוֹרָה *purity* (טָהַר); *f*) עֲוִילָה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה parad. *i*); *g*) צִידָה *game* (contracted from צִיד, therefore really parad. *i*); *h*) בִּינָה *intellect*, סוּפָה *tempest*; *i*) אֵלֶיָּה *fat sheep* (as of אֵלִי), שְׁבִיָּה (*ä* weakened into *i*) *captivity* (שָׁבַי), לִוְיָה *wreath* (probably an original *qitl* form); *k*) חַיָּה *life*, מִדָּה *measure* (weakened from מִדָּה); *l*) זָמָה *plan*; *m*) חֻקָּה *law* (חָק).

Parad. II. Groundform *qätälät* etc. *a*) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נָקַם); *b*) אֶרֶץ *earth*; *c*) נִבְלָה *corpse*; *e*) צְרִיפָה *languid*; *f*) רִפְּיָה *beautiful*, קֶצֶה *end* (from רָפָה, קָצָה). From stems ע"ע arise thus *a*) רַבָּה *many*, with middle gutturals רַעָה *bad*; from ע"י *זָרָה* *stranger*; *c*) צָרָה (ground form *ʾāwīd*) *female witness*; from stems middle *o* טוֹבָה *good*. From the ground form *qätül* עֲמֻקָּה *deep* (masc. עָמֻק), עֲבֻדָּה *servitude*.

Parad. III (unchangeable vowel in first, changeable in second syllable); *b*) יֹלְדָה *puerpera*, but also with reduction of the *ē* (originally *i*) into *Shewā* יֹשְׁבָה *dwelling* Nah. 3, 8; however in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by ת— (v. below No. 2); *c*) גּוֹלָה *emigrating host* (masc. גּוֹלָה), but also with the retention of the final *Yôdh* בּוֹכִיָּה *weeping* Lament. 1, 16.

Parad. IV (original changeable vowel in the first, unchangeable in the second syllable); *a*) גְּדוּלָה *great*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, really *pious*; בְּתוּלָה *virgin*, really L. *sejuncta*; *b*) עֲנִיָּה *wretched*.

2. The feminine ending ת is (except before suffixes) rarely appended, in its original form, to the noun; comp. however forms like בְּכִיָּה *weeping* (masc. בָּכִי § 93, I, *k*), בְּרִית *covenant*; also fem. participles of ל"א, as יִצְאָה, מִצְאָה, although these forms may have been contracted from יִצְאָת like segholate forms (therefore we also have מִצְאָת), as בָּאָר (§ 93, Parad. I, 4, *b*), comp. § 74, Rem. 3. Besides this, there is found with a simple ת, only יִלְדָּת בֵּן (construct state) Gen. 16, 11; Judges 13, 5, 7, for יִלְדָּת (Gen. 17, 19, Is. 7, 14).

The forms which arise by the appending of the **ת** feminine to the ground form, are, as a rule, developed exactly in the manner of the masc. segholate-forms. Thus rise in I, *a*) from **גְּבִירָה** (masc. **גִּבּוֹר** = **גִּבּוֹר** § 93, I, 4, *a*) the form **גְּבִירָה** *mistress*; from **מַלְכָּה** (**מֶלֶךְ** = **מֶלֶךְ**) *queen*; Parad. II, *a*): **יָבֵם** *brother-in-law*, fem. **יָבֵמָה** (from **יָבֵם**); *c*) **גִּדְרָה** (from **גִּדְרָה**), thus, the general form *constr. state masc.* **זָקֵן** is taken as a base; comp. on the other hand **חַמְשָׁה** as *constr. state* of **חַמֵּשׁ** with the lengthening of the original *i* of **חַמֵּשׁ**; of formations with changeable *ō* in the second syllable, belong here **נְחֹשֶׁת** *brass* (from **נְחֹשֶׁת**); Parad. III, *a*) **חֹתָמָה** (from **חֹתָמָה**) masc. **חֹתָם** *seal*; *b*) **יֹנְקָה** (real sense, *sucking*) *off-spring*; and so mostly the feminines of the participle **קָטַל**, however also here we must admit the ground form **קָטְלָה** (**יֹנְקָה**, v. above); this ground form reappears before suffixes and under the influence of a guttural, e. g. **יֹדְעָה**, fem. of **יָדַע** *knowing*; in a larger sense belongs here also **גִּלְגָּלָה** *skull*, v. § 95; Parad. IV, *c*) **כְּתָבָה** *scripture*, modified from *kethâb* § 93, Parad. IV, *c*.

As to the ending **וּת** and **—וּת** v. § 86, No. 6 and § 95 at the end.

§ 95.

PARADIGMS OF FEMININE NOUNS.

Corresponding with the general laws of formation, exhibited § 92, 2, 3, the principal cases that have to be considered, in regard to the inflection of feminines are the following: 1) a tone lengthened vowel retakes its original shorter form by the removal of accent (thus the *ā* of the ending **—הַ** becomes *ă* again in the ending of the *constr. state* **—ת**). On the other hand a long pretonic vowel, although originally short, maintains itself *before* the ending **—הַ** e. g. **צִדְקָה**; 2) outside of the accent or foretone every original short vowel becomes *Shewâ*; on the contrary the *ă* which had likewise disappeared in the first syllable, returns again *before* a similarly vanished vowel, although usually weakened into *ž*, e. g. **צִדְקָה** from *šaddqât*; 3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms, before the ending **—וּם** as well as before the

light suffixes, a pretonic *Qā'mēš* is inserted anew, and the short vowel of the first syllable becomes *Shewâ*, but reappears in the *constr. state* and before grave suffixes.

In the following paradigms we present only such of those forms treated in § 94 (besides I, *d*) as require the consideration of some vowel change or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Parad. I, *d*.

Paradigms of feminine Nouns.

I.					
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מֶלֶכָּה	חֲרָפָה	חֲרָבָה	חֻקָּה	גְּבֵרָתָהּ
	(queen)	(reproach)	(waste)	(law)	(mistress)
" <i>constr.</i>	מֶלֶכֶת	חֲרַפַּת	חֲרַבַּת	חֻקַּת	גְּבֵרַת
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מֶלֶכָּתִי	חֲרַפָּתִי	חֲרַבָּתִי	חֻקָּתִי	גְּבֵרָתִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מֶלֶכְתְּכֶם	חֲרַפְתְּכֶם	חֲרַבְתְּכֶם	חֻקְתְּכֶם	גְּבֵרַתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חֻקוֹת	
" <i>constr.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חֻקוֹת	
" <i>with suff.</i>	מַלְכוֹתֵי	חֲרָפוֹתֵי	חֲרָבוֹתֵי	חֻקוֹתֵי	
<i>Dual absol.</i>		רִקְמָתַיִם			מִצְלָתַיִם
		(double embroidery)			(cymbals)

II.			III.		
a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	צִדְקָה	זַעֲקָה	שָׁנָה	יֹנֵקָה	גִּלְגָּלֶת
	(justice)	(outcry)	(year)	(sprout)	(skull)
" <i>constr.</i>	צִדְקַת	זַעֲקַת	שָׁנַת	יֹנֵקַת	גִּלְגָּלֶת
" <i>with light suff.</i>	צִדְקָתִי	זַעֲקָתִי	שָׁנָתִי	יֹנֵקָתִי	גִּלְגָּלֶתִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	צִדְקַתְכֶם	זַעֲקַתְכֶם	שָׁנַתְכֶם	יֹנֵקַתְכֶם	גִּלְגָּלֶתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	צִדְקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	[יֹנְקוֹת]	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
" <i>constr.</i>	צִדְקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יֹנְקוֹת	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
" <i>with suff.</i>	צִדְקוֹתֵי		שָׁנוֹתֵי	יֹנְקוֹתֵי	גִּלְגָּלוֹתֵי
<i>Dual absol.</i>		שְׁפָתַיִם			[נַחֲשָׁתַיִם]
		(lips)			(pair of fetters)
" <i>constr.</i>		שְׁפָתַי			

REMARKS.

Rem. 1. Parad. I (feminine of Segholate forms). *a*) the form of this class with ה local sounds like גִּבְעָה towards *Gib'ā* (masc. גִּבַּע). In some cases, especially with gutturals for the first letter, it cannot be distinguished whether the forms belong to *qāṭl* or *qīṭl* e. g. חֲזָקָה *strength* (comp. חֲזָקָה under *b*). A *dual* of this form occurs in שִׁבְעָתַיִם *seven times* (comp. שִׁבְעַת *seven*, fem.). Analogous to masculine forms, as רִבְשׁ (§ 93. I. Rem. 4) there is found חֲזָקָה *myrtle*.—From masculines of the form פָּרִי (ל"ה comp. § 93 I, *k*) rise feminines, partly like גִּלְגָּל, גִּלְגָּלָה, אֶלְגָּלָה (v. above § 94, 1, I, *k*) partly like בְּרִיתָה (§ 94, 2); sometimes the closing ה before the plural ending, has been retained as if it belonged to the stem, e. g. לַחֲזִיתָה *lances*. Forms like גִּלְגָּלָה (comp. אֶלְגָּלָה as a *qōṭl* form), are derived directly from the masculine forms גִּלְגָּל *kid*, אֶלְגָּל *ship*.—*b*) An example of ע"ף is חֲזָקָה *wheat* (for חֲזָקָה), plur. חֲזָקִים; analogous with בָּאָה (§ 93, I, Rem. 4, *b*) are forms בְּרִיחַ *pond* (with unchangeable *Sērē*) and שְׂאֵלָה *request*, with suffix שְׂאֵלָתִי, but also שְׂאֵל (= שְׂאֵלָתִי) Job 6, 8, Ps. 106, 15 (on דְּבָה etc. comp. below letter *e*);—*c*) the *plural absol.* of עֲרֵלָה *prepuce* is עֲרֵלוֹת (comp. פְּעֻלִּים § 93, Parad. I, *f*) *construct* עֲרֵלוֹת.—*d*). As an example of a feminine Segholate form of a stem ע"ע (groundform *qūtṭl*, like חֲזָקָה of the form *qāṭl*, וְזָה of the *qītṭl* form) with *ō* for *ū*, is found חֲזָא *fright* Is. 19, 17 (aram. orthog. for חֲזָה).—*e*) Segholate forms with ה fem. In the Parad. גִּבְרִיתָה (v. § 94, 2, I, *a*) the *ā* of the groundform* גִּבְרִיתָה has been sharpened into *ī* before the singular suffixes. Plural would be גִּבְרִיתוֹת.—To the same category belong infinitives of פ"ו and פ"ן, which have rejected the feeble consonant, as שָׁבַת (from רָשַׁב), דָּבַח (from דָּרַע), שָׁחַ (from נָגַשׁ), as well as פָּחַח (from דָּקַח); comp. § 69 Rem. 4 and § 66. The infinitive of פ"ו is however also found in the form דָּבַח, דָּבַח, צָחַח, also עֲדָה *congregation* (from רָגַד), עֲצָה *advice* (from רָעַץ), שָׁנָה *sleep* (רָשַׁן), *constr.* שָׁנִית, שָׁנִית, whilst in the *construct forms* זָעַח Gen. 3, 19, (from זָרַח to flow) and צָחַח *excrement*, Ez. 4, 12, the *Sērē* has remained firm, בָּשָׁח *shame* (from בּוֹשׁ to be ashamed) must be considered undoubtedly as a *qōṭl* form of an ע"ו stem, analogous with בָּאָשׁ (§ 93, I, Rem. 4 *c*). Of a דָּלָה (דָּלָה) has been formed after rejection of the closing *Yōdh*, the masculine דָּל and afterwards the feminine דָּלָה *door*; plur. דָּלָהוֹת, *constr.* דָּלָהוֹת retains however the final ה (v. above *a* חֲזִיתָה). In a similar way has been formed שָׁחַ *trough* (from שָׁחַ), of which the *masc.* should be שָׁח=שָׁחִי; on the other hand, the *plur. constr.* שָׁחַת Gen. 30, 38 (again retaining the feminine ה as an apparent stem consonant) can only be traced back to a kindred form שָׁחַ or שָׁחַ.

2. *Parad. II* (groundform *qātālāt* etc. comp. § 94, I, *Parad. II a* and *b*). Analogous with the masculine forms such as קָטַן, plur. קָטָנִים, is found here קָטָנָה *little* etc.—The *constr.* forms, as צָדָה (*sid^eqāth*) differ by the vocal *Sh^{wā}* from the Segholate forms, as קִבְשָׁה (*kib-sāth*). Consequently the *constr. state* בְּרִכָּה (בְּרִכָּה *blessing*) is anomalous, and

probably comes from the unused absolute *בִּרְכָּה*.—Under the influence of a guttural (v. Parad. *b*) the original *ā* of the first syllable comes back again in the *constr. state* (comp. also *אֶרֶץ* *earth*, *אֶרֶץ*); in other places it is modified into *Seghōl*, e. g. *עֲגֹלָה* *chariot*, *עֲגֹלָה*. Frequently with an *absolute state* in *ה*— the *construct* is formed with the ending *ה* e. g. *קִטְרֹה* *crown*, *constr.* *קִטְרָה* (from *קִטְרָה*); with *עֲצָרָה* *gathering* is found already in the *absolute state* *עֲצָרָה*; *יָבֵמָה* (from *יָבֵם* *brother in law*) has before suffixes *יָבֵמָה*, agreeing completely with *גִּבְרָה* (Parad. I *e*)—*אֵמֶת* *fidelity*, is found from a *ל"ו* stem (*אֵמֶת*) (for *אֵמֶת* = 'amant) before suffixes *אֵמֶת* etc.—From the *masc. form* *קָטֵל* (*qāṭīl*) are formed *גִּדְרָה* *wall*, *נִבְלָה* *corpse*, *constr.* *נִבְלָה*, *בְּהֵמָה* *cattle*, *constr.* *בְּהֵמָה* (for *בְּהֵמָה*). More frequently however the *ē* of the second syllable is retained before the ending *at* of the *constr. state*, thus from *נִבְלָה* is found once *נִבְלָתִי* Is. 26, 19 and always *נִבְלָתִי* *prey*, *טִמְאָה* *unclean*, *מִלְאָה* *full* Is. 1, 21 (with *ī compaginis* v. § 90, 3.—As a *dual* is found *יִרְדְּתִים* (comp. *יִרְדְּתִי* Gen. 49, 13, from the obsolete *יִרְדָּה* as feminine to *יִרְדָּה*); the *constr. state* *יִרְדְּתִי*, is thus to be referred to a *Segholate form* (*יִרְדָּה*, comp. *יִרְדָּה* as *constr. state* of *יִרְדָּה*).—The forms with simple *feminine ה* are not based on the groundform *qāṭīl* but on the usual form of the *constr. state* (v. § 92. Parad. II, *c* *זֶן* of *זֶן*); thus the feminine of *חֶבֶר* *companion* is *חֶבְרָה*, of *גֵּר* besides *גִּרָּה* also *גִּרְתָּה*.—The feminine of the form *qāṭāl* of stems *ע"ו*, as *גִּרָּה*, *זֶרָה* have an unchangeable *a* in the first syllable, as *נִרָּה*, *constr. plur.* *נִרְוֹה*, *dual* *רְמִיִּים* *double height*. From *בָּמָה* *mount*, (stem *בוּם*, therefore with unchangeable *â* in first syllable) is found in the *constr. state plur.* the pleonastic form *בְּמוֹתֵי* or *defectively* *בְּמוֹתֵי* (v. § 87, Rem. 1); the Massōrā demands for this everywhere *בְּמוֹתֵי*, which must be read *bām'othê* (not *bōm'othê*) with the anomalous reduction of the *ô* into (*—*); before suffix however *בְּמוֹתֵי* etc.—Besides the forms with the ending *ה*— are found also such with *ת*; thus with the shortening of *ā* into *ă* are formed *Segholates*, like *נִרְתָּה* (*masc.* *נִרְתָּה*) *rest*, *נִרְתָּה* *pit*, from *נִרְתָּה* and *נִרְתָּה*.—The feminine of the form *qāṭāl* of stems *ע"ו*, as *רִבְּהָ*, as well as those of the form *qāṭīl* of *ע"ו*, like *מֵתָה* *mortua*, *עֵדָה* *fem. witness* (from *רִבְּבָה*, *מֵדָה*, *עֵדָה*) have likewise unchangeable vowels in the first syllable. The feminine of the form *qāṭīl*, as *עֲמֻקָּה* (*masc.* *עֲמֻקָּה*) maintains in all cases the original *ū* by doubling the following consonant; on the other hand through appending the *fem. ה* are formed *Segholates* like *חֲשֻׁשָׁה*, before *Suff.* *חֲשֻׁשָׁה* etc. *Dual* *חֲשֻׁשָׁיִם* (placed in the Parad. III, *b*); comp. however *חֲשֻׁשָׁיִם* Lament. 3, 7.

A few feminines of *ל"ה* stems (Parad. II, *c*) are found with the ending *āth*, formed by the ejection of the closing *Wāw* or *Yôdh* and the contraction of the preceding *ă* with the *ă* of the ending *āth*; thus *מִנְיָה* *share* (for *mānājāth* or *mānāvāth*, *מִנְיָה* *end*, *plur.* *מִנְיָה* (*constr. state* Neh. 12, 47, 13, 10) and *מִנְיָה* (12, 44); *מִנְיָה* Exod. 38, 5.—*אֵיָה* *sign* (stem *אֵיָה*) comes from *אֵיָה* and this is contracted from *āyāt* = 'āvāyāt.

3. Parad. III; comp. the enumeration of the different forms § 94,

No. 1, *Parad.* III, and No. 2. The *dual* הַיְמִינִים instead of הַיְמִינִים *double wall* is anomalous, taken directly from the plur. הַיְמִינִים.—In a wider sense belong here the feminines of the form קָטַל (§ 84, No. 6), in so far as they shorten the *â* of the second syllable before the ending הַ, e. g. הַיְמִינִים *burning fever* (from *dallāqt*) *signet*; next the form קָטַל (§ 84, b 18, 21), as אָוֶלֶת *folly* (for *'iwālt*) and all the forms, which are formed with מ preformative and have a changeable vowel in the second syllable (§ 85, 48, a-e), e. g. מְמִלְכָּה *kingdom*, constr. מְמִלְכָּת; מְשַׁכְּרֵת *reward*, before suffix מְשַׁכְּרֵת; מְמַקְרֵת *pruning knife*, constr. מְמַקְרֵת; comp. also the forms mentioned in § 85, 48 a and 51, as מוֹלֶדֶת *birth* (of א'וֹלֶדֶת, on the other hand, is מוֹצֵאֵת *outgoing*), תּוֹלֶדֶת *generation*, תּוֹנֵעָה *abomination*, constr. תּוֹנֵעָה etc. Sometimes the plural of these forms depends on a secondary form e. g. מְחַרְשֵׁת *ploughshare*, plur. מְחַרְשֵׁת (as from מְחַרְשֵׁת *Astarte*, plur. מְחַרְשֵׁת) (the *â* no more being inflected into *ê*); on the contrary בְּחֵרוֹת *capitals* (of columns) and תּוֹכְחוֹת *reproofs* are the regular plurals of בְּחֵרָה and תּוֹכְחָה.—In בְּחֵרָה *coat* the original *û* of the first syllable has maintained itself through the doubling of the following consonant (comp. arab. *qūtūn*) before suffix בְּחֵרָה, the constr. state however is בְּחֵרָה (as already in the *absol. state* Ex. 28, 39); plur. בְּחֵרָה, constr. בְּחֵרָה.—The form mentioned in *Parad.* III, b אָלְגָּלֶת is a *pulpul* form of the stem גָּלַל; comp. קָרָךְ § 85, II.

4. To the fourth class, for which no *parad.* is required, belong all those numerous forms, which at present have entirely unchangeable vowels, after the originally short vowel of the first syllable has become *Shewâ*, through the removal of the accent (comp. however בְּגוֹדֶה *Jer.* 3, 7, 10, with an anomalous retention of the *â*, although the same had been only lengthened from *ă*). Of forms mentioned in § 84 and 85 belong here especially those with ע"ע stems, as מְגֻלָּה *scroll*, תְּהִלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer* § 85, 48 c and 51 c, as well as the feminines of the participle *Hiph'il* ע"ע, e. g. מְאִירָה *lighting* (from מְאִיר), principally the feminines of ע"ע stems, which are combined with preformative מ, as מְנוּחָה *rest* (from מְנוּחַ), v. § 85, 48, f. Thus, in their external shape, all these forms coincide with those which already, as masculines, have throughout unchangeable vowels (v. their enumeration § 93, *Parad.* IV, 3).

5. The feminine ending יָה is based (apart from the ל"ה forms, as בְּכִיָּה, § 94, 2), on the appending of the feminine הַ to the ending יָה, which has been employed to form adjectives etc., v. § 86, 2, 5 and 6. The ending יָה mentioned in the same place and also in § 84, No. 16, is attached in segholate forms partly to the groundform, as עֲשָׂוִיתָ Job 12, 5 partly to forms with lightly closed syllable, as מְלִכְיָה *kingdom*; from ל"ה stems are formed words partly like שְׁבוּיָה *imprisonment* partly like בְּכִיָּה *weeping*; the latter retain the *â* of the first syllable also in the constr. state and before suffixes. קְדִיָּה *difficulty* is formed of a *qāṭil*-form, and פְּקִדְיָה of a *qāṭil*-form etc.—In the plural of these forms we can distinguish a different manner of treatment. In some cases the

ending **ה** is entirely retained, as belonging to the stem (comp. above Rem. 1) e. g. **אַלְמִנִּיּוֹתָיִךְ** from **אַלְמִנִּיּוֹת**; in others this ending is dismembered, as in **מַלְכֵיחַ** Dan. 8, 22 (without doubt for *malḳuwôth*), as well as in **עֵדוּת** (*ēd'wôth*) from **עֵדוּת** *witness* (only in connection with *suffixes* **עֵדוּתֶיךָ** etc.).

§ 96.

NOUNS OF PECULIAR FORM.

In the following alphabetical list is arranged a collection of much used nouns whose inflections offer more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities are however entirely subordinate to the general laws of sound, and the usual designation of these nouns as *irregular* is therefore not justified, if we only consider rightly the groundforms on which the present forms are based.

אָב (for **אַבָּה**, from **אַבָּה** prob. *to procreate*, hence **אָב** prop. *procreator*) *father*, constr. st. **אָבִי**, with suff. **אָבִי** (*my father*), **אָבִיךָ**, **אָבִיו** or **אָבֵיהוּ**, **אָבֵיכֶם**; plur. **אָבוֹת** (§ 87, 4) constr. **אָבוֹת**. The feminine ending of the plural points undoubtedly to an original abstract, indicating dignity; comp. § 108, 2, b.

אָח brother, (for **אַחָה**, fr. **אַחָה**) constr. **אָחִי**, with suff. **אָחִי** (*my brother*), **אָחִיךָ**, **אָחֵיכֶם**, plur. constr. **אָחִי**. But the plur. absol. is **אָחִים** (with *Däg. f. implicitum*, § 22, 1); hence **אָחִיךָ**, **אָחֵיךָ**, etc. On the form **אָחִי** (which is invariably used instead of **אָחִי**), see § 27, Rem. 2, b, and so too **אָחִי** in pause for **אָחִי** *my brethren*. The doubling of the **ח** points by no means to another stem (**אָחָה**) but serves only as an artificial means of keeping the preceding *Päthäch* short, as in **גַּמְלִים** etc. (§ 93, Parad. II, a).

אֶחָד one (for **אַחַד**, with *Däg. f. implicitum*, § 22, 1, comp. § 27, Rem. 2, b), constr. st. and also elsewhere in close connection **אֶחָד**, fem. **אַחַת** *una* (for **אַחַתָּה**, see § 19, 2), in pause **אַחַת**. In one instance (Ez. 33, 30) it takes (by *aphæresis*, § 19, 3) the form **חַד** *masc.*, as in Aram. Plur. **אַחֲדִים** *some, but also the same*.

אָחוֹת sister (from *ʾächāwät* or *ʾächäyät* with the elision of the **י** or **י** and the modifying of the *â*—arisen from *äă*—into *ô*), constr. **אָחוֹת**, with suff. **אָחוֹתִי** etc.; however see Num. 6, 7 **אָחוֹתִי** (with *Dagh. f. implic. in ח*). The plur. absol. (**אָחוֹתִים**) accidentally does not occur, but the constr. with suff. is found in **אָחוֹתִי** etc. (Ez. 16, 52, **אָחוֹתִיךָ** for **אָחוֹתֵיךָ**). The forms **אָחוֹתִי** Jos. 2, 13 *Kethäbh*, **אָחוֹתִיךָ** Ez. 16, 51, 55, 61, **אָחוֹתֵיכֶם** Hos. 2, 3 come from a singular **אָחָה** (with rejected third consonant).

אִישׁ *man*, either incorrectly lengthened from **אִשׁ** (from 'išš with the assimilation of the *Nûn* of the groundform 'inš (stem אִשׁ) which has again been attenuated from 'anš) or a direct softening from 'inš; in the *plur.* it has very seldom אִישִׁים (Is. 53, 3, Ps. 141, 4, Prov. 8, 3), the usual form being אֲנָשִׁים (from אִנְשׁ), *constr.* אֲנָשִׁי. *Comp.* אִשָּׁה.

אִמָּה *maid-servant*, with *suff.* אֲמָהָה, *plur.* (with ה as a consonant) אֲמָהוֹת, *constr.* אֲמָהוֹת. *Comp.* in Aram. אֲבָהֵן *fathers*, also Arab. 'abahât (fathers), 'ummahât (mothers).

אִשָּׁה *woman* (for אִשָּׁה, *fem.* from אִשׁ, see אִישׁ), *constr. st.* אִשָּׁת (for 'ist with ת *fem.* from 'išš after rejection of *Dāghesh* and lengthening the *š* into *ē*; *comp.* חַמֶּשֶׁשׁ as *constr.* of חַמֶּשֶׁה *five*; but a direct derivation from אִישׁ would also be possible, the *š* having been reduced to *ē*); with *suff.* אִשָּׁתִּי, אִשָּׁהָ, *plur.* נָשִׁים (shortened from אֲנָשִׁים), but Ez. 23, 44 אִשָּׁה; *constr.* נָשִׁי, with *suff.* נָשִׁיהֶם, נָשִׁיהֶם.

בֵּית *house*, *constr. st.* בֵּית, *plur.* בָּתִּים bātî'm or rather bātîm, for the *Dāg. forte* (after firm *Methēgh*) serves only to distinguish this word from בָּתִּים *staying over night* (*Part. Qāl* of בָּתָה); the former habitual reading bōttîm is therefore not at all justified. *Comp.* Gesenius' Lex. 8th ed. under בֵּית. To the reasons cited there, the testimonial of the Babylonian vocalization must be added, which leaves no doubt as to the reading bātîm.—*Constr. st.* בֵּיתִי, with *suff.* בֵּיתֵיהֶם.

בֶּן *son* (from bñy for bāny=בָּנָה from בָּנָה *to build*), *constr. st.* בֶּן, seldom בֶּן, once בְּנִי (§ 90, 3, a) Gen. 49, 11, and בְּנֵי (§ 90, 3, b) Num. 23, 18, 24, 3, 15. With *suff.* בְּנִי, בְּנֵיהֶם; *plur.* בָּנִים, *constr. st.* בָּנִי, with *suff.* בָּנֵיהֶם, בְּנֵיהֶם.

בַּת *daughter* (from בָּתָה=בָּתָה *fem.* of בָּן, *comp.* § 19, 2), with *suff.* בָּתִּי (for בָּתִּי=בָּתִּי); *plur.* בָּנוֹת (comp. בָּנִים *sons* from a sing. בָּנָה), *constr. st.* בָּנוֹת.

חָם *father-in-law*, with *suff.* חָמִיךָ; and **חָמָה** *mother-in-law* with *suff.* חָמוֹתִי. Compare אָב *father*, אָח *brother*, אחות *sister*.

יוֹם *day*, (Arab. *yaum*) dual יוֹמַיִם; but *plur.* יָמִים, (from יוֹמִים with elision of ו) *constr.* יָמִי and יָמוֹת (Deut. 32, 7, Ps. 90, 15).

כֶּלִי *vessel*, from כָּלָה *to hold*, *plur.* כֶּלִּים (as if from כָּל, כָּלָה), *constr. st.* כֶּלִּי, with *suff.* כֶּלִּיכֶם, כֶּלִּיכֶם.

מַיִם (*plur.*) *water* (*comp.* § 88, 1, Rem. 2), *constr. st.* מַיִ, but also doubled מַיִמִּי, with *suff.* מַיִמֵּי.

עִיר *city*, *plur.* עָרִים, *constr. st.* עָרֵי (either syncopated from עִירִים (v. Judges 10, 4) or from a kindred sing. עָר, which is still found in proper names).

פֶּה *mouth*, acc. to Gesen. for פָּאָה, from פָּאָה *to breathe*. It may however be derived from an original פִּי (*Olsh.*) for פִּיהָ, of a stem פִּיהָ or פִּיהָ. In

this case the *constr.* פִּי would be contracted from *p^ewî* or *p^eyî* (with *Chûrêq compag.*); comp. אֶבֶר from אָבֶה for אָבֶה, with *suff.* פִּי (for *pîy*, *my mouth*), פִּיָּה, פִּיָּהּ or פִּיּוּ, פִּיָּהּ, פִּיָּהֶם, פִּיָּהֶם; *plur.* פְּרָם *edges* 1 Sam. 13, 21 (= פְּרָיִם) and פִּיּוֹת (Prov. 5, 4).

רֹאשׁ *head* (derived from ראש = ראש), *plur.* רֹאשִׁים (for רֹאשִׁים, § 23, 2), *constr. st.* רֹאשֵׁי, with *suff.* רֹאשֵׁינוּ etc., but Is. 15, 2 רֹאשֵׁיו.

שָׁמַיִם *plur. heaven* (§ 88, 1, Rem. 2) *constr.* שְׁמַיִם.

§ 97.

NUMERALS. I. CARDINAL NUMBERS.

1. The cardinal numbers from 2 to 10 are, in Hebrew, substantives with abstract meaning, like *triad*, *decate*, πεντάς, and are therefore originally attached in the *constr. state* to the numbered word, e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנִים *trias filiorum*. However the use of the numerals in apposition was likewise of an early date, e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *trias sc. filii*, and from this apposition it came to pass that these abstract substantives were conceived as adjectives (§ 120). The words אֶחָד *one*, fem. אַחַת (v. § 96) show already by their form that they are adjectives although here combinations like אֶחָד הַהָרִים *unus e montibus* are also possible. The consequence of the appositional and finally adjective construction was that, for numbers used in connection with feminine nouns, a special (shorter) form came into use, whilst the original forms with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connection with masculine nouns. Thus in the numbers 3 to 10 arose the semblance as if the masculine form of the numeral were connected with the feminine substantive and the feminine form with the masculine substantive. For the expression of duality there are proper dual forms, with the usual distinction of gender.

The numerals from 1 to 10:—

With the Masculine.			With the Feminine.	
	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>
1.	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָת	אֶחָת
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁתֵּי ¹	שְׁתֵּי
3.	שְׁלוֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁת	שְׁלוֹשׁ	שְׁלוֹשׁ
4.	אַרְבַּעַה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חֲמִישָׁה	חֲמִשָּׁת	חֲמִשׁ	חֲמִשׁ
6.	שֵׁשָׁה	שֵׁשֶׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבַּע	שִׁבַּע
8.	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמוֹנֶת	שְׁמוֹנֶה	שְׁמוֹנֶה
9.	תְּשַׁעַה	תְּשַׁעַת	תְּשַׁע	תְּשַׁע
10.	עֶשְׂרָה	עֶשְׂרֶת	עֶשֶׂר	עֶשֶׂר ³

The other Semitic languages exhibit the same peculiarity in respect to the genders, of the numerals from 3 to 10. The full form of the numeral abstracts is now but rarely found in connection with feminine nouns³; e. g. שְׁלוֹשָׁה נָשִׁים Gen. 7, 13, Ez. 7, 2 (in K^{ethibh}), Job 1, 4; in apposition Zech. 3, 9, 4, 2, comp. Jer. 36, 23.

¹ Shortened from שְׁנַיִתִּים, which would be the regular *fem.* form for שְׁנַיִם. Notwithstanding this, the *Dāghēsh* in שְׁתֵּי etc. can by no means be taken for *Dāghēsh fortē*, risen from an assimilation of the *Nūn*, for in this case we should have at the most שְׁתֵּיִם (comp. Arab. *tintani*). We rather have to read *štayim*, *štē* (with *Dāghēsh lene*=שְׁתֵּי or שְׁתֵּי with *M* prosthetic § 19, 4); comp. Arab. *ʾitnātāni*, another *fem.* form to *ʾitnāni*, duo.

² The simple numerals, from 1 to 10, not only exhibit an essential agreement in all the Semitic dialects; but they also, as pure primitives, awaken the expectation that somewhere a connecting point may be found for establishing a historical affinity between these languages and the Indo-Germanic (see § 1, 3, 4). Thus we may compare: אֶחָד, Sansk. *ēka*; שְׁנַיִם (אֶחָד) Sansk. *dva*, Lat. *duo*; שְׁלוֹשׁ (אֶחָד) Sansk. *tri*, *τρεις*, *tres*; חֲמִשׁ Sansk. *pañcan*, *πέντε*; שֵׁשׁ (properly, as the Arab. and Aethiop. show=שֵׁשׁ, grdf. *šidš*) Sansk. *ṣaṣ*, *ṣṣ*, *sex*; שִׁבַּע Sansk. *saptan*, *ἑπτά*, *septem*. Meanwhile we should consider that there is a more natural explanation of the Semitic numerals by reference to existing verbal stems which renders these comparisons, as a basis of evidence, extremely doubtful; thus אֶחָד (Arab. also *wāchād*) from the stem וָחַד, Hebr. *וָחַד* to be united; שְׁנַיִם from שָׁנָה to fold hence double, i. e. two folds; אַרְבַּע from רָבַע to lie down (by folding the four paws); חֲמִשׁ, really the contraction of the five fingers into the fist, from חָמַשׁ; finally עֶשֶׂר from אָסַר to bind together—a connection (comp. קֶשֶׁר).

³ In the vulgar dialects of the Arabic, and in the Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numerals is used almost exclusively. This form appears in Hebrew

2. The numbers from 11 to 19 are expressed by adding to the *units* the numeral *ten* (in the form עָשָׂר *masc.*, עֶשְׂרָה *fem.*), written as separate words and without the conjunction. As, however, they are both pronounced closely together, the units appear almost entirely in the form of the construct state (without pretonic vowels); comp. in the following table אָחַד and אַחַת in the number 11 and the units in the feminine numbers from 13 upwards. Only the real forms of connection (*constr. st.*) of the masculine abstracts, like שְׁלֹשָׁה etc. are excluded from the combinations with עָשָׂר, as they are really in apposition and not in a genitive relation. Also שְׁנֵי and שְׁתֵּי in the number 12 are only seemingly in the *constr. st.*, although formed in the same manner and for the same reason of close connection (by contraction of *ay* and elimination of ם in שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם). In שְׁנַיִם and שְׁתַּיִם the language has contented itself with the contraction of the *ay* (without rejecting the ם), unless both forms be considered as the Massoretic *Q'rê perpetuum* (§ 17) viz. שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי for the really intended שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם. Accordingly the numbers from eleven upwards are:

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
11.	{ אָחַד עָשָׂר { עֶשְׂרֵי עָשָׂר ¹	אַחַת עֶשְׂרָה עֶשְׂרֵי עֶשְׂרָה
12.	{ שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר { שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר	שְׁתַּיִם עֶשְׂרָה שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרָה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלֹשָׁה עֶשְׂרָה

and so on, analogous with the last. These numbers have regularly but the above form. In regard to their syntax comp. § 134, 2 Rem.

also when speaking of the number as such, in the abstract, as in the multiplatives (Gen. 4, 15, 24).

¹ The enigmatic עֶשְׂרֵי has been lately found in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions where it has the form *istin=unus* (v. Schröder in der Zeitschr. der D. M. G. Bd. 26 p. 234 ff.). According to this עֶשְׂרֵי עָשָׂר would be a combination like Sansk. *ékādaśan*, ἑνδεκά, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12—19), and serve at the same time in the combination of the fem. numeral eleven, whilst elsewhere the Assyrian has *ichit* (אֶחָד) for *una*. It seems that in Hebr. also the verbal stem for עֶשְׂרֵי

Very rarely the *units* appear in the *masc.* in the *constr. st.*, as in *חֲמֵשֶׁת עָשָׂר* fifteen Judg. 8, 10, 2 Sam. 19, 18, *שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר* eighteen Judg. 20, 25.

3. The *tens* from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the corresponding units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten-times* the unit), as *שְׁלֹשִׁים* 30, *אַרְבָּעִים* 40, *חֲמִישִׁים* 50, *שִׁשִּׁים* 60, *שִׁבְעִים* 70, *שְׁמֹנִים* 80, *תִּשְׁעִים* 90. But *twenty* is expressed by *עָשָׂרִים*, plur. of *עָשָׂר* *ten*.¹ They are of *common gender*, and do not admit the *construct state*. When units and tens are written together, the earlier writers commonly (but with many exceptions) place the units first (e. g. *two and twenty*, as in Arabic and German); but in the later writers the order is most commonly reversed (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, French, English *twenty-two*) e. g. 1 Ch. 12, 28, 18, 5. The conjunction (*וְ* *and*, also *וְ* before numerals accented on the 1st syllable, *וְ* before —, *וּ* before *Shewâ*) is always used between them.

The remaining numerals are:

100	<i>מֵאָה</i> <i>fem., constr.</i> <i>מֵאוֹת</i> , plur. <i>מֵאוֹת</i> <i>hundreds</i> .
200	<i>מֵאוֹתַיִם</i> <i>dual</i> (for <i>מֵאוֹתִים</i>).
300	<i>שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת</i> (2 K. 11, 4. 9. 10. 15 however in <i>K^cthibh</i> (הַמֵּאוֹת)).
400	<i>אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת</i> etc.
1000	<i>אַלֶּפֶּי</i> , <i>masc. plur.</i> <i>אַלְפִים</i> <i>thousands</i> .
2000	<i>אַלְפִים</i> (<i>dual</i>).
3000	<i>שְׁלֹשָׁת אֲלָפִים</i> , 4000 <i>אַרְבַּעַת אֲלָפִים</i> , etc.
10000	{ <i>רַבְבָּה</i> , but in later books (Ezr. 2, 64, Jon. 4, 11). <i>רַבּוֹ, רַבּוּא, רַבּוֹת</i> (prop. <i>multitude</i> , cf. <i>μυρία</i>).
20000	<i>רַבְבָּתַיִם</i> (<i>dual</i>) ² Ps. 68, 18, also <i>שְׁנֵי רַבּוֹת</i> , Neh. 7, 71.
40000	<i>אַרְבַּע רַבּוֹת</i> , Ezr. 2, 64.
60000	<i>שֵׁשֶׁת רַבּוֹת</i> Ez. 2, 69 (perh. f. <i>רַבּוֹת</i> , as Dan. 11, 12).

has been preserved in *עֲשֵׂת* *work of art* and *עֲשֵׂתוֹת* *thought, opinion*. These two terms may easily be related to the fundamental idea of *connecting, combining* and thus one finds for *עֲשֵׂת* the idea of *unio, unity*.

¹ The anomalous plural forms *עָשָׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, תִּשְׁעִים*, from the S^cgholates *עָשָׂר, שִׁבְעַת, תִּשְׁעַת*, for which we should (according to § 93, 6) expect *עָשָׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, תִּשְׁעִים*, are found but very seldom elsewhere as in *שִׁבְעִים עֵצִים* *mulberry-trees* and *רַחֲמִים* *viscera* from *רָחַם*.

² Acc. to *Delitzsch* (Comm. on Ps. 68, 18) this "is a dual from *רַבּוֹת*, and

Rem. 1. The dual form occurs in some of the units, with the effect of our ending *-fold*, as in אַרְבַּע־פְּתִיחַ *fourfold* 2 Sam. 12, 6, שִׁבְעִי־פְּתִיחַ *sevenfold* Gen. 4, 15, 24, Ps. 79, 12. Besides its use for the *tens*, we find the plural also in אֶתְנִיּוֹת [comp. Ger. *einige*, W. *yehydig*] *some, a few, also the same (idem)*, and in עֶשְׂרִית *decades* (not *decem*) Ex. 18, 21, 25.

2. The *suffixes* to numerals are, as with nouns, prop. genitives of the pronoun, though we translate them as in nominative or acc., as שְׁלֹשָׁתָם *you three, prop. your triad*, Num. 12, 4.

§ 98.

NUMERALS. II. ORDINAL NUMBERS.

The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination י (§ 86, No. 5), besides which another י also is mostly inserted between the second and third stem consonant. They are as follows, שְׁנִי *second*, שְׁלִישִׁי, רְבִיעִי, חֲמִישִׁי and שְׁשִׁי, חֲמִישִׁי, שְׁבִיעִי, חֲמִישִׁי, עֲשָׂרִי, תְּשִׁיעִי, שְׁמִינִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by ראשון ראשון, from ראש *head, beginning*, with the ending ון (§ 86, 2, No. 4). The feminine forms have the ending ית, more rarely יה, and are employed also for the expression of *fractions* or *parts*, as חֲמִשִּׁית *fifth part*, עֲשָׂרִית and עֲשָׂרִית *tenth part*. The same meaning is found also in forms like חֲמִשָּׁה *fifth part*, רִבְעִי and רִבְעִי *fourth part*; they are abstracts derived from cardinals.

For the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no separate forms, see in the Syntax, § 134.

this is either an abstract noun equivalent to רִבְיָא (from which comes the apoc. רְבִי=רְבִי) *a myriad*, consequently רִבְיָאִים *two myriads* or a contracted plural out of רְבִיָּאִים Ezra 2, 69 therefore the dual of a plural". This as *Perowne* suggests would signify *two series* of myriads, as רִבְיָאִים *the double line of walls*, רְבִיָּאִים *the double series of planks of a ship*.—Ed.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PARTICLES.

§ 99.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, and the closer relation of the words or clauses and sentences to each other, are for the most part borrowed or derived from nouns, but a few also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30, 4); on the other hand (aside from a few demonstrative forms, § 100, 4) only in the sense defined in § 81 can any be taken for *primitives*.

2. So far as the origin of the particles can be determined with certainty, they are,—1) either *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i. e. certain forms of the verb, noun, or pronoun, are employed as particles, retaining more or less of their original signification, like the Lat. *certo*, *falso*, *partim*, *verum*, *causa*, and the Eng. *except*, *instead*, *away*; or—2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either—*a*) by the *addition of formative syllables*, like יוֹמָם by *day*, from יוֹם (§ 100, 3); or most commonly—*b*) by *abbreviation*, effected in various ways, the degree of mutilation being proportioned to the frequency of their use, so that the original form of some has become entirely unrecognizable.

Compare in Ger., *gen* from *gegen*, *Gegend*; *seit* from *Seite*; *weil* (orig. a particle of time) from *Weile*=our *while*; in Eng. *sith* and *since* (old Eng. *sithence*).

Such words suffer still greater changes in the Greek and the Latin, and in the languages derived from the latter, as in ἀπό, *ab*, *a*; ἐξ, *ex*, *e*; ad, Fr. *à*; aut, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *o*; super, Ital. *su*.¹

¹ Even short phrases are contracted into one word, e. g. German *zwar* from *es ist wahr* (*il est vrai*), Lat. *forsitan* from *fors sit an*, δηλονότι, δηλαδὴ, Fr. *peut-être*, E. *prithce* from *I pray thee*. In the Chinese, most of the particles are verbs or nouns; e. g. *iù* (*to give*), employed as a sign of the dative; *ì* (*to make use of*), hence *for*; *nèi* (*the interior*), hence *in*.

The greatest curtailing of the particle occurs when, having ceased to be an independent word, it has been reduced to a single letter with, in most cases, a very short vowel sound. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26, 4) such particles cannot stand independently but are *prefixed* to the following word (as in the case with the preformatives of the Imperfect, § 47, 1, 2), e. g. the prefix לְ from לֹא (§ 102).

That this shortening of a whole word to a single letter has actually taken place, and is to be regarded as a part of the process in the formation of the language, is evident from the fact, that in the subsequent stages of this process, as exhibited in the later Hebrew, the Aramæan, and all the Semitic dialects, such abbreviations become more and more striking and frequent. Thus אֲשֶׁר was shortened into אֲשׁ in Phoen., and in Hebr. to אֲ, וֹ, and even אֵ, which prefix forms became more and more customary among the Rabbins; the הִי of the Biblical Aram. at a later period became הִ; in modern Arabic we have *hallaq* (now) from *hâlwaqt*, *lêsh* (why?) from *li-ayyi-shaiin*, and many others. This view derives confirmation from the analogy of the Western languages. Yet the use of the simplest particles belongs already to the earliest epochs of the Hebrew language, or at least to the earliest documents in our possession.

3. Particles are formed, less frequently, by *composition*: as in מִדָּוֶה (for מֵה־דָּוֶה *what known?* τί μαθών;) *wherefore?* בְּלִעְרֵי (from בַּל and עֲרִי) *besides*; מִלְמַעְלָה (from מִן, לָ, מַעְלָה) *from above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words without being contracted into one; as בִּירְעֵל־בֶּן, אִם־כִּי, אֶת־כִּי, אַחֲרֵי־כֵן.

§ 100.

ADVERBS.

1. Of obscure origin though undoubtedly the remainder of some noun is the negative לֹא *not*, and some particles of place and time, as שָׁם *there*.

2. Forms of other parts of speech, which, without any farther change, are used *adverbially*, are—

a) Substantives with prepositions, as בְּמֹאֵד (prop. *in strength*) *very, greatly*; לְבַד *alone* (prop. *in separation* Fr. *à par*;

- =E. *apart*), with suff. לְבַדִּי *I alone*; מִבֵּית (prop. *from house*) *within*; כְּאַחַד (prop. *as one*) *together*.
- b) Substantives in the accusative (the *adverbial case* of the Shemites, see § 118, comp. τῶν ἀρχῶν, ὁπωρεάν), as מֵאֶד (strength) *very, greatly*; אַפֵּס (cessation) *no more*; הַיּוֹם (this day) *to-day*; יָחַד (union) *together*. Many of these substantives are but seldom used as such e. g. סְבִיב and in plur. form סְבִיבִים and סְבִיבוֹת (*circuit*), as adv. *around*; others not at all, as כָּבֵד (*length*) *long ago*; עוֹד (*repetition, duration*) *again, further, longer*.
- c) Adjectives, especially in the *feminine* (answering to the Indo-Germ. *neuter*), as ראשונה (primum) *at first, formerly* (often 'בְּרֵאשׁ', also 'לְרֵאשׁ'); רַבָּה and רַבַּת (*multum*) *much, enough*; נִפְלְאוֹת (prop. *mirabilibus* sc. *modis*) *wonderfully*; יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish tongue.
- d) Verbs in the *Infinitive absolute*, especially in *Hiph'il*, which are also to be regarded as accusatives (§ 113, 2); e. g. הִרְבָּה (prop. *to do much*) *much*, לְהִרְבֶּה *in quantity*.
- e) Pronouns and numerals, as זֶה (prop. *there* = *at this place*) *here*, הֵנָּה *here, hither*, אַחַת, שְׁתֵּי, מֵאָה *once, twice, seven-times, 100-times*, שֵׁנִית *a second time, again* Lev. 13, 5.

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of the formative syllable ם— to substantives, as אֱמִנִים and אֱמִנָם *truly* (from אֱמֵן *truth*); חֵנָם (*by favor*) *gratis*, (from חֵן *favor*); רִיקָם *vainly* (from רִיק *empty*); יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם); פְּתָאֵם *for* פְּתָע (from פָּתַע *twinkling*) *in a twinkling, suddenly*.

The termination ם— occurs also in the formation of substantives, e. g. סֻלָּם *ladder* (from סָלַל) so that ם—, ם— are like יוֹן, יוֹן (§ 85, 53, 54), e. g. פְּדִיּוֹם and פְּדִיּוֹן *ransom*, לֹטְרוֹן; בְּפִתְאֵם (with prep.) *in a twinkling* 2 Ch. 29, 36; hence these forms may be regarded as denominative nouns used adverbially. But others think that the ם— is nothing else than an obsolete plural-ending of the noun (see § 87, 1, d), and that these adverbs are properly nouns in the accusative plural, hence אֱמִנָם like מִיִּשְׁרָיִם as adv. in Ps. 58, 2, חֵנָם like Lat. *gratis* i. e. *gratiis*.

4. Those forms which are very closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun may most naturally be regarded as *primitive adverbs*, having sprung from a combination of so-called demonstrative sounds. Some of these have since suffered great mutilations, whose extent however can nowhere be determined with certainty. Here belong e. g. **אָז** *then*, **כֵּן** *so*, **אֲזַי** *only*, **אֲזַי** *truly* (on all these adverbs v. Davies' Heb. Lex.), but especially the *interrogative* **הִי**, e. g. **הֲלֹא** *nonne?* **הֲנִים** *num etiam?* This **הִי** as well as the kindred article **הִי** (v. § 35, Rem. 1) comes undoubtedly from **הָל**, as still used in Arabic and perhaps also meant in Heb. in Deut. 32, 6.

This *interrogative* **הִי** receives,—1) before non gutturals with firm vowel generally *Châṭē'ph-pā'thāch*, as **הֲשִׁמָּה** *hast thou set?* see examples in § 153, 2 (except **הֲיִרְטֵב** in Lev. 10, 19);—2) usually with *Pā'thāch* and *Dāghē'sh fortè* (according to the original form **הָל**, and hence like the article) before a letter that has *Shewā*, as **הֲבִירָךְ** *num in via* Ez. 20, 30, **הֲלֵכָה** Gen. 17, 17, 18, 21, 37, 32, or also with the *Pā'thāch* only, as in **הֲמֵצֵט** Gen. 30, 15, 27, 38;—3) with *Pā'thāch* (and *Dāghē'sh f. implicitum*) before gutturals, as **הֲיֵלֵךְ** *shall I go?* **הֲאַתָּה** (art) *thou?* **הֵאָם** *num si*; Judg. 6, 31, 12, 5, Neh. 6, 11 must be read **הֵאָתָם** (not 'הָאָ); with **הֲאִישׁ** Num. 16, 22 the Massora means the article. Comp. Deut. 20, 19, Eccl. 3, 21 and *Delitzsch* on the latter passage;—4) with *Sēghôl* before gutturals that have *Qā'mēš* or *Châṭē'ph Qā'mēš* as **הֲאֵלֵכִי** *num ego?* **הֲהִיְתָה** *was there?* The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause.

5. Some adverbs, involving a verbal idea, or at least (though really substantives) inclining to such an idea, admit also of *verbal suffixes*, especially those with *Nûn epenthetic* (§ 58, 4); e. g. **יֹשֵׁנִי** *he (is) existing*; **אֵינִי** *I (am) not*, **אֵינָה** *he (is) not*, **עוֹדֵנִי** *he (is) yet*, **אֵיכָּה** *where art thou?* **אֵיךְ** *where (is) he?* The same applies to **הֵן** and **הִנֵּה** *behold!* (prop. *here, here is*), with suffixes; as **הֵנִי** (in *pause* **הִנֵּנִי** and **הִנֵּנִי**) *behold me* (prop. *here I am*), **הֵנּוּ**, **הֵנּוּ** *behold him*, **הֵנּוּ** *behold us* (in *pause* **הִנֵּנוּ** and **הִנֵּנוּ**), **הֵנָּם**, **הֵנָּם**.

§ 101.

PREPOSITIONS.

1. The words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally substantives, and properly:

- a) Substantives in the *accusative case* and in the *construct state*, so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and it actually has in Arabic the genitive-ending (compare in German *statt dessen*, *kraft dessen*, in Greek τοῦτου χάριν, in Latin *hujus rei causa* or *gratia*, *montis instar*); as אַחֶר¹ (hinder part*) *behind, after*; אֵצֶל (side*) *close by*; בֵּין (intermediate space, midst*) *between*; בֵּעֵד, בְּעֵד (interval of space) *behind, about*; זוּלָּת or with *Chireq compag.* זוּלָּתִי (removal, want) *besides*; יַעַן (purpose) *on account of*; מִלִּי (front-side, from מֵאוּל v. Ges. Lex. 8th ed.) but usually מִלִּי *before, over against*; מִן (part) *from, out of*; נֶגֶד (what is in front) *before, over against*; עַד (progress, duration*) *during, until*; עַל (upper part*) *upon, over*; עִם (connection, from the same stem עִמָּם comes also עִמָּת, עִמָּת) *with*; תַּחַת (under part*) *under, in place of*.
- b) Substantives in the *construct state* to be conceived however as standing in the genitive depending on *prefix prepositions* (espec. the inseparable): as לִפְנֵי (in the face of) *before*; לְפִי, כְּפִי (to the mouth of, i. e. *the command**) *according to*; בְּגִלָּל (in the occasion of) *on account of*, לְמַעַן (for the purpose of) *on account of*.

2. Substantives used adverbially, in this manner, are very apt to become prepositions; e. g. בְּאַפְסִי, בְּבִלְיִי (with nought of) *without*; בְּעוֹד (in duration of) *during*; כְּרִי, כְּרִי (for the requirement of) *for, according to measure of*.

§ 102.

PREFIX PREPOSITIONS.

1. Of the prepositions given in the preceding section מִן *from, out of*, is frequently written as a *prefix* (§ 99, 2), yet its *Nûn*, assimilated to the following consonant, is still represented by the *Dāghē'sh fortē* in that consonant, as in מִן־עֵץ *from a forest*.

¹ In these examples, the signification of the noun is put in parenthesis, and marked with an asterisk when it is still in use.—On a similar use of substantives as prepositions in other languages, see *W. Von Humboldt über die Kawiſprache*, Bd. III., p. 621.

Rem. The preposition **בְּ** is used as follows. It stands apart generally only before the article (and always with *Mäqq'ēph*), as **בְּמִן־הָאָרֶץ**, also here and there before softer letters, as **בְּיָדָא** Jer. 44, 18, **בְּיָדָא** 1 Ch. 5, 18, and elsewhere in the later books (like the usage of the Aramæan); there is besides a poetical form **בִּי** (comp. § 90, 3, *a*) and **בִּי** Is. 30, 11 (comp. **בִּי** and **בִּי** § 103). Its form is mostly **בִּ** prefixed (as in **בִּמָּה** from blood) by means of *Dāghē'sh fortè* which can be omitted only in letters that have *Sh'ewâ* (according to § 20, 3, *b*); with a following **י** the **בִּ** is usually contracted into **בִּי** e. g. **בִּיָּדָא** = **בִּיָּדָא** or **בִּיָּדָא**; before gutturals it becomes **בִּ** (according to § 22, 1), e. g. **בִּמָּה**, **בִּמָּה**; but also **בִּ** (w. *Dāgh. f. impl.*) before **ה** and **ה**, as in **בְּחַיָּה**, **בְּחַיָּה**, **בְּחַיָּה** Gen. 14, 23; so sometimes before **ר** (§ 22, 5, Rem.).

2. There are also three other prepositions, the most common in the language, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99, 2) to a single prefix consonant with *Sh'ewâ*; viz.—

- בִּ** in, at, on, with,
לְ towards, to, for, L. *ad*,
כְּ like, as, according to.¹

On the pointing of these (inseparable) prefixes it is to be observed that—

- a*) The *Sh'ewâ mobile* with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced has resulted from the disappearance of a short vowel, which therefore according to § 28, 1, 2 must return as soon as another *Sh'ewâ* follows. Before simple *Sh'ewâ* this vowel is *ĭ*, but before *Chātēph*, the vowel of the *Chātēph* is taken e. g. **לְפָרִי** for fruit, **כְּאַרְיֵה** as a lion; and before feeble letters it follows the rules in § 23, 2, and § 24, 1, *a*, e. g. **כְּאַמֵּר** for **כְּאַמֵּר**, **לְיִהוּדָה**.
- b*) Before the article they usually displace the **ה** and take its pointing, as **בְּגֶן** for **בְּהֶגֶן** in the garden. See full particulars in § 35, Rem. 2.
- c*) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and words of two syllables that have the tone on the penultima, they take also *Qā'mēṣ* (prob. as a lengthening of orig. *ā*, comp. § 26, 3), but only in the following cases,—*a*) **לְ** before the Infinitives which have the above-mentioned form, as **לְהֵת** for to give, **לְיָר** for to judge,

¹ Contrary to *Gesenius'* and *Rödiger's* learned derivation of **כְּ** from **כִּי**, Aram. also **כִּי** (therefore really in the house, in) or from **כִּי** between (*Ewald*), *Mühlau* and *Volk* in the 8th ed. of the *Lex.*, following *Böttcher*, have recommended, and without doubt rightly, to regard the **כְּ** (Arab. *bi*) as a softening of the Arab. *fā* (in).—**לְ** arises first from **לֵא** and more remotely from a stem which means *appropinquavit, accessit* (Arab. *lā*).—On **כְּ**, orig. a noun meaning amount, kind (*instar*) see *Lex.*

לָבִירָה *for to bear*, except when another word closely follows the Inf. (especially as its subject § 114, 2), placing it in a sort of *constr. st.* as in בָּנִשְׁתָּ Num. 8, 19, לִשְׁבֹּר Gen. 16, 3;—β) before many pronominal forms, בָּזָה, בָּזָה, לָזָה, בָּזָה, כָּאֵלֶּה *like these*, but specially always בָּכֶם, לָכֶם, בָּכֶם; and לָהֶם, בָּהֶם (see § 103, 2);—γ) לָ before monosyllables or nouns accented on the first syllable, e. g. מִן לִפֶּה *mouth to mouth* 2 K. 10, 21, בֵּין מַיִם לַמַּיִם *between water and water* Gen. 1, 6, in both cases before the great pause; observe in the instructive example in Deut. 17, 8 that the punctuation לָ requires at least the small pause after it; in Is. 28, 10 and 13 the לָ stands in the double repetition before the small and the smaller distinctives.—δ) in certain standing expressions, which have become adverbial as לְעֵד *to eternity*, לְרֹב *in multitude*, לְבִטָּחָה *in security*, לְנֶצַח *to perpetuity*, but לְנֶצַח נֶצְחִים *to all eternity* Is. 34, 10.

- d) With the *interrogative* מָה we have בְּמָה *by what?* כִּמָּה *how much?* לָמָה (Job 7, 20 לָמָה, 1 Sam. 1, 8, לָמָה, all *Mil'el* therefore *ā* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) *for what? why?* Before the gutturals א, ה, ו, לָמָה (*Milra'*) is used to avoid hiatus instead of לָמָה; but before the ה we find also לָמָה. Before non-gutturals is found לָמָה Ps. 42, 10, 43, 2 (immediately after a tone-syllable).

Rem. The divine name יהוה, which has not its own original vowels (probably יהוה), but those of יהוה (see Lexicon under the word), takes the *prefixes* also after the manner of יהוה, as יהוה, יהוה, יהוה (because the Jews read in these cases יהוה, יהוה, יהוה).

§ 103.

PREPOSITIONS WITH SUFFIXES AND IN PLURAL FORM.

1. So far as all prepositions were originally nouns in the accusative (§ 101), they are also united with the suffixes of nouns (§ 91, 1, 2), as אֵצְלִי (at my side) *by me*, אֵתִי (in my proximity) *with me*, בְּתוֹכָם (in their place) *instead of them* (like L. *mea causa, on my account*).

Rem. 1. The preposition אֵת *near, with* (from אֵת v. Lex. s. v. אֵת II.), is distinguished from אֵת (the sign of the definite accusative, see § 117, 2) when suffixes are added, by the difference of pointing, the former making אֵתִי, אֵתָם, אֵתָם, while the latter retains its original *o* before the so-called light suffixes as אֵתִי *me*, אֵתָהּ *thee*, אֵתָהּ *him*, אֵתָהּ *her*; אֵתָנוּ *us*, but אֵתָכֶם *you*, אֵתָם and אֵתָם *them*. Yet in later books, particularly in the books of Kings and in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, this אֵת *with* is at times incorrectly inflected אֵתִי, אֵתָם.

2. The preposition עִם *with* (st. עִמָּם) takes *Qā'mēš* (pretonic) before

כֶּם and הֶם, in order that the doubling of the *Mêm* may be distinctly heard, as in עֲמָכֶם, עֲמָהֶם (for which however עֲמָם usually stands). In the first person, besides עָמִי we find עֲמִיר.

3. It is but seldom that prepositions take the verbal-suffixes, as תַּחְתָּי 2 Sam. 22, 37, 40, 48 (for which we find תַּחְתִּי in Ps. 18, 37, 40, 48), תַּחְתָּהּ Gen. 2, 21, and בְּעָלָי Ps. 139, 11 (perh. for the sake of rhyming with יִשְׁוֹעָי). But in these cases the form of the suffix may perhaps be accounted for in this way, that the idea of *direction whither* is implied, so תַּחְתָּי *under-me-ward* 2 Sam. as above (also תַּחְתִּי *under me*), תַּחְתָּהּ *in its place* ('he put flesh in-to its place'), בְּעָלָי *hither around me*.

2. There is a tendency to obviate the extreme brevity and lightness of the forms resulting from the union of the prefix prepositions (§ 102) with the suffixes, especially with the shorter ones, by lengthening the preposition. Hence to כּ is appended the syllable מוּ, and מִן is doubled into מִמֶּן (for מִמֵּן, prop. L. *a parte*, from the side of—), and for בּ and לּ we have at least בָּ and לָּ with full vowel (§ 102, 2, *a* and *c*).

a) לּ with suffixes:

Sing.

Plur.

- | | | | |
|----|---|--|-------------------|
| 1. | לִי <i>to me.</i> | לָּמָּ <i>to us.</i> | |
| 2. | { <i>m.</i> לָּךְ, לָּכָה, in pause לָּךְ } <i>to</i>
{ <i>f.</i> לָּךְ } <i>thee.</i> | לָּכֶם,
לָּכֶנָּה | } <i>to you.</i> |
| 3. | { <i>m.</i> לוֹ <i>to him.</i>
{ <i>f.</i> לָּהּ <i>to her.</i> | לָּהֶם, לָּהֶמָּה, poet. לָּמוֹ ¹
לָּהֶנָּה לָּהֶן | } <i>to them.</i> |

¹ Even Rödiger denies altogether that לָּמוֹ may stand also for the sing. לוֹ. But this question must now be decidedly answered in the affirmative, since the Phœnician suffix of the 3. fem. sing. in ם is generally recognized as analogous to the Hebrew suffixes in מוֹ (comp. Schröder Phöniz. Sprache p. 153 f. and p. 154, Schlottmann's explanation of this מוֹ). To be sure in places like Gen. 9, 26, ff. Deut. 33, 2, Is. 30, 5, Ps. 73, 10, לָּמוֹ is better explained as *plural* (in reference to collective nouns); but in Is. 44, 15 and 53, 8 its explanation as plural would be an extremely forced one. Besides there would remain פָּלְרִמוֹ Ps. 11, 7 and כְּפִרִמוֹ as well as עֲלִרִמוֹ, the latter occurring three times, Job 20, 23, 27, 23 (also עֲלִי) and especially 22, 2. In all these places we can avoid the worst exegetic artifices by recognizing simply a singular suffix (=פָּרִי, כְּפִי, עֲלִי).

² The form לָּהֶן usually signifies *therefore*.

ב takes suffixes in the same manner, except that for the 3d person plur. we have בָּהֶם, בְּהֶמָּה, also בָּם and the fem. בְּהֶנָּה also 15 times בָּהֶן; but only in 1 Sam. 30, 7, Is. 38. 16, Ezek. 42, 14 בָּהֶן.

b) ב with suffixes:

Sing.	Plur.
1. בְּמֹנִי ¹ as I.	בְּמוֹנֵינוּ as we.
2. { m. בְּמוֹךְ } as thou. f. —	{ בָּכֶם, seldom בְּמוֹכֶם } as ye. — — —
3. { m. בְּמוֹהֵי } as he. f. בְּמוֹהֵי as she.	{ בָּהֶם [בְּהֶם] בְּמוֹהֵם } as they. [בָּהֶן] בְּהֶנָּה

c) מן with suffixes:

Sing.	Plur.
1. מִמֶּנִּי, poet. מִיָּנִי, in pause מִיָּנִי from me.	מִמֶּנֶּם from us.
2. { m. מִמֶּנֶּךָ, in p. מִמֶּנְךָ } from thee. f. מִמֶּנֶּךָ	{ מִכֶּם } from you. מִכֶּן
3. { m. מִמֶּנֶּה, poet. in pause מִנֵּהוּ, [מִנֵּהוּ or מִנֵּהוּ] from him. f. מִמֶּנֶּה from her.	{ מִנֵּהֶם, poet. מִנֵּהֶם, מִנֵּהֶם } from. מִנֵּהֶן them.

Rem. The syllable מִן (in Arabic *mâ* مَا = Heb. מִה *what*) in בְּמֹנִי (prop. according to *what I* for *as I*), is in poetry appended to the three simple prefixes ב, כ, ל, even without suffixes, so that בְּמִי, כְּמִי, לְמִי appear as independent words equivalent to ב, כ, ל. In this case, poetry distinguishes itself from prose by longer forms; in the case of מן on the other hand it has adopted the shorter ones, resembling the Syriac.

The above bracketed form בָּהֶם stands only in 2 Kings 17, 15 (in pause); בָּהֶן (or בְּהֶן) only in Ez. 18, 14. Comp. *Freundsorff*, *Massora magna*, p. 234 ff.—For בָּכֶם (so formerly in this grammar) as ye, must be read בְּכֶם according to the express testimony of *Kimchi* (comp. also *Baer* on Job 16, 4).

The preposition מן (see § 102, 1, Rem.) with suff. makes מִמֶּנֶּךָ from him, which comes from מִמֶּנֶּהֶי (according to § 19, 2), and is identical

¹ The use of יָ for יֵ— here is simply for euphony, (comp. above No. 1 Rem. 3). בְּמִנֵּי written defectively only in the Pentateuch.

in form with מִמֶּנּוּ *from us*, which comes from מִמֶּנּוּ.¹—The form מִמֶּנּוּ always stands without *Mappûq*, and comes from מִמֶּנּוּ. The bracketed form מִמֶּנּוּ for which *Baer* after *Kimchi* et al. writes מִמֶּנּוּ is found only in Ps. 68, 24 and is perhaps rather a *substantive*—*share* (v. *Delitzsch* in loc.).—מִמֶּנּוּ (in printed editions, in MSS. however מִמֶּנּוּ) is found only Ez. 16, 47, 52.

3. Several of these prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are properly plural nouns, like the Germ. *wegen* or the Eng. *besides* (for the reason of this, see § 119, 2, R.),² and are therefore joined with the pronominal suffixes, in the form of the plural construct state just like plural nouns (§ 91, 2). Such are—

אַחֵר, more frequently אַחֲרֵי (prop. *hinder parts*) *behind, after*, with suff. always thus: אַחֲרַי *behind me*, אַחֲרֶיךָ *behind thee*, אַחֲרֵינוּ etc.

אֶל, poet. also אֵלַי (*regions, directions*) *towards, to*, with suff. always אֵלַי *to me*, אֵלֶיךָ, אֵלָיו, אֵלֵיהֶם, אֵלֵיהֶם (also *defect.* אֵלֵהֶם), for which latter also poet. אֵלֵינוּ (Ps. 2, 5).

בֵּין (*interval*) *between*, to which the suff. which have a singular sense are joined, thus: בֵּינִי, בֵּינֶךָ, etc. (Gen. 16, 5 בֵּינֶיךָ but the second *Yôdh* has been rendered critically doubtful by a dot; בֵּינֵינוּ occurs three times, but it is only Massoretic *Qerê* for בֵּינוּ, which is found e. g. Gen. 30, 36). On the other hand the suffixes that signify a plural are added to the plur. בֵּינֵינוּ or בֵּינוֹת, thus בֵּינֵיכֶם, בֵּינֵיהֶם, also בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ, בֵּינוֹתֶם, also sometimes elsewhere to the plur. noun to avoid too long forms). Cf. § 91, 3, Rem.

סָבִיב (*circuit*) *around*, with suffixes always in the plural form, partly *masculine* סָבִיבֵיךָ, סָבִיבֵינוּ etc., partly, and more frequently *feminine* סָבִיבוֹת *surroundings* with suff. סָבִיבוֹתַי *around me*, סָבִיבוֹתֶיךָ, סָבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם.

¹ The Babylonian grammarians wanted to distinguish the last from the 3d sing. by writing it מִמֶּנּוּ *from us*, but Ibn Ezra justly objected.

² Some of these words, which come from stems ל"ה, viz., אֵלַי, אֵלֶיךָ, אֵלָיו, אֵלֵיהֶם, may certainly be traced back to singular forms like אֵלַי, אֵלֶיךָ, אֵלָיו; and are therefore more probably to be regarded as only apparent plurals.

עַד (*progress, duration, from עָדָה*) *as far as, unto*, plur., עָרִי (poet.), but with suff. even in prose always עָרִי, עָרִיָּה, עָרִיָּי, עָרִיָּה (with *Qā'mēš* in the secondary tone) Job 32, 12.

עַל *upon, over* (constr. st. of עָלָה *what is above, from עָלָה to go up*), plur. עָלֵי (poet.), but with suff. also in prose always עָלֵי, עָלֵיָּה, עָלֵיָּי, עָלֵיָּה, for which עָלֵיָּמוֹ is also often used in poetry. On the use of the latter in the *sing.* see above 2, *a*, Note ¹.

תַּחַת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*), in plur. with suff. תַּחַתִּי, תַּחַתֵּי, תַּחַתֵּיהֶם, תַּחַתֵּיכֶם (see בִּינוּחָם above).

§ 104.

CONJUNCTIONS.

1. The conjunctions serve to connect words and sentences, and to express their relations to each other.—Such are

a) Original pronouns, as the demonstrative כִּי *that, because, for*.

b) Original substantives, which afterwards became pronouns or adverbs e. g. אֲשֶׁר (s. § 36), which serves partly as general expression of the idea of relation, partly as relative pronoun (= *qui, quae, quod*); farther אַל (*nothing*) *that not*; פֶּן (perhaps literally *turning off, from פָּנָה*) *that not, lest* (the Greek *μὴ prohibivum*) etc. Also substantives used adverbially with prepositions e. g. בְּטֶרֶם (in *not-yet before that* (for which also מִפְּטֶרֶם). On the combination of two conjunctions to express complicated ideas (e. g. אֲדָרְכִּי *to this comes, that=yea more that*) v. syntax.

c) Prepositions, which by the addition of the conjunctions אֲשֶׁר and כִּי are reduced to the idea of one conjunction; e. g. יֵעָן אֲשֶׁר *because* (from יֵעָן *account of*), prop. *on account that*, אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר *after that*, כַּאֲשֶׁר *according as* (אֲשֶׁר and כִּי), עַקְבֵּי אֲשֶׁר and עַקְבֵּי כִּי (*in consequence that*) *because*. The preposition may still be employed in this manner, even when the conjunction is omitted, e. g. עַל (for עַל אֲשֶׁר) *although*, Job 16, 17.

So at least according to the logic of our language; it would however be more correct to say that instead of the intermediate אֲשֶׁר the whole

following sentence has one substantive idea, governed directly by the preposition. In like manner, all prepositions prefixed to the Infinitive may be rendered in English as conjunctions (§ 114, 2) with the finite verb.

2. Even those little words which are no longer in use except as conjunctions, and which are in more or less of obscurity as to their formation, or original signification, may be considered throughout as remainders of original nouns, such as **או** (prop. *will, choice*, from **אָהָה** *to desire*, comp. Prov. 31, 4) *or*, like Lat. *vel, ve*, from *velle*; of doubtful origin are **אֲנִי** *when*, also *or* (before the second member of a double question) **אֲנִי** *also* and others. Even the only *prefix* conjunction **וְ** (*and*) seems to have come from a stem meaning *to add or join*; comp. Davies' Heb. Lex. under **וְ**.

NB. The pointing of the conjunction **וְ** is in many respects analogous to that of the *prefixes* **בְּ**, **כְּ**, **לְ**, (§ 102, 2), but as a feeble letter it has some peculiarities:—

a) Usually it has simple *Shewâ* (**וְ**).

b) Before words beginning with a guttural and a *composite Shewâ*, it takes the vowel with which the *Shewâ* is compounded (according to § 28, 2), as **וְיָחֶכְמְךָ** *and be thou wise*, **וְעַבְדֶּיךָ** *and slaves*, **וְיָצוּר** *and force*, **וְאָכַל** *and eat thou*, **וְחָלִי** *and sickness*. But **וְאֱלֹהִים** *God*, with **וְ** is contracted into **וְאֱלֹהִים** etc. In cases like **וְעֶצֶר** Job 4, 2 comp. § 28, 2.

c) Before words whose first consonant has simple *Shewâ* (excepting the cases under d), *Wāw* becomes the vowel **וָ**, as **וְכָל** *and to all*, and even before a *Châfê'ph* (under letters not guttural), as **וְיָחֶכְמְךָ** Gen. 2, 12 (comp. § 10, 2, Rem. b). It is also sounded thus (yet with the exception of the cases under e) before its cognate labials **בְּ**, **מְ**, **פְ**; as **וּבְעֵלֶיךָ**.

d) Before **וְ** *Wāw* takes *Chîrêq*, as in **וְיָהִי** *and he was* (for **וְיָהִי**, according to § 24, 1, a); on the peculiar punctuation of **וְ** copulative before forms with initial *Shewâ* from **וְיָהִי** *to be* and **וְיָחֶה** *to live*, as **וְיָהִי** Josh. 8, 4, **וְיָחֶה** Gen. 20, 7, comp. § 63, Rem. 5.

e) Immediately before the tone-syllable, it often takes *Qāmêš*, like **בְּ**, **כְּ**, **לְ** (§ 102, 2, c), yet chiefly only at the end of a clause, e. g. 2 K. 7, 4 (**וְיָחֶה**, **וְיָחֶה** and **וְיָחֶה**), Ruth 3, 3 (**וְיָחֶה**), Ps. 10, 15 (**וְיָחֶה**), 2 Sam. 13, 26 (**וְיָחֶה**), 1 Sam. 9, 4 (**וְיָחֶה**), Ez. 47, 9 (**וְיָחֶה**); comp. also (with *Tîphchâ*) Gen. 33, 13, 2 Sam. 15, 12. Regularly the **וְ** copulative stands with *Qāmêš*, when it serves to unite two nouns, which have the same generic idea, and thus in their combination present only *one* more comprehensive idea. It is also here however a condition that the **וְ** shall stand immediately before the tone syllable, e. g. **וְיָחֶה**.

Gen. 1, 2, וְהָיָה בְּעֵינֵינוּ 8, 22 (see also examples above); Ex. 25, 3; כֹּה וְכֹה *so and so*, וְכֹה וְכֹה Ps. 96, 7, 10, וְהָיָה כִּסֵּי־סִיחִים Ps. 76, 7; even נָתַן וְשָׁם־יָהִם וְלָפֶת Gen. 7, 13, אֱלֹהִים וּמַלְאָךְ 1 K. 21, 10, אִישׁ־וְאִישׁ Esth. 1, 8 (at the end of the verse); also with 3 words as in פָּחַד וְפַחַח וְפֶחַח Is. 24, 17. It is otherwise when the word stands in close connection with the following, e. g. אִישׁ וְאִישׁ יָלַד בָּהּ Ps. 87, 5. From the same rhythmical reason the ׀ (not ׀) stands with certain monosyllabic words, whose nature is to lean upon the following, as וְזֶה, וְזֶה, וְזֶה, וְזֶה, and others.

§ 105.

INTERJECTIONS.

1. Among the interjections there are (as in all other languages) some merely natural sounds, or as it were, vocal movements, called forth by some impression, or sensation, as אָהָה, אָה, *ah!* הָאָה *ho!* אָהָה *aha!* הִשׁ *hush!* But וְהוּי *woe!* is an original noun and belongs therefore to No. 2.

2. Others, however, were borrowed from other parts of speech, and became interjections only by use in animated discourse, as הֵן or הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here*); רָאָה ¹ *lo!* (prop. *see*, Imp. of רָאָה); הִבֵּה, plur. הִבֵּי (prop. *give*, Imp. of יָהֵב) for *come on!* § 62, R. 2 (L. *age, agite*); לָכֵה (also לָהּ in Judg. 19, 13), לָכֵי (prop. *go ye*, Imp. of הִלָּךְ) *go to! come on!*¹ הָלִיכָה *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*), בִּי (for פָּעִי *entreaty*) *I beseech, prithee!* (for *I pray thee*), נָא *now!* (cf. Ethiop. *nā'ā*, prop. *hither*, but also *come on!*) a particle of incitement and entreaty (which is put after the expression it belongs to).²

¹ רָאָה, הִבֵּה and לָכֵה stand connected, in this form, also with the feminine and with the plural, which shows that they have quite assumed the nature of interjections.

² The particle נָא serves to express the most various shades of thought, which are exhibited in various places in the Syntax. A short statement must here suffice. נָא stands—*a*) after the Imp. in commanding as well as in entreating (§ 110, 1);—*b*) after the Impf. in the first as well as in the third person (§ 108, 1, *b*, and § 109, 1, 1);—*c*) once after the Perf. (§ 106, 3 in foot Note);—*d*) after various particles, as הִנֵּה־נָא *behold now*, particularly with conjunctions, as אֲלֵ־נָא *no! pray (ne quæsto)*, נָא־אִם *if now*, εἴποτε, *if*, with a courteous or modest hesitation.—In courteous discourse this particle is used in redundancy, as in Gen. 18, 3; 19, 7, 19; 50, 17.

PART THIRD.

SYNTAX.

CHAPTER I.

THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

I. SYNTAX OF THE VERB.

A. *The Moods and Tenses.*¹

§ 106.

THE PERFECT.

The Perfect expresses a *completed* action, event or state, whether real or supposed, past, present or future. Treated more in detail, it is used : —

1. To indicate PAST actions, events or states that after a shorter or longer duration have been fully completed.

a) It corresponds to the Latin and the German Perfect in affirmations, negations, confirmations, questions, etc. E. g. Gen. 18, 15. *Then Sarah denied, saying, I have not laughed* (לֹא צָחַקְתִּי)....; *he said, nay, but thou hast laughed* (צָחַקְתָּ); 3, 11 מִי הִגִּיד לְךָ *Who has declared to thee...?* Cf. 3, 13, 14, 17, 22. So also in reference to some indefinite point of time past. Isa. 66, 8 *Who hath (ever) heard such a thing* (מִי־שָׁמַע כֹּזֵאת) ?

Rem. In contrast with the Perfect used to emphasize a fully completed event, the Imperfect is, not infrequently, employed to express what is still future, e. g. Josh. 1, 5 *as I was* (הָיִיתִי) *with Moses, so I will be with thee* (אֶהְיֶה); 1, 17; Ex. 10, 14; Deut. 32, 21; 1 Ki. 2, 38; Isa. 46, 4, 11; Joel 2, 2; Eccl. 1, 9.

¹ Cf. survey of the Hebr. Moods and Tenses, § 40; general characteristics of the *Perfect* and the *Imperfect*, § 47, foot-note; furthermore *Driver The Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (Oxford, 2d Ed. 1881); *Bennett Notes on the Use of the Hebrew Tenses* ("Hebraica" 1886, vol. II., III.).

- b) It is used as a simple *tempus historicum* (corresponding to the Greek *Aorist*) in narrating past events. E. g. Gen. 4, 4 and Abel brought (הָבִיִּא) etc.; 7, 20 the waters prevailed (גָּבְרוּ) etc.; Job 1, 1 There was a man (אִישׁ הָיָה) in the land of Uz, etc.; thus also in narrating repeated events, 1 Sam. 18, 30.

Rem. As seen from the foregoing, the *historical present* is used as a basis for the whole narrative (Job 1, 1; cf. Dan. 2, 1), or of independent sentences (Gen. 7, 11, 13), while in coördinate sentences it is the case regularly only when the verb is separated from † copulative by one or more words (cf. above Gen. 4, 4; 7, 20). Otherwise according to § 111, 1, the narration is continued by means of the Imperfect consecutive. The direct coalescence of the historical Perf. with † copulative (not to be confounded with the Perfect consec., § 112), corresponds rather to the Aramaic syntax (cf. Kautzsch Gram. des Bibl. Aram. § 71, 1, b); for the doubtful examples in older texts vid. § 112, 6.

- c) It expresses actions, etc., already completed at the beginning of other past actions (Pluperfect). E. g. 1 Sam. 28, 3 Samuel was (long ago) dead¹ And Saul had put away the necromancers . . . out of the land (הִסִּיר). These two seemingly parenthetical remarks are explanatory, referring to the narrative beginning with verse 6. Cf. 9, 15; Gen. 20, 18 (for Jehovah had, etc.); 27, 30; 31, 19, 34; in negative predicates Gen. 2, 5 for Jehovah had not caused it to rain, etc. Thus especially frequent (as a matter of course) in relative, causal, and temporal clauses, preceded in the governing clause by a tense relating to the past. E. g. Gen. 2, 2 and he rested . . . from all his work which he had made (עָשָׂה); 7, 9; 19, 27, etc.; 29, 10 when Jacob had seen Rachel (רָאָה) Jacob went near, etc.; similarly in inverted temporal clauses (vid. the last) Gen. 24, 15; 27, 30, etc.

2. To indicate actions, events or states which, though completed in the past, are still in force (indicated usually by the PRESENT).

¹ Incorrectly in the *Vulgate*: Samuel autem mortuus est . . . et Saul abstulit magos, etc.

- a) It is used to express events long ago fulfilled, or states and attributes long ago assumed, which are nevertheless true of the present (*Perf. Praesens*); e. g. Ps. 10, 11: **פָּנָיו הִסְתִּיר** *he has hidden his face* (and still keeps it hidden). Here belong many Perfects (to indicate states or attributes) which in German are rendered only by the present or (in the cases mentioned in 1. c) by the Imperfect. Thus **יָדַעְתִּי** *I know* (*I have learned from experience*) Job 9, 2; 10, 13; **לֹא יָדַעְתִּי** *I know not* Gen. 4, 9, etc. (but Gen. 28, 16, Num. 22, 34 owing to context *I knew not*); **זָכַרְתִּי** *I remember* Job. 21, 6; **מָאֵן** *he refuses* Ex. 7, 14; **עָלַץ** *my heart exults*, **שָׂמְחָתִי** *I rejoice* 1 Sam. 2, 1; **בָּקַשׁ** *he seeks* Isa. 1, 12; **קָיִיתִי** *I wait* Gen. 49, 18; **הִפְצֵצְתִּי** *I delight* Ps. 40, 9 (mostly negative, Isa. 1, 11); **אָהַבְתִּי** *I love* Gen. 27, 4; **שָׂנְאָתִי** *I hate* Ps. 31, 7; **מָאַסְתִּי** *I reject* Amos 5, 21; **הִעֲבֹבֵנִי** *they abhor me* Job 30, 10; **בָּטַחְתִּי** *I trust* Ps. 25, 2; **הִסִּיתִי** *I seek refuge* Ps. 31, 2; **צִדִּיקְתִּי** *I am righteous* Job 34, 5. Furthermore: **גָּדֹלָהּ** *thou art great* Ps. 104, 1; **קִטְנִיתִי** *I am insignificant* Gen. 32, 11; **גָּבְהוּ** *they are high* Isa. 55, 9; **רָחֵקוּ** *they are distant* Job 30, 10; **זָקֵנִיתִי** *I am old* Gen. 18, 13; **יָגַעְתִּי** *I am weary* Ps. 6, 7; **שָׂבַעְתִּי** *I am full* Isa. 1, 11, etc.¹

Rem. To this category belong also the Perfects after **עַרְמָתִי**, Ex. 10, 3 *how long hast thou (already) refused* (and art still refusing . . . i. e. *how long wilt thou refuse*)? Ps. 80, 5; Prov. 1, 22 (coördinated with the Impf.), also after **עַרְאֻנָּה** Ex. 16, 28; Hab. 1, 2.

- b) It is used to describe actions, which are just now taking place, but which are still to be represented as being, in the mind of the speaker, already completed. E. g. **הִרְמַחְתִּי** *I lift up* (sc. the hand in an oath) Gen. 14, 22; **נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי** *I swear* Jer. 22, 5; **יַעֲצֵתִי** *I advise* 2 Sam. 17, 11 (but v. 15 in another context *I have advised*); **אָמַרְתִּי** *I say* (affirm) Job 9, 22; 32, 10.

¹ Cf. *novi, odi, memini*; οἶδα, μέμνημαι, εἶδικα, δέδορκα, κέγραγα; in N. T. ἤλαπκα, ἠγάπηκα.

- c) It is used to describe past, but ever recurring actions, statements of general experience (Greek Gnostic Aorist). E. g. Ps. 9, 11 *thou Jehovah, hast not forsaken* (לֹא-עָזַבְתָּ) *them that seek thee.* Cf. v. 13; 10, 3; 119 40; Gen. 49, 11 (כָּבֵדָם).

Rem. In almost all cases referred to in No. 2 (the Perfect translated as Present), the Impf. may with equal propriety be used, according as the action is viewed not as already completed, but as still going on or yet in the future and hence still incomplete (vid. § 107 preliminary Remark). We find accordingly in nearly the same sense לֹא יָכֹלְתִּי *I cannot* Ps. 40, 13, and לֹא אֵיכָל Gen. 31, 35. Hence the frequent use of the Impf. corresponding to such Perfects in historical or prophetic parallelism; e. g. Isa. 5, 12; Ps. 2, 1 sq.; Prov. 1, 22; Job 3, 17.

3. To indicate FUTURE actions when expressly viewed by the speaker as completed or as good as completed.

- a) in agreements or stipulated assurances (again corresponding to the present). E. g. Gen. 28, 11 *I give* (נָתַתִּי) *thee the field*, cf. v. 13; 48, 22; so also in assurances on the part of God (Gen. 1, 29; 15, 18; 17, 20; Judg. 1, 2).
- b) to express undoubted events, hence represented in the mind of the speaker as already completed (*Perf. confidentiae*); e. g. Num. 17, 27 אֶבְרָנוּ כָּלָנוּ אֶבְרָנוּ אֶבְרָנוּ ¹ behold, we die, we perish, we all perish. Gen. 30, 13; Isa. 6, 5 (נִדְמִיתִי) *I am undone!*¹; Prov. 4, 2; likewise in questions Gen. 18, 12; Num. 17, 28; 23, 10; Judg. 9, 9, 11; 2 K. 20, 9 (הֲלֵךְ = *shall it go?*); Zech. 4, 10(?); Prov. 22, 20.² This use of the Perfect is most frequently found in prophecies; the prophet imagines himself so vividly in the future that the prophecy is regarded as already fulfilled;

¹ Cf. the similar use of ὄλωλα (διέφθορας Iliad 15, 128) and *perii!* For the use of a Perfect in conditional clauses that really belongs here, cf. No. 4.

² In Gen. 40, 14 a *Perf. confidentiae* (after אִם כִּי as in 2 K. 5, 20; 23, 9) occurs also as the expression of an ardent desire that may be fulfilled (*but think of me*, etc.). Nevertheless neither this example nor the use of a *Perf.* in wishes and imprecations in Arabic justifies our admittance in Hebrew of a so-called *precativum Perfect*; render, moreover Job 21, 16; 22, 18 *the counsel of the wicked is far from me* (cf. Driver Hebrew Tenses, p. 29 sq.).

e. g. Isa. 5, 13 *therefore my people are gone into exile* (נָלָה); 9, 1 sq.; 10, 28; 11, 9 (after כִּי as frequently as otherwise); 19, 7; Job 5, 20. In the further continuation of the discourse or parallelism, the Imperfect occasionally alternates with this Perfect.

- c) to express actions or events represented as completed in the future (*Futurum exactum*); e. g. Isa. 4, 4 אִם רָחַץ *when he has washed = shall have washed* (Impf. in coördinated clause); 6, 11 (after עַר אֲשֶׁר אֵם as also frequently after temporal conjunctions); Mic. 5, 2 (יִלְרֶה); Gen. 43, 14 וְאֲנִי בְּאֶשֶׁר שָׁבַלְתִּי שָׁבַלְתִּי *but I, if I be bereaved (orbis fuero) . . . I am bereaved* (expressing despairing resignation; cf. Prov. 23, 15; Esth. 4, 16).

4. To indicate deeds or events represented, not as really completed in the past, but only as possible (most closely corresponding to the Latin Pluperfect); e. g. Gen. 31, 42 *except the God of my father . . . had been with me, thou hadst sent me away empty* (שָׁלַחְתִּנִּי); 43, 10; Num. 22, 33; Judg. 13, 23; 14, 18; 1 Sam. 13, 13 (הָבִין); 2 K. 13, 19; oftener after כִּמְעַט *very easily, almost*, Gen. 26, 10; Ps. 73, 2; 94, 17; 119, 87; Prov. 5, 14; Job 3, 13; 23, 10 (בְּהִנֵּנִי); Ruth 1, 12 (*if I thought*, etc., cf. 2 K. 7, 4) in Isa. 1, 9 כִּמְעַט is attracted, contrary to the accent, to the following. It is used, moreover, to express an unfulfilled wish Num. 14, 2 לֹא מָתוּ *O, that we had died* (לֹא with Impf. would be *O, that we might die*; 1 Sam. 14, 30); finally also in deliberative questions Gen. 21, 7 מִי מָלַל *who would have said?* (*quis dixerit?*).

§ 107.

THE IMPERFECT.¹

The Imperfect, as distinguished from the Perfect, expresses *incomplete* actions, events or states, whether pres-

¹ Cf. *Dietrich* on the character of the Hebr. Future (Abhandl. zur hebr. Gr., Lpz., 1846, p. 93 sq.).

ent, past or future, whether considered as real, supposed or eventually to occur. An action, etc., is said to be uncompleted (*a*) when considered as nascent, or employed in reiterations, and so not finally accomplished; (*b*) when not yet begun (as in describing future events); (*c*) when its beginning is represented as subjective or desired and hence possible (modal use of Impf.). Hence the Imperfect stands:—

1. In the sphere of the PAST:

- a*) To express actions, etc., lasting for a longer or shorter time¹; e. g. Gen. 2. 6 *and a mist* (continually) *arose* (יַעֲלֶה); 2, 25; 37, 7; 48, 10; Ex. 1, 12; 8, 20; 15, 6, 12, 14, 15; Num. 23, 7; Judg. 2, 1; 5, 8; 1 Sam. 13, 17 sq.; 2 Sam. 2, 28; 23, 10; 1 K. 3, 4; 7, 8; 21, 6, Jer. 13, 7; Isa. 1, 21; 6, 4 (יַמְלֵא); 17, 10 sq.; 51, 2*a*; Ps. 18, 7, 14, 17 sq., 38 sq., 32, 4, 5 (אִוִּיעַךְ); 47, 5; 68, 10, 12; 104, 6 sq.; 106, 19; 107, 18, 29; 139, 13; Job 3, 3, 11; 4, 12, 15 sq., 10, 10 sq.; 15, 7 sq.—frequently exchanged for the Perfect or continued with the *Imperf. consecutivum*.²

Rem. 1. The Imperfect often follows the particles אָז *then*, טָרָם *not yet*, בְּטָרָם *before*, עַד *until*; e. g. Ex. 15, 1 אָז יָשִׁיר מֹשֶׁה *then sang Moses*, etc., Num. 21, 17; Deut. 4, 41; Josh. 10, 12; 1 K. 3, 16; Ps. 126, 2; Job 38, 21 (the Perfect follows אָז when neither the gradual fulfillment nor the duration of an action in the past, but its actuality, is emphasized; e. g. Gen. 4, 26 אָז הִיחֵל *then began*, etc., 49, 4; Ex. 15, 15; Josh. 22, 31; Judg. 5, 11; Ps. 89, 20³); after טָרָם it is found in Gen. 19, 4 יָשָׁכְבוּ *before they had lain down*; 2, 5; 24, 45; 1 Sam. 3, 3, 7, throughout in sense of *Pluperfect* (also in Gen. 24, 15 in place of the *Perf.* כָּלָה according to

¹ Cf. Moabite stone line 5, כִּי יַעֲנֵף כִּמְשׁ בְּאַרְצָה *for Chemosh was displeased with his land*.

² According to the Massora, such Imperfects occur in Isa. 10, 13 *bis* (where וְאֶסִּיר could also be *I habitually remove*, etc.) 48, 3; 57, 17; Ps. 18, 38; also (§49, 2) Ezek. 16, 10; 2 Sam. 1, 10. Elsewhere י for יֵ (= *Imperf. consec.*) is doubtless an arbitrary correction to express historical assertions as promises; cf. Isa. 42, 6; 51, 2 *bis*; 63, 3 sq., and note to § 53, 3, Rem. 6.

³ After אָז *then* (to express future events) we naturally find the Imperf. in a future sense: Gen. 24, 41; Ex. 12, 48; Mic. 3, 4; Zeph. 3, 9; Ps. 2, 5; 51, 21.

v. 45 the *Imperf.* could be used; as also in 1 Sam. 3, 7 where especially an *Imperf.* is coördinated to יָדַע; after בָּטָרָם (for which only טָרַם is sometimes used, Ex. 12, 34; Josh. 3, 1), e. g. Jer. 1, 5 בָּטָא תֵּצֵא 'before thou camest forth'; Gen. 27, 33; 37, 18; Ruth 3, 14 (also Ps. 90, 2, where instead of יָלַד the *Imperf.* may be meant; cf. Wellhausen on 2 Sam. 3, 2); after עָרַךְ, Josh. 10, 13; Ps. 73, 17 (until I entered); 2 Chr. 29, 34 (but with Perf. Josh. 2, 22).¹

2. *Driver* (Tenses p. 32) correctly states the marked difference between the *Participle* as the expression of *simple* duration, and the *Imperfect* as the expression of *progressive* duration (present, past or future). Thus the sentence יָצָא נָהָר (Gen. 2, 10) represents the river of Eden as flowing in a steady, unbroken stream, the יָפַר immediately following, however, as continuously accomplishing the division of its waters; likewise יָעֹלָה Gen. 2, 6 represents the ever-rising mists, and יָפִילָה Isa. 6, 4 the ever-rising smoke. Such actions, etc., moreover, as can in themselves be regarded as complete, or indeed as momentary, are distributed by the Imperfect so as to bring out the idea of recurrency; thus תִּבְלַעְמוּ Ex. 15, 12 pictures the plunging and leaping of the Egyptians in their drowning, יָגִלְנוּ Num. 23, 7 pictures the journey station by station.

- b) to express actions, etc., regularly or occasionally repeated in the past (*modus rei repetitae*), e. g. Job 1, 5 *thus Job did* (יַעֲשֶׂה) *continually* (sc. after each feast of his sons); 4, 3 sq.; 22, 6 sq.; 23, 11; 29, 7, 9, 12 sq.; Gen. 6, 4; 29, 2; 30, 38, 42; 31, 39 (*I customarily paid you*); Judg. 6, 4; 14, 10; 21, 25; 1 Sam. 1, 7; 2, 22; 9, 9; 13, 19; 27, 9; 2 Sam. 1, 22; 12, 3; 13, 18; 1 K. 5, 25 (an annually repeated duty); 10, 5; 13, 33; 14, 28; 2 K. 4, 8; 13, 20; 25, 14; Jer. 36, 23; Ps. 42, 5; 44, 3; 78, 15, 40; 103, 7; Est. 2, 14.

2. In the sphere of the PRESENT:

- a) to express actions, events or states² lasting for a longer or shorter time, e. g. Gen. 37, 15 מַה-תִּבְקֹשׁ *what seekest thou?* 19, 19 לֹא אוּכַל *I could not*; 24, 50; 31, 35; Isa. 1, 13; Gen. 2, 10; 24, 31; 1 Sam. 1, 8; 11, 5; 1 K. 3,

¹ As after יָצָא, the *Imperfect*, by reason of the context, can also have a *future* sense after טָרַם, בָּטָא, and עָרַךְ. 2 K. 2, 9; Isa. 65, 24; Job 10, 21; after עָרַךְ in Isa. 22, 14; it occurs in Ex. 10, 7 in the sense of the *present* after טָרַם.

² The distinction between repeated actions and those of duration cannot always be given with certainty; some of the examples under 2 a could also be included under 2 b.

7; Ps. 2, 2. Likewise also to express experiences that are of value for all times, hence for every moment, e. g. Prov. 15, 20 *a wise son maketh a glad father*; it is especially frequent in Job and in Proverbs; it occurs in a question in Job 4, 17 *shall mortal man be more just than God?* in a negative sentence in Job 4, 18, etc.

- b) to express actions, etc., that can be repeated at any time, at the present, or on stated occasions (cf. 1, b); e. g. Deut. 1, 44 *as bees* (are accustomed to) *do*; Gen. 6, 21; 32, 33; 43, 32; Judg. 11, 40; 1 Sam. 2, 8; 20, 2; Isa. 1, 23; 3, 16; Ps. 1, 3. Furthermore it is so used in experiences (2, a) which can be renewed at any time, e. g. Ex. 23, 8 *the bribe blindeth* (עֵינַי) *the wise*, etc.; Gen. 2, 24; 22, 14; Isa. 32, 6; Mal. 1, 6; Job 2, 4, etc. Here belongs also the Imperfect in relative clauses (*q. v.*), as in Gen. 49, 27 *Benjamin is* יִטְרֹף יְאֹב *a ravenous wolf* (prop. *a wolf which is accustomed to rob*). Cf. finally the forms יֵאָמֵר *it is usually said* (to introduce a proverbial expression) Gen. 10, 9; 22, 14 al.; כֵּן לֹא-יַעֲשֶׂה בֵּן *it is not customary to do so* (hence *must not, shall not be done*, vid. No. 4, b 3) Gen. 29, 26; 20, 9; 34, 7; 2 Sam. 13, 12.

- c) to describe actions, etc., that strictly considered are already completed, but are regarded as extending to the present or as still in operation; e. g. Gen. 32, 30 *wherefore dost thou ask* (תִּשְׁאַל) *after my name?* 44, 7; Ex. 5, 15; 2 Sam. 16, 9. The *Perfect* is also correct in such cases, and sometimes appears in the same passage with the *Imperfect*, Job 1, 7 (2, 2) מֵאַן הָבֵא *whence comest thou?* but Gen. 16, 8 (cf. 42, 7) אֵי-מָהָ בָּאת *whence camest thou?* With the *Imperfect* the event is regarded as still in its last stage, with the *Perfect* as completely done.

3. In the sphere of the FUTURE to describe actions, etc., represented as incipient in the future and extending for a shorter or longer time, or as recurrent:

a) from the *present* point of view, e. g. Ex. 4, 1 *they will not believe* (יֹאמִינוּ) *me, nor hearken* (יִשְׁמְעוּ) *unto my voice, but will say* (יֹאמְרוּ) etc.; 6, 1; 9, 5 al.

b) in dependent clauses to represent actions, etc., regarded as future from some point of view in the past; e. g. Gen. 43, 7 (could we certainly know) *that he would say* (יֹאמֵר)? 2, 19; 43, 25; Ex. 2, 4; 2 K. 3, 27 אֲשֶׁר-יִמְלֹךְ *qui regnaturus erat*; 13, 14; Jon. 4, 5; Job 3, 3; Eccl. 2, 3; Ps. 78, 6 *that they might know* בָּנִים יִגְדְּרוּ *the children, which should be born* (*qui nascituri essent*; the *Imperfect* here has the additional sense of a repeated future event).

c) to represent the so-called *futurum exactum*; cf. Isa. 4, 4; 6, 11 (coördinated with an equivalent Perfect, vid. § 106, 3, c); occasionally so after the temporal particles עַד (Ps. 132, 5) and עַד אֲשֶׁר *until* (Gen. 29, 8 al.).

4. In the sphere of the future belong finally the cases where the *Imperfect* (modal) serves to describe actions, events or states whose incipieny is represented as only desired (or not desired), or as in some way conditional and hence only possible. More in detail, the *Imperfect* is used:

a) for the optative, whether a direct intention and preparation, or merely a wish:

1) sometimes in affirmative sentences in place of the *Cohortative* (cf. Ps. 59, 17 with v. 18; 2 Sam. 22, 50 with Ps. 18, 50; Judg. 19, 11 etc.) or the *Jussive* (generally not distinguished from the ordinary forms of the *Imperfect*), e. g. תֵּרָאֶה *let there appear* Gen. 1, 9; 41, 34; 2 Sam. 10, 12 (often with verbs לָ"ה; cf. § 109, Note 1); Zech. 9, 5 (תִּהְיֶה); Ps. 61, 7 (תִּזְכֹּר); Prov. 22, 17 (תִּשִּׁית), 23, 1; Job 6, 23 (coördinated with an *Imperfect*), 10, 20 Keth.; also יִרְיַן *may he rule*, Ps. 72, 2. It is similarly used in the 1st pers. to express wishes that should have been realized at

some definite point in the past; e. g. Job 10, 18 אָנָּן *that I had expired* (at birth); cf. v. 19 (אָבָּל and אָהִירָה); it is thus used even to express what shall or must take place in accordance with an external decision; e. g. Job 9, 29 אֶרְשָׁע *I shall and must still be guilty!* 12, 4; cf. 9, 15; 19, 16.

2) to describe a positive expectation that something will not occur. לֹא with the *Imperfect* expresses a more emphatic prohibition than לֹא־לְ with the *Jussive*¹ (cf. § 109, 1, b) corresponding to our *thou shalt not do that* (a most certain expectation of obedience, while לֹא־לְ with the *Jussive* is rather a warning *don't do that*). Thus לֹא with the *Imperfect* expresses divine commands, e. g. לֹא תִגְנוֹב *thou shalt not steal* Ex. 20, 15; cf. vs. 3, 4, 5, 7, 10 sq. (לֹא with the 3d pers. perhaps in Prov. 16, 10).

Rem. The customary *Jussive* after לֹא־לְ is not really distinguished from the pure *Imperfect* form, as is seen from the instances noted in a 1. The possibility of many supposed *Jussives* to be regarded as pure *Imperfects* is evident from the fact that many undoubted *Imperfect* forms occur after לֹא־לְ, not only with verbs לִי (cf. on this § 109, note 1), but also עָוָה; to express a prohibition or negative wish, לֹא־לְ תִבָּיֵט Gen. 19, 17; לֹא־לְ נָא יָשִׁים 1 Sam. 25, 25; with the 1st pl. (after Imperative) וְלֹא־לְ נָמוּת *that we die not* 1 Sam. 12, 19; also to express a conviction that something will not happen לֹא־לְ יִנָּם *will not slumber*² Ps. 121, 3; cf. Jer. 46, 6.

3) in dependent clauses after final conjunctions, as אֲשֶׁר (Gen. 11, 7 לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ אֲשֶׁר *that they may not understand*), בְּעֵבֹר, Gen. 21, 30; 27, 4, 19; Ex. 9, 14 et al.), לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר (Num. 17, 5), לְמַעַן (Deut. 4, 1; Ps. 78, 6), and וְעַן אֲשֶׁר³ (Ezek. 12, 12) *that*, לְבִלְתִּי *that not* (Ex. 20, 20; 2 Sam. 14, 14);

¹ The representation in § 46, 1 of a prohibition by means of לֹא־לְ and the *Imperfect* is exceptional.

² From the context, it is impossible to interpret this as optative (*Hupfeld*); it is rather to be considered as a blending of two clauses (about this: *do not imagine that he will slumber!*). In v. 4 we find the objective continuation of the hitherto only subjective conviction indicated by לֹא with the *Imperfect*.

³ On the contrary, in Judg. 2, 20 (as אֲשֶׁר in Gen. 34, 37), וְעַן אֲשֶׁר in a causal sense (*because*) is followed by the Perfect in Josh. 4, 24, vid. § 74, Rem. 1.

also after פִּנְיָ *lest, that not* Gen. 3, 22; 11, 4; 19, 15 al.; Lam. 1, 19 has one such *Imperfect* (or *Jussive* (?) *vid.* examples § 109, 2, a) simply connected by וְ : *they sought for themselves meat וַיִּשְׁיבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם to refresh their souls.* Finally it occurs also in a relative clause, Ps. 32, 8 בְּרֶדְךָ־וּ תֵלֶךְ *in the way which thou shalt go.*

b) to describe actions, etc., represented as *possibly* either to occur or not (partly corresponding to the classical potential):²

1) in a permissive sense; Gen. 2, 16 *of every tree in the garden thou mayest אָכַל תֹּאכַל eat* (antithesis to v. 17); 3, 2; 42, 37; Job 21, 3.

2) in a question; Prov. 20, 9 מִי־יֹאמַר *quis dixerit?* cf. Gen. 17, 17; 18, 14; 31, 43; 1 Sam. 11, 12; 2 K. 5, 12 הֲלֹא־ אֶרְחֹץ בָּהֶם *could I not wash in them?* Eccl. 5, 5. Also in a question of astonishment after אֵיךְ, e. g. Gen. 39, 9 (*how could I?*); 44, 34; Isa. 19, 11; Ps. 137, 4, and even in reference to a point of past time from which the beginning of an occurrence could have been expected, e. g. Gen. 43, 7 הֲיָדָעָנוּ *could we know . . . ?* cf. 2 Sam. 3, 33 (יָמוּת *must he die . . . ?*) and Gen. 34, 31 (*should he deal . . . ?*). The use of the *Imperfect* stands in the closest relation to this.

3) in consecutive clauses dependent upon a question; e. g. Ex. 3, 11 *who am I כִּי אֵלֶיךָ that I could (should or must) go?* 16, 7; Num. 11, 12; Judg. 9, 28; 1 Sam. 18, 18; 2 K. 8, 13; Isa. 29, 16; Job 6, 11; 21, 15; similarly after אָשָׁר Gen. 38, 18; Ex. 5, 2.

Rem. In passages like 1 Sam. 11, 5; Ps. 8, 5; 114, 5, the context shows that the *Imperfect* corresponds rather to our present; in reference to completed actions, the Perfect of course is used in such sentences, e. g. Gen. 20, 10; Judg. 18, 23; 2 Sam. 7, 18; Isa. 22, 1.

¹ In 2 Sam. 20, 6; 2 K. 2, 16, פִּנְיָ is found after the Perfect in vivid representation of the time when fear has taken possession, and help is too late.

² This does not mean that these finer distinctions were observed by the Hebrews. They are in reality only aids to us to make more evident to our minds the essential nature of the Semitic Imperfect.

4) in negative clauses to describe actions, etc., which cannot or may not take place, e. g. Gen. 32, 13 **אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יִסְפָּר מִרְבּוֹ** *which cannot be numbered for multitude*; 20, 9 **אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יַעֲשֶׂה** *which should not be done* (cf. for this construction, No. 2, b) Ps. 5, 5.

5) in conditional clauses (*modus conditionalis*), corresponding to the Latin Subj. Present or Imperfect, and in both protasis and apodosis, or only in the latter. Ps. 23, 4 **וְגַם כִּי-אֵלֶךְ** . . . **לֹא-אֶיֶרָא רָע** *though I walk (or must walk) . . . I will fear (or would fear) no evil*; Job 9, 20 (if I were right, yet would, etc.); after a Perfect in the protasis Job 23, 10. It is very frequent also in consequents when the antecedents must be supplied from the context; e. g. Job 5, 8 *I would seek God* (if I were in your place); 3, 13, 16; 14, 14 sq.; Ps. 55, 13; Ruth 1, 12. The *Imperfects*, however, in these examples must in part be considered as *Jussive* forms, cf. § 109, 2, b.

§ 108.

THE COHORTATIVE.

The *Cohortative*, i. e. according to §48, 3, the lengthened 1st pers.¹ sing. or pl. Imperfect by means of the ending **־הָ**² usually indicates an express endeavor toward a definite goal. If the corresponding forms of the indicative contain the announcement of an action being undertaken, the cohortative, on the other hand, emphasizes the deeper resolution and personal interest in the action.

In its use there must be distinguished: —

1. The *Cohortative* standing alone, or coördinated with another cohortative, and sometimes strengthened by the particle **נָא**:

¹ For the few examples of *Cohortative* in the 3d sing. vid. §48, 3, Rem.

² Only the verbs **לָהּ** according to § 75, 6 have throughout in the *Cohortative* the ending **־הָ** (cf. e. g. Deut. 32, 20 **אֶרְאֶה** after **אֶסְתַּיְרָה**).

- a) to express excitement of self, e. g. Ex. 3, 3 אֶסְבֶּה נָא וְג' *I will now turn aside to see . . . !* also the result of inner meditation (soliloquy), e. g. Gen. 18, 21; 32, 21 (seldom so after אֶל־, Gen. 21, 16 *let me not see*; Jer. 18, 18); and more or less emphatic announcement of a settled decision, e. g. Isa. 5, 1 *now will I sing . . .* 5, 6; 31, 8; cf. Gen. 46, 30 *now let me die since . . .*, Ps. 31, 8. In the pl. the *Cohortative* contains an entreaty to others for assistance, Ps. 2, 3 נִנְתָּקָה *let us break*, etc.; Gen. 11, 3.
- b) to express a wish or request for permission to do something; e. g. Deut. 2, 27 אֶעֱבֹרָה *let me pass through*; Num. 20, 17 נִעְבְּרָה־נָא *let us pass through*; Jer. 40, 15 (*let me go*); 2 Sam. 16, 9; thus after אֶל־ 2 Sam. 24, 14; Jer. 17, 18; Ps. 25, 2 et al.; 69, 15; after אֶל־נָא in 1st pl., Jon. 1, 14.

2. The *Cohortative* dependent upon other moods, and in conditional clauses:

- a) when dependent (with Wâw copulative, Ps. 9, 15 after לְמַעַן) on an Imperative or Jussive to express a purpose or intended result; e. g. Gen. 27, 4 *bring it to me* וְאֹכְלָהּ *that I may eat*; 19, 5; 23, 4; 24, 56; 27, 25; 29, 21; 30, 25 sq.; 42, 34; 49, 1; Deut. 32, 1; Hos. 6, 1; Ps. 2, 8; 39, 14; Job 10, 20 *Q'erê*; Isa. 5, 19 *let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh* וְיִדְעָה *that we may know it*; Gen. 26, 28; 1 Sam. 27, 5; also after negative clauses Gen. 18, 30, 32; Judg. 6, 39, and questions 1 K. 22, 7; Isa. 40, 25; 41, 26; Amos 8, 5.
- b) in conditional clauses (with or without אִם) to express a possible intention, Job 16, 6 אִם־אֶרְפָּרָה *though I determine to speak, my grief is not assuaged*, וְאִם־יִחַלֶּה *and though I forbear, what am I eased?* without אִם 19, 18; 30, 26 (where of course וְאִם־יִחַלֶּה is meant); Ps. 73, 16 (unless it should be read וְאִם); 139, 8 sq., after 3d pers. Job 11, 17 (*may the darkness be . . .*); perhaps also אֶרְדֹּפָה 2 Sam. 22, 38 *I determined to follow, until . . .*, but cf. Ps. 18, 38.

c) in the consequent of conditional clauses; e. g. Job 31, 7 sq., *if my step hath turned out of the way . . . אֶרְעָה* then let me sow; cf. 16, 4 sq., (*I also would speak, if . . .*). So also when the condition must be supplied from the context, e. g. Ps. 40, 6 (*otherwise I would declare and speak*); 51, 18 (*otherwise I would gladly give it*, sc. if thou requiredst it; cf. the similar case וְאֶשָּׂא Ps. 55, 13); in 1st pl. Jer. 20, 10. To the same category belong the *Cohortatives* after the forms of wishing מִי יִתְּנֵנִי, מִי יִרְיֶנִּי, e. g. Jer. 9, 1 *O that I had . . . וְאֶעֱזָבָה* I would leave (sc. if I had) *my people*, etc.; Judg. 9, 29; Job 6, 8 sq.; without Wâw, Isa. 27, 4; Ps. 55, 7; Job 23, 4 (cf. also v. 7).

Rem. 1. The disputed question whether a forced decision (a *must*) is expressed by the *Cohortative* [the prevailing view of Isa. 33, 10 (וְאֶלְכָה); Jer. 3, 25; 4, 19, 21; 6, 19; Ps. 55, 3, 18 (?); 57, 5 (where, however, with *Hupfeld* we should read וְשָׁכַכָה); 77, 7; 88, 16; in 1st pl. Isa. 59, 10] must be determined from the fact that in these examples the *Cohortative form* is used for the usual Imperfect solely for the sake of emphasis, without reference to the meaning. This position is strongly supported by the numerous instances of *Cohortatives* after a Wâw consecutive of the Imperfect (cf. § 49, 2, as well as Ps. 66, 6 שָׂם נִשְׂחָחָה שָׂם there did we rejoice; Ps. 119, 163 וְאֶתְעַבָה; Prov. 7, 7) that are regarded only as more emphatic or used for the sake of the rhythm.

2. The use of the cohortative after עַר is peculiar, Ps. 73, 17 *until I entered . . . אֶבְיֵנָה* I perceived their end; perhaps a pregnant expression for, *until I determined; I will perceive*, etc. (but in Prov. 7, 7 אֶבְיֵנָה is still governed by the preceding¹); the same explanation is employed for עַר-אֶבְיֵנָה Prov. 12, 19 (for which Jer. 49, 19; 50, 44 has כִּי-אֶ in same sense); *as long as I purposely wink*. But in Ex. 32, 30 for אֶכַּפֵּר after אוֹלֵי we should with the Samaritan read אֶכַּפֵּרָה.

§ 109.

THE JUSSIVE.

Like the *Cohortative* in the 1st pers., the *Jussive* (cf. on its form and its frequent identity with the ordinary Imper-

¹ Analogous to this *Cohortative* (as equivalent of the Imperfect) is the use of the historical Imperfect after אִזָּ § 107, 1 a, Rem. 1.

fect,¹ § 48, 4) in the 2d and 3d pers. sing. and pl., expresses a more or less definite desire that may or may not be realized.

It is distinguished as:

1. The *Jussive* standing alone or coördinated with another *Jussive*:

a) in affirmative sentences to express commands, wishes (or benedictions), advice or entreaties; in the latter case (as optative or precative) often strengthened by נָא. E. g. Gen. 1, 3 יְהי אֹר let there be light; 1, 6, 9, 11, etc. (the so-called creative fiat); Num. 6, 26 may Jehovah lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace! cf. v. 25; after particles of wishing Gen. 30, 34 לוֹ יְהי may it happen! Ps. 81, 9 אֶם-תִּשְׁמַע-לִי if thou wilt hearken unto me; as a humble request Gen. 44, 33 יֵשְׁב־נָא עִבְדְּךָ וְהַנֶּעַר יַעֲל let thy servant abide, etc., and let the lad go up, etc., 47, 4.

b) in negative sentences to express prohibitions or dissuasions, warnings, negative wishes (also maledictions) and entreaties. According to § 107, 4, a, 2), אַל- serves almost exclusively before the *Jussive* as a prohibitory particle (in negative wishes and entreaties frequently אַל-יֵנָא); e. g. Ex. 34, 3 אִישׁ אַל-יֵרָא let no one allow himself to be seen; Prov. 3, 7 אַל-תְּהָי wise in thine own eyes; Job 15, 31 אַל-יֵאֱמַן ne confidat; in tone of entreaty (or prayer) Deut. 9, 26 אַל-תִּשְׁחַת destroy not; 1 K. 2, 20; Ps. 27, 9; 69, 18.

Rem. 1. The lack of examples of לֹא with the *Jussive* is probably due to the attempt to soften, by means of the *Jussive* (voluntative) form, the originally intended command (לֹא with the Indic. Imperfect). This we find in Gen. 24, 8; 1 K. 2, 6; Ezek. 48, 14; furthermore in יֹסֶף לֹא Joel 2, 2, and in the same verb Gen. 4, 12 (unless this case is to

¹ Regarding verbs לִי־הִי it may be stated that the *Jussive* (like the Cohortative § 108, Note 1) is often the full Imperfect form, e. g. אַל-יֵרָאָה Job 3, 9 (but before יָקִי may he tarry!); this is especially true in (Neh. 2, 3) and immediately before stronger pauses; Gen. 1, 9 (יֵרָאָה); Judg. 6, 39 (יֵהִיָּה, but before יֵהִי-נָא); 1 K. 6, 19; Isa. 47, 3 (תִּרְאָה, before תִּתְּנֵה); Ps. 109, 7. On the attempt to distinguish from the Imperf. such a *Jussive* by the ending הִי, vid. §75, Rem. 17.

be noted under No. 2, b) and Deut. 13, 1. Since the same form seems to stand three times for the Cohortative (vid. below) and in Num. 22, 19 for the ordinary Imperfect (but vid. No. 2, b, Rem.), the question arises whether or not the Massora does not really consider it a like form with the ordinary Imperfect, and hence expressed by וִסַף, etc. The *Jussive* after לֹא instead of the Cohortative is used in 1 Sam. 14, 36 (וְלֹא-נִיזָּאֵר) coördinated with two Cohortatives); cf. Isa. 41, 23 *Keth.* (וְנִרָּא, i. e. וְנִרָּא after another Cohortative); furthermore לֹא אֶסְכֶּף Deut. 18, 16; Hos. 9, 15, and even without לֹא Ezek. 5, 16.

2. Sometimes לֹא with the *Jussive* (or Imperfect, cf. § 107, 4, a, 2, Rem.), expresses the conviction that something cannot or may not take place; cf. Isa. 2, 9 וְאַל-תִּשָּׂא לְהֵם and thou canst not possibly forgive them; Ps. 34, 6; 41, 3; 50, 3; 121, 3 (אַל-תִּירָא); Prov. 3, 3, 25; Job 5, 22 (אַל-תִּירָא thou needst not be afraid); 20, 17; 40, 32.

2. The *Jussive* dependent on other moods and in conditional clauses:

- a) depending¹ (with Wâw) on an Imperative or Cohortative to express a purpose or an assurance of a possible occurrence; e. g. Gen. 24, 51 *take her and go that she . . . become* (וְיָהִי lit. *and she may become*); 30, 3; 31, 37; 38, 24; Ex. 8, 4; 9, 13; 10, 17; 14, 2; Josh. 4, 16; Judg. 6, 30; 1 Sam. 7, 3; 1 K. 21, 10; Ps. 144, 5; Prov. 20, 22; so also after questions that contain a request, Esth. 7, 2 (speak) *what is thy petition . . . and it shall (= so that it) be granted*; 1 K. 22, 20; Isa. 19, 12; Job 38, 34 sq. Dependent on a Cohortative in Gen. 19, 20 אֶפְלָטָה נָא שָׁמָּה *let me I pray thee escape thither . . .* וְיָהִי נַפְשִׁי *that I (my soul) may live*; even after a pure Imperfect (cf. end of Rem.) 1 K. 13, 33 *of whomsoever he would, he filled the hand* [i. e. consecrated him], . . . וְיָהִי *that he should become a high priest* (כֹּהֵן).

Rem. In 2 Chr. 35, 21 a negative final clause with וְאַל is dependent on an Imperative (*forbear thee from meddling with God . . . that he destroy thee not*!). Regularly, however, negative final clauses are joined to the governed clause with וְלֹא and a following Imperfect; this is true after an Imperative 1 K. 18, 44; after the *Jussive* Ex. 30, 20; Neh. 6, 9; after the Perfect consecutive Ex. 28, 35, 43; after לֹא with an Imperfect

¹ Examples where the *Jussive* is not logically dependent on a preceding Imperative, but purely coördinated, as in Gen. 20, 7; Ps. 27, 14, etc., are not considered here.

Deut. 17, 17 *he shall not take many wives* וְלֹא יִסּוּר לְכַבּוֹ *that his heart turn not away*; 2 Sam. 21, 17; Jer. 11, 21; after אַל with the *Jussive* Lev. 10, 9; Jer. 25, 6; 37, 20; 38, 24 sq.; even after a pure Imperfect Jer. 10, 4 *they fasten (it) with nails*, וְלֹא יִפֵּק *that it move not*.

- b) often in conditional clauses (as generally in Arabic) in both antecedent and consequent, cf. Ps. 45, 12 (יִתְחַוֵּה *he entreats*, so . . .); 104, 20 (וְיָהִי . . . תְּשֶׁחַח *when thou makest darkness then it is night*); so in the antecedent Lev. 15, 24; Isa. 41, 28; Ezek. 14, 7 (וְיִעָל), Job 34, 29; in the consequent Ex. 7, 9 *then will it (not: shall it) become a serpent*; Job 10, 16; 13, 5; 22, 28. In a negative consequent Gen. 4, 12 (לֹא-תִכְהֶה); in 2 K. 6, 27 אֲלִי-יִשְׁעָךְ may here be mentioned as a negative antecedent (*if thou, Jehovah, do not help*, etc.).

Rem. This use of the *Jussive* form (in conditional clauses) without doubt has its basis in the original voluntative sense: if such and such be the case, such and such is the result. Certain examples found elsewhere seem to indicate that the voluntative in such cases has become weakened almost to a potential, and that the *Jussive* expresses such events as can eventually take place or be undertaken, e. g. Num. 22, 19 (כִּהֵּ - יֵטֵף) but cf. No. 1, Rem. 1); Job 9, 33 *neither is there any daysman betwixt us, that might lay* (תִּשֶׁן, clearly subj. = *qui ponat*; also in Num. 23, 19, וְיִכָּיֵב *that he should lie* is no doubt meant to be *Jussive*); Eccl. 5, 14; likewise after questions, Jer. 9, 11 *who is so wise*, וְיִבֵּן *qui intelligat hoc?* Here belong also not a few cases where the *Jussive* form without its like signification stands in place of the usual Imperfect, forms not due to mere mistakes in the defective manner of writing (Deut. 28, 21, 36; 32, 8; 1 K. 8, 1; Isa. 12, 1; Mic. 3, 4; Ps. 11, 6; 18, 12; 25, 9; 47, 4; 72, 13; 90, 3; 91, 4; 107, 29; Prov. 15, 25; Job 13, 27; 15, 33; 18, 9; 20, 23^b; 27, 22; 33, 11, 27; 36, 14; 38, 24; Eccl. 12, 6; in v. 7 יִשָּׁב, immediately afterwards תִּשָּׁב; Dan. 8, 12), also shortened forms as יִהִי Gen. 49, 17; Deut. 28, 8; Hos. 6, 1; Zech. 9, 5; Ps. 72, 16; 104, 31; Hos. 11, 4; Zeph. 2, 13; Job 18, 12; 20, 23, 26, 28; 27, 8; 33, 21; 34, 37. This use can hardly be due to a poetic (literary) license, but rather for the sake of the rhythm. All the foregoing examples represent the *Jussive* at the beginning of sentences (hence farthest from the principal tone); others are immediately before the strong pause (Is. 42, 6; Ps. 58, 5; 68, 15; Prov. 23, 25; Job 24, 14; 29, 3; 40, 19), or even in pause (Deut. 32, 18; Job 23, 9, 11; Lam. 3, 50) as a purely rhythmical shortening in consequence of the close connection of the tone. Moreover, since the *Jussive* form in numerous cases does not differ from that of the Imperfect (§ 48, 4), it is very doubtful which of the two the writer had in mind. This is true also of the cases where a Subj. is expressed by one or another form (cf. on this point § 107, 3^b, 4).

§ 110.

THE IMPERATIVE.

1. The *Imperative*,¹ according to § 46, limited to the 2d pers. sing. and pl. and to positive commands, etc., stands alone or is coördinated (1 K. 18, 44; Isa. 56, 1; 65, 18) with other *Imperatives*:

- a) to express strict commands, e. g. Gen. 12, 1 *get thee out of thy country*; but (like the Jussive) used also of mere exhortations (Hos. 10, 12) and entreaties (2 K. 5, 22; Isa. 5, 3; for the addition of נִּי vid. Rem.). Furthermore it is used in the sense of an ironical (and often threatening) demand, 1 K. 2, 22 *ask for him the kingdom also*; 22, 15; Judg. 10, 14; Isa. 47, 12 (with נִּי); Jer. 7, 21; Ezek. 20, 39; Amos 4, 4; Job 38, 3 sq.; 40, 10 sq.; Lam. 4, 21. It is concessive in Nah. 3, 15 *mayest thou also be so numerous*, etc., as well as in the cases mentioned under 2, a, as Isa. 8, 9 sq.; 29, 9.
- b) to express a permission, e. g. 2 Sam. 18, 23 after a dissuasion, *run!* Isa. 21, 12; 45, 11.
- c) to express positive assurances (analogous to our *thou shalt have it*)² or promises, e. g. Isa. 65, 19 *but be ye glad and rejoice* (i. e. you will have constant cause for joy); 37, 30. So also in commands whose fulfillment does not lie in the power of the one addressed, as Isa. 54, 14 *be far from fear* (as if: thou needst no longer fear); Gen. 1, 28 et al. (other instances are 1 K. 22, 12; 2 K. 5, 13, vid. 2 a), most clearly with the *Imperative* of Niphal with passive sense; e. g. Gen. 42, 16 $\text{וְיָאָחַזְּכֶם הָאֱסָרִי}$ *ye, however, must remain captives*; Deut. 32, 50; Isa. 49, 9 (45, 22, vid. 2 a).

¹ For the close relationship of the *Imperative* with the *Jussive* (both in form and meaning), cf. § 46 and 48, 5.

² Analogies to such assertions in form of an *Imperative* are found in the threats of the Latin comic poets, as *vapula* Ter. Phormio V. 6, 10; *vapulare te jubeo* Plant. Curc. VI. 4, 12.

Rem. 1. As to the Jussive, so to the *Imperative* the particle **אָ** *age!* (§ 105) is frequently added, partly to soften a command or put an entreaty more courteously (vid. No. 1), Gen. 23, 13; 24, 2; partly to strengthen an abusive and threatening (Num. 16, 26; 20, 10) or a scornful (Isa. 47, 12) demand.

2. The *Imperative* after **לִי**, the particle of wish Gen. 23, 1 (also at the end of vs. 5 and 14 read **לִי** for **לִי** and join it to the following *Imperative*) is really a case of *anacoluthon*; here in place of the usual Imperfect after **לִי**, the more forcible *Imperative* is used.

2. The *Imperative* logically dependent on a foregoing *Imperative*, Jussive (or Cohortative) or question, expresses a positive assurance or promise that an action or state will occur as the certain consequence of a preceding action. Hence we find:

- a) the *Imperative* dependent (with Wâw copulative) on another *Imperative*. The former regularly contains a condition, the latter the result of the fulfillment of the condition. The *Imperative* is here used because this result also is actually wished or desired by the speaker (cf. *divide et impera*), e. g. Gen. 42, 18 **וְאַתָּה עֲשֵׂה וְיָחִי** *this do and live*, i. e. so shall ye live; 1 K. 22, 12; 2 K. 5, 13; Isa. 36, 16; 45, 22 (**וְהִשְׁעֵי**); Jer. 6, 16; Amos 5, 46; Ps. 37, 27; Prov. 3, 3 sq.; 4, 4; 7, 2; 13, 20 Keth.; Jer. 25, 5; Job 22, 21 has **נָא** joined to the first *Imperative*. Elsewhere the first *Imperative* contains a scornful concession, the second an irrevocable threat, e. g. Isa. 8, 9 **וְהָתִי רָעִי עַמִּים** *rage ye peoples (evermore), ye shall be dismayed*; cf. v. 9^b; 29, 9.

Rem. 1. If the threat or promise dependent on an *Imperative* is to be expressed in the 3d pers., the Jussive is of course used in place of the 2d pers. *Imperative*; Isa. 8, 10; 55, 2.

2. In Prov. 20, 13 the second *Imperative* (of promise) is added without a connective. Other cases of two such unconnected *Imperatives* occur where the second would naturally be subordinate to the first; e. g. Deut. 2, 24 **הָחֵל רֶשֶׁתְּ** (where **רֶשֶׁתְּ** is at the same time object of 'ה', *begin, take possession* (but cf. Judg. 19, 6 **וְנָא וְלֵיךְ** *be content and tarry all night*, for such a coördination vid. § 119, 2, a). But *Imperatives* like **לָךְ** (**לִכְנִי**), **קִינִי**, directly before a second *Imperative* should usually have only the force of an interjection (*come on! up!*).

b) the *Imperative* dependent (with Wâw Copulative) on a Jussive (Cohortative) or an interrogative clause, expresses likewise a certain result, not seldom an intended result, indeed a purpose; cf. Gen. 20, 7 *may he pray for thee* וַיִּתְּנָהּ *then shalt thou live*, cf. 2 K. 5, 10; Job 11, 6; Ps. 128, 5 *may Jehovah bless thee . . . so that thou shalt see*, etc.; Ruth 1, 9; 4, 11; after a Cohortative Gen. 12, 2; 45, 18; Ex. 3, 10 (וְהוֹצֵאת *that thou mayest bring out*); 1 Sam. 12, 17; 1 K. 1, 12; after an interrogative clause 2 Sam. 21, 3 *wherewith shall I atone* וַיִּבְרָכֵי *that ye may bless*, etc.

Rem. In Judg. 4, 20 (עָכָר, according to *Kimchi*, Infinitive, in which case it should be read the Infinitive absolute עָכָר) and Mic. 1, 13 the 2d sing. masc. is used in addressing a female; in Isa. 32, 11 the 2d pl. masc. Strangely enough, in the latter case, four *Imperatives* 2d sing. masc. lengthened by ה־ follow; these can be explained only as very sudden commands in immediate connection with an *Imperative* (2d sing. masc.), hence take no notice of the gender or number of persons addressed. In Nah. 3, 15 this change of the masc. and the fem. serves to indicate a totality (of the people of all classes). Cf. moreover § 145 for other instances of the supplanting of the feminine form by the corresponding masculine.

§ 111.

THE IMPERFECT WITH WAW CONSECUTIVE.

1. The *Imperfect* with *Waw consecutive* (§ 49, 1, 2) is used to express actions, states or occurrences considered as the temporal or the logical consequence of immediately¹ preceding actions, etc. The *Imperfect consec.* is thus employed usually as an *historical tense*, corresponding to the Greek Aorist or the Latin Perfect historicum. Most commonly a narrative begins with a *Perfect*, and then continues in the *Imperfect* with *Waw consecutive* (cf. on this change of tense § 49, 1 and especially § 112, 1); e. g. Gen. 3, 1 *the serpent was*

¹ For an apparent exception (*Imperfect consec.* at the beginning of whole books) vid. § 49, 1, Note 2.

(וַיֵּדָה) *more subtle . . . and he said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *unto the woman*; 4, 1; 6, 9 sq.; 10, 9 sq.; 15, 19; 11, 12 sq., 27 sq.; 14, 5 sq.; 15, 1 sq.; 16, 1 sq.; 21, 1 sq.; 24, 1 sq.; 25, 19 sq.; 36, 2 sq., 37, 2.

Rem. 1. To this category belong in part the numerous *Imperfects consec.* in specifications of all kinds of time, so far as they include in sense a Perfect (sc. וַיִּהְיֶה *it happened*)¹ Isa. 6, 1 *in the year that king Uzziah died I saw* (וַיֵּרָא), etc.; Gen. 22, 4; 27, 34; 1 Sam. 4, 20; Hos. 11, 1. These examples, however, may at times be due to the suppression of a loosely connected וַיְהִי (vid. No. 2, Rem. 1).

2. The continuation of a narrative in the *Imperfect consec.* can be carried on to any number of the latter (forty-nine in Gen. 1). As soon, however, as the connecting *Waw* is separated from its *Imperfect* through some insertion, the Perfect is necessarily used in its stead; e. g. Gen. 1, 5 *and God called* (וַיִּקְרָא) *the light day, and the darkness he called* night (וַיִּלְחֹשֶׁן קָרָא); v. 10; 2, 20; 11, 3, etc.

3. The use of two coördinate *Imperfects consec.* is very frequent, the first being in sense (as an equivalent of a temporal clause) subordinate to the second; e. g. Gen. 28, 8 sq. וַיֵּלֶךְ . . . וַיֵּשְׁבֵהוּ *when Esau saw that . . . then he went*, etc.; often also וַיִּשְׁמַע etc., Gen. 37, 21 et al. But a second *Imperfect consec.* is seldom used in an explicative sense; e. g. Ex. 2, 10 (וַתֹּאמֶר *while she said*); cf. 1 Sam. 7, 12. For other examples of the *Imperfect consec.* which represent apparently an advance in the narrative, but are in reality only synchronous with, or explicative of, preceding events, vid. Gen. 2, 25 (וַיְהִי *they were*, but Josh. 4, 9; 1 K. 8, 8 *they are there*); 36, 14 (וַיִּתְּלֶהָ), 32 (וַיִּתְּלֶהָ).

4. The *Imperfect consec.* is sometimes so loosely connected with an immediately preceding Perfect, that it really forms an antithesis to it; e. g. Gen. 32, 31 (*and yet my life is preserved*); 2 Sam. 3, 8 (*and yet denoucest thou*); Job 10, 8; similarly when dependent on nominal clauses, Prov. 30, 25 sq.

2. The introduction of a complete narrative or of a new section of one by means of the *Imperfect consec.* establishes a connection, however loose, with an earlier event. In such a case we find a most frequent use of וַיְהִי (*καὶ ἐγένετο*) *and it happened*, upon which there follows either an *Imperfect consec.* (Gen. 4, 3, 8; 8, 6; 11, 2 etc.), or *Waw* with (and separated from) the Perfect (Gen. 7, 10; 22, 11; 27, 30), or

¹ Cf. Isa. 45, 4 where the *Imperfect consec.* stands in connection with an abrupt causal clause, and Job 36, 7 in connection with an abrupt local clause.

the Perfect without Wâw (Gen. 14, 1 sq.; 40, 1; 2 K. 8, 21) or a nominal clause introduced by Wâw, Gen. 41, 1.

Rem. 1. The loose connection with וַיְהִי is of direct importance when the narrative, or a section of it, begins at some specified time. Besides the above-mentioned examples (e. g. Gen. 22, 1 *and it came to pass after these things that God tempted*, etc.), cf. the similar cases Gen. 19, 34; 21, 22; 1 Sam. 11, 11; Ruth 1, 1. Elsewhere time is indicated by וְ or כִּי with an Infinitive (Gen. 12, 14; 19, 17, 29; 39, 13, 15, 18 sq.; Judg. 16, 25), or by an independent sentence with the Perfect (= Pluperfect, cf. § 106, 1, c), e. g. Gen. 24, 15; 27, 30, or by a temporal clause introduced by כִּי as (Gen. 26, 8; 27, 1; Judg. 16, 16), כַּאֲשֶׁר *when* (Gen. 12, 11; 20, 13), כֵּיוָן *since* (Gen. 39, 5), or finally by a nominal clause (cf. § 116), e. g. 2 K. 13, 21 וַיְהִי הֵם קֵבְרִים אִשׁ *and it came to pass as they were burying a man that...*; Gen. 42, 35; 2 K. 2, 11 (the apodosis always introduced by וַיְהִי). In 2 Sam. 13, 30; 2 K. 19, 37 (= Isa. 37, 38); 1 Sam. 10, 11; 11, 11; 2 Sam. 2, 23 וַיְהִי is followed by an independent noun (equivalent of a complete clause) and the *Imperfect consecutive*.

2. The cases where the *Imperfect consec.* even without a foregoing וַיְהִי introduces the apodosis either of (a) whole sentences, or (b) equivalents of such, especially in the form of absolute substantives, are closely related to the cases mentioned in Rem. 1, cf. for (a) 1 Sam. 15, 23 *because thou hast rejected the word of the Jehovah*, וַיִּכְאֶסֶךְ *he hath also rejected thee* (cf. Num. 14, 16, Isa. 48, 4, where the causal clause appears as an Infinitive with a preposition); Ex. 9, 21; for (b) Gen. 22, 24 וּפִלְגֶשֶׁתוֹ *and (as to) his concubine*, וַתֵּבֶר *she bare*, etc.; Ex. 38, 24; Num. 14, 36 sq.; 1 Sam. 14, 19; 17, 24; 2 Sam. 4, 10; 19, 41 *Keth.*; 21, 16; 1 K. 9, 20 sq.; 12, 17; 2 K. 25, 22; Jer. 6, 19; 28, 8; 33, 24; 44, 25.¹ In 1 K. 15, 13; 2 K. 16, 14 the premised noun is considered as the object of the following *Imperfect consec.*, and hence is introduced by אֶת.

3. In the cases referred to in 1 and 2, the *Imperfect consec.* is primarily and expressly used to indicate a chain of chronological actions or events; elsewhere it is used to indicate such actions, etc., as express a logical sequence or a necessary result of preceding events. Hence we find the *Imperfect consecutive*:

¹ Cf. Moabite Stone, line 5: ('Omri), the king of Israel, who oppressed וַיַּעֲנוּ Moab, etc. — The real *Imperfect consec.*, Gen. 30, 27b (in former editions explained as the equivalent of an object clause) is more probably due to a pregnant contraction of the discourse: *I have observed and arrived at this conclusion: Jehovah blessed me*, etc.

- a) in a final summing up of an account; e. g. Gen. 2, 1; 23, 20 וַיֵּקֶם הַשָּׂדֶה וְג' *and the field was made sure unto Abraham, etc.*; 1 Sam. 17, 50; 31, 6.
- b) to express a logical or a natural consequence of what immediately precedes; e. g. Job 2, 3 *and still he holdeth fast his integrity* וַתִּסְתַּיֵּם וְג' *so that thou movedst me against him* (as is now the case) *to destroy him without cause*; Ps. 65, 9 (*so that they are afraid . . .*); similarly even of a conditionally expressed result, Jer. 20, 17 *so that thou might have become . . .* Perhaps here belongs (if the text is correct) Jer. 38, 9 וַיָּמָת וְג' *so that he dies* (must die).

Rem. Such consecutive clauses are oftener found after questions; e. g. Isa. 51, 12 *who art thou* (i. e. *art thou so insignificant*) וַתִּירָא *that thou shouldst be afraid?* Ps. 144, 3 (cf. Ps. 3, 5, where וְג' *that* is found in a similar context with the Imperfect); Gen. 12, 19 (וַאֲנִי) *that I might have sent thee away*; Job 11, 3 (וַתִּלְעַג) *that thou mightest mock*).

4. As to the relation of time we may remark that:

- a) the *Imperfect consec.* may, like the simple Imperfect, represent the various shades of mode and tense that according to § 109 may be regarded as uncompleted actions.
- b) the closer specification of the time to which an *Imperfect consec.* belongs, is invariably to be determined from the nature of the foregoing tense (or its equivalent), to which it stands in more or less close relation as its temporal or logical sequence.

Hence the *Imperfect consec.* is used:

- 1) to indicate *past* (or repeated past) actions, events or states when connected with such tenses or tense equivalents as refer to an actual past.

Cf. in 1 and 2 the examples given of the *Imperfect consec.* as *tempus historicum*. The *Imperfect consec.* is occasionally used in continuation of a Perfect *praeteritum* in a secondary clause; e. g. Gen. 27, 1; Num. 11, 20; Deut. 4, 37; 1 Sam. 3, 8; 1 K. 2, 5; 11, 33; 18, 13, etc. In Isa. 49, 7 וַיִּכְחָרְךָ continues the Preterite, which naturally appears in נִאֲמָן.

In Job **31**, 26, 34, the *Imperfect consec.* is connected with a *past Imperfect* in a conditional clause. Dependent upon a Perfect in the sense of the Pluperfect (§ 106, 1 c), occurs the *Imperfect consec.* in Gen. **26**, 18; **28**, 6 sq.; **31**, 19, 34 (*Rachel had taken וַתִּשָּׂם and put them*); Num. **14**, 36; 1 Sam. **28**, 3; 2 Sam. **2**, 23; Isa. **39**, 1. Here belong, finally, the cases where according to § 114, 3, Rem. 1 and § 116, 5, Rem. 7 a past Infinitive or participial construction is continued by the *Imperfect consec.*

2) to indicate *present* actions, etc., in connection with such tenses or tense equivalents as represent actions or states present or as extending (still in force) into the present:

- α) in connection with the present Perfects described in § 106, 2, a; e. g. Ps. **16**, 9 *therefore my heart is glad* (עִמָּה) *and my soul rejoiceth* (וַיִּגֵּל); Isa. **3**, 16 (parallel with a pure Imperfect); cf. Ps. **29**, 10 וַיֵּשֶׁב (lit. he sits down and occupies the throne) **41**, 13.
- β) in connection with such Perfects as describe positive experiences (vid. § 106, 2, c); e. g. Job **14**, 2 *He cometh* (יֵצֵא) *forth like a flower, and is cut down* (וַיִּפֹּל); *he fleeth* (וַיִּבָּרֵחַ) *also as a shadow* וְלֹא יַעֲמֹד *and continueth not*; **20**, 15; **24**, 2, 11; Isa. **40**, 24; Prov. **11**, 2.
- γ) in connection with Imperfects which, according to one of the two methods of § 107, 2 are used in a present sense; e. g. Job **14**, 10 *but man dieth* (יָמוּת) *and wasteth away* (וַיִּחַלֵּשׁ), etc.; **4**, 5; **6**, 21; Isa. **2**, 9; **44**, 12 sq.; **57**, 27; Hos. **8**, 13; Hab. **1**, 9 sq.; Ps. **3**, 5 (*Unto Jehovah I cry . . . and he hears me*, possibly also *Unto Jehovah I cried, and he heard me*, cf. **55**, 18); **90**, 3; Job **5**, 15; **7**, 18; **12**, 25; **34**, 24; **37**, 8 (parallel with a pure Imperfect); **39**, 15; as apodosis to a conditional clause Ps. **59**, 16; also after interrogative Imperfects, 1 Sam. **2**, 29; Ps. **42**, 6 (וַתִּהְיֶינִי for which see v. 12 and **43**, 5 וְיָמָּה תִּהְיֶינִי *why art thou cast down?*).
- δ) in dependence upon Participles representing events as present or being repeated; e. g. 1 Sam. **2**, 6; 2 Sam. **19**, 2 *behold, the king weepeth* (בֹּכֶה) *and mourneth* (וַיִּתְאַבֵּל)

for Absalom; Amos 5, 8; 9, 5 sq.; Nah. 1, 4; Ps. 34, 8; Prov. 20, 26; Job 12, 22 sq. (but cf. Job 12, 4 קָרָא לַאלֹהִים who calleth upon God וַיַּעֲנֵהוּ and he answereth him).

ε) in dependence upon other equivalents of the present, as Isa. 51, 12; Ps. 144, 3 (v. 3, b, Rem.); Job 10, 22; thus especially as a continuation of an Infinitive governed by a preposition (cf. § 114, 3) Isa. 30, 12; Jer. 10, 13; Ps. 92, 8, etc.

3) To indicate *future actions*, etc., dependent

α) upon an Imperfect referring to the future, Ps. 49, 15; 94, 22 sq.

β) upon a Perfect *consec.* or on such Perfects as according to § 106, 3 represent the coming events as certain, hence as already completed (*Perfect propheticum*); cf. Isa. 5, 15 (parallel with a pure Imperfect); 5, 16 (cf. 2, 11, 17 where the same threat is expressed by the Perfect *consec.*), 25; 9, 5, 10 sq., 13, 15, 17 sq.; 22, 7 sq.; Joel 2, 23; Mic. 2, 13; Ezek. 33, 4, 6; Ps. 7, 13; 22, 30; 64, 8 sq.

γ) upon a Participle *futuri*, Jer. 4, 16.¹

Rem. An *Imperfect consec.* dependent on a Perfect or an Imperfect representing an event as conditionally occurring, is used in a hypothetic sense; e. g. Job 9, 16 וַיִּצְוֵנִי אֱלֹהִים - קָרָאתִי וַיַּעֲנֵנִי if I had called and he had answered me, yet . . . ; Ps. 139, 11 וְאֶקְרָא if I should say (preceding hypothetic Imperfects, v. 8 sq.). — In Isa. 48, 18 sq. the *Imperfect consec.* depends upon an optative sentence introduced by וְיָאֵלֶּיךָ utinam (וְיָהִי and it or so that it were = so that it would be); cf. herewith the examples of 3, b (Jer. 20, 17), Rem. (Gen. 31, 27) where *Imperfects consecutive* are used to express *eventual* occurrences.

¹ In Jer. 51, 29 the *Imperfects consec.* stand in connection with the virtual threat contained in the preceding Imperatives. וַיִּחַלֵּי Hos. 8, 10 would indeed be a strange expression for the future. The text is most certainly corrupt, since Cod. Babyl. and Erfurt. 3 try to correct it with 'וַיִּחַלֵּי, Ewald with וַיִּחַלֵּי. In Ezek. 28, 16 (cf. Jer. 15, 6 sq.) וַיִּחַלֵּי seems to express an event irrevocably decided (hence stated as already completed); cf. the *Perfect propheticum* v. 17 sq.

§ 112.

THE PERFECT WITH WAW CONSECUTIVE.

1. As the Imperfect (§ 111), so the *Perfect* with *Waw consec.* (cf. § 49, 1)¹ is used to describe actions, events or states that are represented as standing in a more or less close connection with preceding events as their *logical* or *chronological* sequence. As, according to § 111, 1, a discourse begun with a *Perfect*, or its equivalent, is continued in the Imperfect *consec.*, so, on the other hand, when begun with an Imperfect, or its equivalent, it is regularly continued by the *Perfect consec.* (vid. examples).

Rem. 1. This exchange of the *Perfect* with the *Imperfect* or its equivalents, and *vice versa*, the *Imperfect* with the *Perfect*, is a prominent peculiarity of the Hebrew *consecutio temporum*. It not only offers a certain compensation for the lack of tenses and moods, but it also yields to the Hebrew style the charm of an important articulation, the action which is going on (Imperfect) soon coming to a quiet stop in the *Perfect*, and, later, continuing anew and *vice versa*.² The strict regularity of this change, it is true, belongs rather to the higher style, and even there it depends more upon the view of the speaker whether he considers an action as the logical sequence of the preceding one, or simply as coördinate (and used in the same tense).

2. Any number of *Perfects consec.* can be coördinated with another *Perfect consec.* (cf. e. g. Ezek. 14, 13; Amos 5, 19; Ruth 3, 3 each has four, Isa. 8, 7 has five; Ex. 6, 6 sq. has eight). It is to be noticed here (exactly the opposite is true in the Imperfect according to

¹ On the formal difference of the *Perfect consec.* through variable emphasis, vid. § 49, 3.

² It is difficult to give a precise explanation of this peculiarity (according to § 49, 1, note, found elsewhere only on the Moabite Stone), as soon as one disregards a particular *Waw conversivum*, — used in the peculiar sense mentioned in § 49, 1 Note 2, at the end, — and maintains rather that the *Perfect* and *Imperfect consec.* according to the main principles of both tenses laid down in §§ 106 and 107 could not stand in opposition. In other words, one maintains that the *Perfect consec.* originally represented a completed action, etc., as the *Imperfect* represented only a beginning, a becoming, a still continuing, i. e. incomplete action, etc. This may most clearly be explained by the fact that the use of the *Perfect consec.* grew out of cases where it was the end (final result) of an action continuing or repeated in the past (vid. examples above). It then came to be used in cases where the temporal or logical sequence of an action, still in force, was indicated, until finally a regular interchange of the two tenses was brought about.

§ 111, 1, Remark 2) that whenever Waw would be separated from its verb by some word, the Imperfect necessarily takes the place of the Perfect, e. g. Gen. 12, 12 *when the Egyptians see thee, they will say* (וַאֲכַרִּי) *she is his wife, and they will kill me,* וַהֲרֹגוּ אֹתִי *but thee will they save alive* (וַיִּצִּיאוּ).

2. As the Imperfect *consec.*, so the *Perfect consec.*, belongs within the temporal sphere of the preceding tense or tense-equivalent, in connection with which it stands as its temporal or logical consequent. More carefully we must distinguish between the *Perfects consec.*, a) in *immediate* dependence on the preceding (vid. No. 3); b) in loose connection (vid. No. 4), with the preceding; and c) the *Perfect consec.* at the head of the consequents of other sentences or their equivalents (vid. No. 5).

3. In immediate dependence on the foregoing tense or tense-equivalent, the *Perfect consec.* serves:

a) as *tempus frequentativum* to describe *past* or completed recurring actions, etc., after tenses, or their equivalents, which represent actions continued or repeated in the past:

α) after a pure Imperfect, e. g. Gen. 2, 6 אֶרֶץ יַעֲלֶה *a mist used to go up from the earth* (וַהֲשִׁקָהּ) *and watered* (i. e. *was accustomed to water*), etc. This frequentative use of the *Perfect consec.* is just as lucid after frequentative Imperfects; Gen. 2, 10 (וַהֲיָה) *and became ever anew*; וַיְהִי would mean: and became so, once for all); 29, 2 sq. (four *Perfects consec.* of actions daily repeated); Ex. 33, 7–11 (יָקַח he took at every new station the tabernacle, וַנִּטָּה and pitched it on each occasion afar off; among the numerous frequentative Perfects, notice the Imperfects v. 7, 8, 9, 11, always in a frequentative sense); 34, 34 sq.; Judg. 2, 19; 1 Sam. 2, 19 (תַּעֲשֶׂה she made him habitually . . . וַתַּעֲלֶתָּה and brought yearly); 27, 9 (וַלָּקַח); 1 K. 14, 28; 2 K. 3, 25; 12, 15 (v. 16 sq., again Imperfect).

So also in dependent clauses, Gen. 6, 4 (וַיִּלְרֶי) as a continuation of (יָבֹא); Job 31, 29.¹

- β) after an Imperfect *consec.*; e. g. Ex. 39, 3; 1 Sam. 5, 7; 7, 15; 2 Sam. 16, 13 and *threw stones* וַעֲפֹר and *cast dust* (at David) continually; 12, 16, 31; 2 K. 6, 10; 12, 11 sq., 15; Jer. 37, 15.

Rem. Sometimes a frequentative *Perfect consec.* is connected with even such Imperfects *consec.* as express merely a *single* deed or event in the past; Ex. 18, 26; 40, 31 sq.; 1 Sam. 1, 4 (where the text is clearly corrupt); 2 Sam. 15, 1 sq.; 1 K. 14, 27 (cf. v. 28); 18, 4; 2 K. 12, 10. For other examples of a loose connection of a frequentative *Perfect consec.* vid: No. 4 below.

- γ) after a Perfect; e. g. Gen. 37, 3 (וַעֲשֶׂה לוֹ) *sc.* whenever he needed a new coat)²; Num. 11, 8; 1 Sam. 16, 14; 2 K. 3, 4³; in questions 1 Sam. 26, 9 (*who has ever*, etc.); Ps. 80, 13; Job 1, 1; Gen. 26, 10 to express that which could more possibly have occurred (*as one might easily . . . and thou wouldest then have brought guiltiness upon us*!).
- δ) after an Infinitive; e. g. Amos 1, 11, עַל-רָדְפוֹ because *he did pursue his brother* וַשְׁחָה and (at every opportunity) *did cast off all pity* (then Imperfect *consec.*); after an Infinitive absol., Josh. 6, 13; 2 Sam. 13, 19; Jer. 23, 14.
- ε) after a Participle; e. g. Isa. 6, 3 (וְקָרָא etc., frequentative, as continuation of עֲמָרִים v. 2); 1 Sam. 2, 22; 2 Sam. 17, 17.⁴
- ζ) after other tense equivalents; e. g. Gen. 47, 22 *for the*

¹ Also in Ezek. 44, 12 (where *Stade Zeitschr.* Bd.V. p.293 requires שָׁרְתוּ and וַיְהִי) the prominent tenses may have been designedly chosen: *because they ministered unto them repeatedly and so always became new.*

² Driver rightly refers at this point to 1 Sam. 2, 19.

³ Amos 4, 7 could also be inserted here in case וְהִקְטַרְתִּי is really meant, and the conclusion be past; but כִּנְעַתִּי could also be *Perfect* of confident affirmation (§ 106, 3, a), in which case it would belong under c.

⁴ That וְהִלְכָה etc. are frequentative (*a wench went repeatedly and told them*, etc.) is shown from יִלְכֶּי (necessarily Imperfect being separated from ל by הֵם and יִכְלֶי; but v. 18 וַיֵּלֶךְ and יִלְכֶּי in single actions.

priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, וְאֶכְלוּ and so they ate (from year to year), etc., 1 K. 4, 7.

b) to describe *present* actions, etc., as the temporal or the logical sequence of actions or events that extend to, or are repeated in, the present, especially such as in experience have always been frequently recurring, and may recur at any time :

a) after a pure Imperfect, e. g. Gen. 2, 24 *therefore a man shall leave* (וְיָעֻז is wont to leave) . . . and וְיִרְבֵּק *cleave*, etc. (here, as elsewhere, with a distinct final accessory sense = in order to cleave); Ex. 33, 20; Isa. 5, 11 (if וְהָיָה be understood as continuation of וְיִרְבֵּק); 18, 28; Jer. 12, 3; Hos. 4, 3; 7, 7; Mic. 2, 2; Ps. 90, 6; Job 14, 9; likewise in dependent clauses Lev. 20, 18; Isa. 29, 8, 11 sq.; Amos. 5, 19.

β) after a Participle used as the equivalent of a sentence representing an action, etc., as possible; e. g. Ex. 21, 12 מָכָה אִישׁ אִישׁ מָכָה (for מָכָה v. 20 al. וְכָי יָכָה אִישׁ) *if one smiteth a man, so that he die*, etc.; 21, 16; Isa. 29, 15; Amos 6, 1; Hab. 2, 12.

γ) after an Infinitive absolute Jer. 7, 9 sq., *what! steal, murder*, etc. (emphatic Infinitives abs.; cf. § 113, 4, b.

δ) וּבֹאֲתֶם *and then come and stand before me . . . and say*, etc., cf. below c, ε.

c) to express *future* actions, etc., as the temporal or logical sequence of tenses or their equivalents that indicate or require future actions or events; hence it is used :

α) after Imperfects in a *purely future* sense; e. g. Amos 9, 3 sq. מִשָּׁם אֶחְפֹּשׂ וְלִקְהֵתִים *I will search and take them out thence*, etc.; Gen. 4, 14; 40, 13; 1 Sam. 17, 32; 2 K. 5, 11; Job 8, 6 sq. (also with variable subject, Gen. 27, 12; Judg. 6, 16 et al.); also in questions (Gen. 39, 9; Ex. 2, 7; 2 K. 14, 10; Amos 8, 8; Ps. 41, 6; cf. also Ruth 1, 11); in optatives (2 Sam. 15, 4) as well as in almost all dependent clauses. Moreover, it is used in conditional

clauses after אִם (Gen. 32, 9), כִּי (Gen. 37, 26) or הֵן (Jer. 3, 1); in final clauses after לְמַעַן (Gen. 12, 13; Num. 15, 40; Isa. 28, 13); אֲשֶׁר (Deut. 2, 25) or פֶּן (Gen. 3, 22; 19, 19; 32, 12; Isa. 6, 10; Amos 5, 6); in temporal clauses (Isa. 32, 15; Jer. 13, 16); and in relative clauses (Gen. 24, 14; Judg. 1, 12; 1 Sam. 17, 26).

β) after a Jussive (or Imperfect in Jussive or optative sense) or a Cohortative with the same or a different subject, e. g. Gen. 1, 14 sq.: וְהָיוּ יְהִי מְאֹרֹת . . . וְהָיוּ *let there be luminaries and let them be for*, etc.; 12, 3; 24, 4; 28, 3; 31, 44; 1 K. 1, 2; 22, 13; Ruth 2, 7; 1 Chr. 22, 11; after a Jussive in an imprecatory sense Ps. 109, 10.

γ) after an Imperative with the same or a different subject; e. g. 2 Sam. 7, 5 לֵךְ וְאָמַרְתָּ לָהּ *go and tell* (that thou mayest tell), etc.; Gen. 6, 14; 8, 17; 27, 43 sq.; 1 Sam. 15, 3, 18; 1 K. 2, 36; Jer. 48, 26.

δ) after Perfects that express a definite expectation or assurance (cf. § 106, 3, a, b); e. g. Gen. 17, 20 הִנֵּה בִּרְכָתִי אֹתוֹ הִנֵּה יְהַפְרֵתִי אֹתוֹ *Behold I will bless him, and will make him fruitful*, etc.; Isa. 2, 11; 5, 14; on Amos 4, 7, vid. Note to 3, a, γ; in a question, Judg. 9, 9; 11, 13.

ε) after a Participle, e. g. Gen. 7, 4 *in seven days* אֲנִי מְמַטֵּיר *I will cause it to rain . . .* וּמַחֲרִיתִי *and I will destroy*, etc.; likewise with different subjects, Gen. 24, 43 sq., *the virgin who cometh forth* (הַיּוֹצֵאת) . . . וְאָמַרְתִּי *and to whom I shall say . . .* וְאָמַרְתָּ *and who then shall say*, etc. Especially frequent is the *Perfect consec.* after a Participle introduced by הִנֵּה, e. g. Gen. 6, 17 sq.; with changeable subject 1 K. 20, 36; Amos 6, 14; after a complete nominal clause introduced by הִנֵּה (cf. § 140) Ex. 3, 13 *behold, I coming* = when I come . . . וְאָמַרְתִּי לָהֶם *and shall say to them . . .* וְאָמְרוּ *and they shall then say*, etc.; 1 Sam. 14, 8 sq.; Isa. 7, 14; 8, 7 sq.

ζ) after an Infinitive absolute even when used to make emphatic a finite verb, (v. § 113, 3, b, Rem. 1), e. g. Isa

31, 5; after an Infinitive absolute an emphatic substitute for a Cohortative or Imperfect (§ 113, 4, *b*, *γ*, and *δ*), e. g. Lev. 2, 6; Deut. 1, 16; Isa. 5, 5; Ezek. 23, 46 sq.

η) after an Infinitive *constr.* governed by a preposition (for this transition of the Infinitive construction into a finite verb, cf. § 114, 3, Rem. 1), e. g. 1 Sam. 10, 8 עַרְבֵי-בֹאִי אֵלַיךְ till I come to thee (lit. till my coming) and shew thee, etc., Gen. 18, 25; 27, 45; Ezek. 39, 27; cf. 1 K. 2, 37, 42.

Rem. To the same category belong 1 Sam. 14, 24, where a temporal limit is indicated (*until evening and until I be avenged*, etc.), and Isa. 5, 8 where a local limit is indicated, governed by עַרְ.

4. The very frequent use of a *Perfect consec.* in direct dependence on other tenses (vid. Nos. 2 and 3) explains the fact that it has acquired a kind of individual force — for instance, to make known future events — and could, moreover, be loosely connected in clauses in which in a broad sense it stood as the temporal or the logical sequence. Hence it is used

a) to announce *future* events, etc., in loose connection with another announcement, e. g. Gen. 41, 30 וְקָמוּ and two coördinated *Perfects consec.* = *then shall arise*, etc.; often thus after הִנֵּה with a following substantive (1 Sam. 9, 8) or a participial clause (cf. the analogous examples above under 3, *c*, *ε*); e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 31 behold, the days come, וְגַדַּעְתִּי that I will cut off, etc.; Isa. 39, 6; Amos 4, 2; 8, 11; 9, 13, and often in Jeremiah. Furthermore, it is used in connection with a narrative of present or past events, especially when they contain the cause, or reason, of the action represented by the *Perfect consec.*; cf. Isa. 6, 7 this hath touched thy lips, וְסָר and is taken away, etc.; Gen. 20, 11; 26, 22; Judg. 13, 3 (here in an adversative sense); Hos. 8, 14. In Ex. 6, 6 sq., several *Perfects* are found in loose connection with a nominal clause. In Amos 5, 26 וְנִשְׂאוֹתֵם may be an announcement (*so shall ye then bear*); but cf. No. 6, *b*, *α*.

Rem. 1. The announcement of a *future* action is very frequently made by וְהָיָה and it shall come to pass (cf. the analogous chain of past events indicated by וַיְהִי, § 111, 2), upon which the announced event (sometimes after an insertion) follows in one or more (coördinated) *Perfects consec.* (Gen. 9, 14; 12, 12; Ex. 1, 10; 1 K. 18, 11; Isa. 14, 3 sq.; Amos 8, 9) or in Imperfect (Gen. 4, 14; Isa. 2, 2; 3, 24; 4, 3; 7, 18, 21 sq.; cf. 29, 8). Such a loose connection very seldom agrees with its following subject in gender and number; Num. 5, 27; Jer. 42, 16 וְהָיָה (incorrectly written for וְהָיָה); in Jer. 42, 17 strangely enough we find וְהָיָה for וְהָיָה.

2. In 1 Sam. 10, 5; 2 Sam. 5, 24 (1 Chr. 14, 15); 1 K. 14, 5; Ruth 3, 4, in place of וְהָיָה (as explained in Rem. 1) the Jussive form וְהָיָה is used, although in the first three instances a Jussive is in a sense impossible; in Ruth 3 (followed by a reminder) וְהָיָה would be expected (vid. b, Rem.). A textual error occurs in 1 K. 14, 5, where we should read merely וְהָיָה. In the other places וְהָיָה is found at the beginning of the sentence (indeed everywhere before an Infinitive with a preposition) unusually far from the principal tone; hence according to § 109, 2, b, Rem., it is evident that in 1 Sam. 10, 5, etc., the purely rhythmical Jussive form does not take the place of the full form of the Imperfect, but by exception supplants also the *Perfect consecutive*.

- b) to express a command or an entreaty; e. g. Deut. 10, 19 *love ye the stranger!* 1 Sam. 6, 5; 1 K. 2, 6 (in Gen. 40, 14 the precative *Perfect consec.*, as elsewhere the Cohortative, Jussive, and Imperative, is strengthened by נָא). Furthermore, it is used in loose connection with Participial and other nominal clauses (vid. a) Gen. 45, 12 sq.; 1 K. 2, 2 sq.; Ruth. 2, 3 sq.; 3, 9. In Gen. 17, 10 the *Perfect consec.* (וְנִמְלֶחֶם) and *ye shall be circumcised*, etc.) is used as explicative of a preceding command.

Rem. Here also, as in the cases mentioned under a, Rem., a connection can be made by means of וְהָיָה; likewise with a following *Perfect consec.* e. g. Gen. 46, 33; 47, 24; Judg. 4, 20; cf. also Gen. 24, 14, where the actual wish is contained, in sense at least, in the added clause.

- c) to express a question when loosely connected with another question (v. 2, c, α), e. g. Gen. 29, 15 *art thou my relative* (= because thou art my relative) וְעַבְדְּתָנִי *shouldest thou therefore serve me for nought?* or with a positive assertion, e. g. Ex. 5, 5; (וְהִשְׁפַּחְתֶּם) *ye wish them*

to rest from their labors?); 1 Sam. 25, 11, perhaps also Ps. 50, 21 (וַיִּתְּנֵם שָׁמַיִם).

d) to express an oft-repeated action (analogous to the numerous examples of a frequentative *Perfect consec.* (No. 3, a), e. g. 1 Sam. 1, 3 (וְעָלָה from year to year); 13, 21 (but the text here seems to be very corrupt); 27, 9 (וַיִּהְיֶה sc. each time, continued with וַיִּהְיֶה); 1 K. 5, 7 (וַיִּלְכְּלוּ parallel with a pure Imperfect); 9, 25; Jer. 25, 4; Dan. 8, 4. — In Job 1, 4 sq., a chain of frequentative *Perfects consec.* is broken by an Imperfect *consec.*; a pure Imperfect (as *modus rei repetitae*) forms the close. In Jer. 6, 17 such a Perfect, through the accentuation of the *ultima* (§ 49, 3), is really made equivalent to the actual *Perfect consec.*

Rem. Even here (cf. Rems. under a and b) the loose connection of frequentative tenses is often indicated by וַיִּהְיֶה; also with a following *Perfect consec.*, Gen. 30, 41 sq. (v. 42 a, however, where the verb is separated from י by an intervening word: לֹא יָשִׂים he did not usually put them in, § 107, 1 b); 38, 4; Ex. 17, 11; 33, 7 sq. (vid. No. 3, a); Num. 21, 9; Judg. 6, 3; 19, 30; 1 Sam. 16, 23 (followed by five *Perfects consec.*); with a following Imperfect (as *modus rei repetitae*) Judg. 2, 19; 2 Sam. 14, 26; in Judg. 12, 5, contrary to expectation וַיִּהְיֶה is continued in the Imperfect *consec.*, in 1 Sam. 13, 22 with וַיִּלָּא and the Perfect (for the Imperfect).

5. The *Perfect consec.* is frequently used with a certain emphasis for the introduction of the consequent after clauses or their equivalents containing a condition, cause or time relation. Furthermore, such a consequent, as in the cases already mentioned, may express future events as well as commands or entreaties or even oft-repeated past events.

a) as a consequent to a conditional clause¹:

α) after אִם with the Imperfect, e. g. 2 K. 7, 4 בִּלְבַד אִם-יָמִיתֵנוּ וּמָתָנוּ if they kill us (very well), we shall but die; the *Perfect consec.* is here clearly very emphatic, being immediately

¹ In a number of examples belonging here the protasis is loosely connected through וַיִּהְיֶה; they have been partly noticed in the Remarks to 4, a, b, d.

before the Imperfect (נִהְיֶה), Gen. 18, 26; 24, 8, 41; 32, 9; Num. 30, 15; Judg. 4, 20; 1 K. 3, 14; Nah. 3, 12; Eccl. 4, 11.

- β) after אֵם with the Perfect (in sense of *futurum exactum*), Num. 5, 27; 2 K. 5, 20; 7, 4 b; Isa. 4, 4 sq.; as precativum consequent after אֵם-נָא with a Perfect *praeteritum* Gen. 33, 10; as a *Perfect consec. frequentativum* to represent past events in the consequent of אֵם with the Perfect; Num. 21, 9; Judg. 6, 3; of אֵם with an Imperfect Gen. 31, 8.
- γ) after כִּי (in case that) with the Imperfect, Gen. 12, 12; Ex. 18, 16; Judg. 13, 17; Isa. 58, 7; Ezek. 14, 13¹; frequentative in reference to the past after כִּי with frequentative Perfect, Judg. 2, 18.
- δ) after אֲשֶׁר with the Imperf., Gen. 44, 9 וְאֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אִתּוֹ . . . נָמַת the one with whom it shall be found, . . . let him die! Ex. 21, 13 (and in case a man hath not lain in wait, etc.); Judg. 1, 12 with the Perfect.
- ε) frequently after one (or more) *Perfects consec.* containing a condition, Gen. 44, 29 וְלִקְחֶתֶם גַּם-אֶת-זֶה . . . וְהוֹרִדְתֶּם and if ye take (or have taken) this one also . . . ye shall bring, etc.; cf. 33, 13; 42, 38; 44, 4, 22; 47, 30; Num. 30, 12; Ruth 2, 9 and also Ezek. 39, 28. Moreover, in reference to past events, e. g. 1 Sam. 17, 34 sq. וַיָּבֹא הָאֵלֶּי . . . וַיִּצְאָתִי and there came a lion (as sometimes happened) . . . and I went, etc.; Ex. 33, 10; Num. 10, 17 sq.; Jer. 2, 9 (the *Perfect consec.* in the consequent regularly continued by means of וְלֹא with the Imperfect).²

Rem. The *Perfect consec.*, consequently, can be used to express the condition in the protasis when its use in the apodosis has been rendered

¹ In 1 Sam. 20, 24 a question (if he find his enemy . . . will he let him go ?) seems to be expressed by means of the *Perfect consec.*, but as Klostermann holds, וְכִי should here be read for וְכִי.

² In all these examples (and indeed not in the frequentative *Perfect consec.* only) the original idea of the Perfect becomes especially prominent, as it underlies the *Perfect consec.* In Gen. 44, 29 (vid. above) from the point of view of the speaker, the sense is: if it has come so far that you have taken him, then have you thereby brought me to Sheol.

impossible by the insertion of an emphatic word (Ezek. 14, 14 by הִמָּה; 33, 4 by דָּמּוֹ). — In 1 Sam. 14, 52, contrary to expectation, we find the Imperfect *consec.* in the apodosis (*whenever Saul saw any valiant man, he took him unto himself*; in וַיִּאֲסֶפְהוּ this one event rather than its repetition is thought of), and *vice versa* in 1 Sam. 2, 16; 17, 35 b, we find it in the protasis.

- 5) after all sorts of clause equivalents that contain a condition; also after an independent substantive or Participle (the so-called *casus pendens*) Gen. 17, 14 וְעָרַל זָכָר . . . וְנִכְרְתָהּ וּג' *an uncircumcised man . . . (if such be found) . . . shall be cut off*, etc.; cf. Ex. 12, 15; 2 Sam. 14, 10; Isa. 6, 13 and (after an Infinitive with a preposition) 2 Sam. 7, 14; in a broader sense also Ex. 4, 21; 9, 19; 12, 44; Isa. 9, 4.
- b) *Perfect consec.* is used as apodosis to causal clauses (for example after יַעַן כִּי with Perfect, Isa. 3, 16 sq.; after יַעַן אֲשֶׁר with Perfect, 1 K. 20, 28; after עַקֵּב with Perfect, Num. 14, 24) as well as after equivalents of causal clauses, as in Ps. 25, 11 לְמַעַן שְׁמִי . . . וְסִלַּחְתָּ *for thy name's sake, pardon*, etc.); Isa. 37, 29 (after יַעַן with Infinitive).
- c) *Perfect consec.* is used as apodosis to temporal clauses or their equivalents; e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 15 בָּטְרָם יִקְטְרוּן . . . וְבָא נֶעֱר הַכֹּהֵן *before they had burnt the fat, the priest's servant (was accustomed to) come*, etc. (a frequentative *Perfect consec.* in reference to the past, as also in Ex. 1, 19); after Participial clauses, e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 13 sq. כָּל-אִישׁ וְזָבַח וְזָבַח . . . וְבָא *whenever any man offered sacrifices, then came*, etc. (also Judg. 19, 30; 2, Sam. 20, 12) with frequentative *Perfect consec.* Especially frequent is the use of the *Perfect consec.* to announce *future* actions, or events after simple statements of time of every kind; Gen. 3, 5; Ex. 32, 34 (after בָּיִם with Infinitive); cf. also examples such as Num. 44, 30; Judg. 16, 2; 1 Sam. 16, 23 (numerous frequentative *Perfects consec.* after Infinitive with preposition, as 2 Sam. 15, 5); 20, 18; 2 Sam. 14, 26; 15, 10; Isa. 18, 5; also Ex. 17, 4; Isa. 10, 25; 29, 17; 37,

26; so also after isolated single words as in Ex. 16, 6 עֲרַב וְיָדַעְתֶּם *at even, then ye shall know*; cf. v. 7; 1 K. 13, 31; Prov. 24, 37.

6. Finally there are a number of passages which cannot be included under any of the preceding five heads. This is due partly to the influence of Aramaic idioms, partly to apparent corruptions in the text; in a few cases the incorrectness of expression must be recognized.

a) The book of Ecclesiastes reveals a connection with an Aramaic idiom, in the use of the Perfect with י as a historical tense in place of the Hebrew Imperfect *consec.* (cf. *Kautzsch Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.* § 71, b). This occurs in the other latest books,¹ perhaps also in some passages of the Books of Kings whose origin from late glosses is suspicious; but in 1 K. 12, 32 (וְהָעִמִּיד); 2 K. 11, 1 *Keth.* (וּרְאֵתָה); 14, 14 (וְלִקַּח); in the parallel passage 2 Chr. 25, 24 this word is wanting); 2 K. 23, 4 וַיֵּשֶׁא etc.; v. 10 וַיִּטְמֵא etc.; v. 12 וְהִשְׁלִיךְ etc.; v. 15 וַיִּשְׂרֹף etc.²

b) A corrupt text is without doubt found in Isa. 40, 6 (read in LXX and Vulgate וַיֵּאמֶר); Jer. 38, 28 where the narrative breaks off in the middle of the sentence; 40, 3 (וְהָיָה) etc. is wanting in the LXX); in Judg. 7, 13 וַיִּנְכַּל הָאֵל is entirely superfluous; in 1 Sam. 3, 13 read with *Klostermann* for וְהִגַּדְתִּי the 2d sing. masc.; in 1 K. 21, 12 וְהִשְׁבִּי is no doubt incorrectly repeated from verse 9 (where it is Imperative).

Of the cases found elsewhere:

a) the following may still be explained as frequentatives: Ex. 36, 29 sq. (v. 29 parallel with pure Imperfect); 36, 38; 38, 28; 29, 3; 1 Sam. 5, 7; 17, 20; 24, 11 (וַיֵּאמְרוּ) at least is then expected); 2 Sam. 19, 18 sq. (the ferry, owing to the great number of people, etc. must often pass over and back again); Isa. 28, 26 (parallel with Imperfect); Amos 5, 26 (perhaps better *so shall ye then bear*, vid. No. 4, a); Ps. 26, 3; Ezra 8, 36.

¹ In the whole book of Ecclesiastes the Imperfect *consec.* occurs only in 1, 17; 4, 1, 7. Of the Perfects with י quite a number (e. g. 1, 13; 2, 5, 9, 11, 13, 15; 5, 18 cf. with 6, 2) can be explained as frequentatives; but not passages like 9, 14 sq. In *Ezra Driver* finds only five, in *Neh.* only six, in *Esther* six or seven examples of historical Perfects with י.

² According to *Stade Zeitschr.* Bd. V. p. 291 sq., where apparently in 2 K. 12, 12 a chain of critically suspected Perfects with י is discussed, the whole section from וַיֵּשֶׁא 2 K. 23, 4 to verse 15 is to be considered as a gloss, since the continuation of an Imperfect *consec.* through the Perfect with י in pre-exilic compositions never occurs except as an error in the original text. There is indeed a possibility that the frequentative *Perfects consec.* noted above with numerous examples (and also immediately following Imperfect *consec.* as in 1 Sam. 1, 4) have not been taken into account; at any rate, in 2 K. 23, 5 וְהִשְׁבִּיתָ, in v. 8 וַיִּנְתֵּן, in v. 14 וַיִּשְׂפֹּר may be understood as representing repeated actions.

β) Perfect with ! might represent a longer or a firmer persistence in the past (another anomaly of the frequentative Perfect with !); e. g. Gen. 15, 6; 34, 5; Num. 21, 20; according to *Driver* also Josh. 15, 3-11; 16, 2-8 (finally parallel with Imperfect as in 17, 9; 18, 20); 18, 12-21; 19, 11-14; 22, 26-29, 34; further 1 Sam. 1, 12; 25, 20 (in both places וְהָיָה); Isa. 22, 14; Jer. 3, 9.

γ) due to errors in the text or incorrect expressions are: Gen. 21, 25; Judg. 3, 23¹; 16, 18; 1 Sam. 17, 38; 1 K. 3, 11 (where וּשְׁאֵלָה might intentionally be conformed to the four similar Perfects): 13, 3; 20, 21; 2 K. 14, 7 (where with *Stade* we should read וְאֵת-הַפֶּלֶעַ תִּפְּשׂ); 14, 14; 18, 4 (where still וְשָׁבַר not וּכְרַת etc., could be considered frequentative); Jer. 37, 15 (where וְהָכֵנִי, but not וְנִתְּנִי could be frequentative); Amos 7, 4 (וְאֶכְלֶה after Imperfect *consec.*); Job 16, 12.

Finally in 1 Sam. 10, 9; 17, 48; 2 Sam. 6, 16; 2 K. 3, 15; Jer. 37, 11; Amos 7, 2 וְהָיָה should be read for וְהָיָה; but in Gen. 38, 5 the LXX has וְהָיָה.

B. The Infinitive and Participle.

§ 113.

THE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE.

1. The *Infinitive absolute*, according to § 45, serves to emphasize the verbal idea *in abstracto*, i. e. it *names* an action (or state) regardless of its origin or the temporal and modal conditions under which it takes place. As the *name* of an action, the *Infinitive absolute*, like other nouns, can of course assume certain offices (as subject, predicate or object, or even genitive); still such a use of the *Infinitive absolute* (instead of *Infinitive construct* with or without a preposition) is on the whole rare, and many of the supposable cases are found in texts critically doubtful. But the *Infinitive absolute* frequently reveals its true character, as

¹ Or does וְנָעַל as frequentative refer to the locking up with several bars? In any case, it is to be noticed that also in 2 Sam. 13, 18 וְנָעַל follows an Imperfect *consec.*

² The union of an *Infinitive absolute* with a genitive or a pronominal suffix is not to be considered.

naming a verbal idea, in its taking an object (in the accusative and even by means of a preposition).

Examples of its use :

a) as *subject*, Prov. 25, 27 אֲכַל דְּבֶשׁ הָרְפוֹת לֹא טוֹב *it is not good to eat much honey*; Jer. 10, 5; Job 6, 25; Eccl. 4, 17; epexegetical to a demonstrative pronoun, Isa. 58, 5 sq.; Zech. 14, 12.

b) as *predicate*, Isa. 32, 17 and the effect of righteousness is הַשְׁקֵט וְנִבְטָח *quietness* (lit. to keep quiet[ness]) and assurance.

c) as *object*, Isa. 1, 17 לִקְרוֹי הַיָּטֵב *learn to do right!* 7, 15; Prov. 15, 12; in sense also Jer. 9, 23; 23, 14 as well as Isa. 5, 5 (הָסֵר and פָּרִץ virtually dependent upon the optative idea in עֲשֵׂה); 22, 13 where several *Infinitives absolute* are governed by הִנֵּה, and 59, 13 (six *Infinitives* governed by יִרְעֻנוּם v. 12); peculiarly also Deut. 28, 56 emphasizes the object¹ dependent on an *Infinitive absolute*, and Isa. 42, 24 where the related local limits appear before the *Infinitive absolute*. In Jer. 9, 4, Job 13, 3 the *Infinitive absolute* is emphatically represented as the object of the verb (negated by לֹא, Isa. 57, 20; Jer. 49, 23), also as a separate object and coördinated with a substantive, Lam. 3, 45.

d) as *genitive*, Isa. 14, 23 בְּמַטְאֵמָא הַשְׁמֵר *with the besom of destruction*; perhaps also 4, 4 בְּרוּחַ פָּעַל; cf. also Prov. 1, 3; 21, 16. In immediate connection with prepositions (that as original substantives govern the genitive), the *Infinitive absolute*² never occurs, but in its place the *Infinitive construct*; if, however, a second *Infinitive* with ! be coördinated with such an *Infinitive construct*, it will appear (being removed from the immediate influence of the preposition) as the *Infinitive absolute*, e. g. 1 Sam. 22, 13 וְשָׂאוֹל לוֹ בְּאֱלֹהִים... וְנָתַתָּ לוֹ לֶחֶם *in that thou hast given him bread... and hast besought God for him*; Ezek. 36, 3; 1 Sam. 25, 26, 33 (after כֵּן); after לְ Ex. 32, 6; Jer. 7, 18; 44, 17.

e) as governing an *object-accusative*, Isa. 22, 13 הָרַג בָּקָר וְשָׁחַט צֹאן *slaying (to slay) oxen, and killing (to kill) sheep*; cf. from the examples under a—d, Deut. 28, 56; Isa. 5, 5; 58, 6 sq.; Prov. 25, 27, etc.; as governing a preposition, e. g. Isa. 7, 15 מָאוֹס בָּרַע וּבָחַר בְּטוֹב *to reject the evil and choose the good*; Prov. 15, 12 (הוֹכֵחַ לוֹ).

As the *Infinitive absolute* can never have a suffix (vid. note to No. 1), the object whenever found in the form of a personal pron. appears as a suffix with the *nota accusativi* אֶת (את), e. g. Jer. 9, 23 יָדוּעַ אֶתִּי *to know me*; Ezek. 36, 3.

¹ Perhaps according to § 53, 3, Rem. 2 הַצֵּג is to be explained as the *Infinitive construct*, or written as הַצֵּג.

² ואחרי שְׁתָּה 1 Sam. 1, 9 is impossible Hebrew; according to the LXX it is a later addition.

2. Distinct from the use mentioned in 1, *c* as object-accusative, is its use as *casus adverbialis*¹ attached to some form of a finite verb, more closely to describe the mode or attendant circumstances (temporal or local) under which an action or event has occurred, occurs or will occur; e. g. Jer. 22, 19 *he shall be buried like an ass* וְהִשְׁלָךְ כְּחֹב a *dragging and casting out*, i. e. dragged and cast out, etc.; Gen. 21, 16 (הִרְחֵק a *departing* [to depart], i. e. departed; cf. Ex. 33, 7; Josh. 3, 16); Gen. 30, 32; Ex. 30, 36; Num. 6, 5, 23; 15, 35 (with a later addition of a subj.; vid. No. 4, Rem.); Josh. 3, 17; 1 Sam. 3, 12 (הָחֵל וְבִלָּה a *beginning and ending* i. e. from beginning to end); 2 Sam. 8, 2; Isa. 7, 11 (תַּעֲמֵק and תִּגְבֶּה lit. a *making deep or making high*, i. e. make thy requests into the depths of the lower world or the heights above); 57, 17 (הִסְתַּר in *concealment* sc. of the face); Jer. 3, 15 (וְהָשִׁיל with *insight and wisdom*; Hab. 3, 13 (עָרוֹת cf. on the form § 75, Rem. 10); Zech. 7, 3; Ps. 35, 16 (חָרַק as a more definite limitation of קָרָע v. 15); Job. 15, 3.²

Rem. 1. To such an adverbial *Infinitive absolute* moreover, a *casus adverbialis* (accusative of condition) or a so-called adverbial clause may stand in close relation as explanatory of the mode of the action; e. g. Isa. 20, 2 *and he walked* הָלַךְ עָרוֹם וְיָחַף *naked and barefoot* (in the condition of one stripped, etc.); Isa. 30, 14 *a smashing up* (according to the idiom כָּתוֹת; the Massora requires כָּתוֹת *unsparingly*).

2. Several such Infinitives, which are all in Hiph'il, have through frequent use become pure adverbs, as הִרְבֶּה (cf. § 75, Rem. 15) *multum faciendo*, i. e. *multum*, often greatly strengthened by קָאֵר and used without connection with a finite verb (vid. the Lexicon); furthermore, הֵיטֵב *bene faciendo*, i. e. *bene*, especially used at the full, thorough completion of an action (e. g. Deut. 13, 15); in Deut. 9, 21; 27, 8 brought in as explanatory to another adverbial *Infinitive absolute* and in Jon. 4, 9 twice expressly indicated; finally הִשָּׁכֵם *mane faciendo*, i. e. *early morning*, primarily *early* with the co-existing sense of eagerness; in 1 Sam. 17, 16 in connection with the *Infinitive absolute* וְהָעֵרָב (*morning*

¹ That this *casus adverbialis* was originally considered as an accusative is evident from the ancient Arabic, where a similar Infinitive clearly has the accusative ending. This use of the *Infinitive absolute* finds its equivalent in the Latin Gerund in *-do*.

² In 2 K. 21, 13 for קָחָה וְהָפֵן read with *Klostermann* וְהָפֵן קָחָה.

and evening, i. e. early and late) governed by עֶרֶב evening; otherwise (regardless of Prov. 27, 14) always in connection with the *Infinitive absolute* of the principal verb; e. g. Jer. 11, 7 for I protested to your fathers הָעֶרְתִּי...וְהָעֶרְ הַשָּׁבִים rising early and protesting, i. e. earnestly protesting; 25, 3; 26, 5 (where וְ could be omitted before הָ); 29, 19; 32, 33; 2 Chr. 16, 15.

3. Usually the *Infinitive absolute* stands in immediate relation with the finite verb of the same stem as a *more definite expression* or *strengthening of the verbal idea* in various ways.¹

These *Infinitives absol.* in immediate connection with the finite verb belong exclusively within the sphere of the so-called *schema etymologicum* mentioned in § 117, 2, i. e. they are objects of the said finite verb. The only difference is that the *Infinitive absolute* (as *nomen abstractum*) emphasizes rather the reality or the force of the action, whereas the pure noun emphasizes the *result* of the action; cf. e. g. Ex. 22, 22 אִם-צִיָּק יִצְעַק אֵלַי and he cries aloud to me, with Gen. 27, 34 (he cried with a great cry).

We must describe more in detail:

- a) the *Infinitive absolute* before the verb *strengthens* its verbal idea, either thus emphasizing the certainty (as in threats), or the force and fulfillment of an event. Such an *Infinitive* is usually rendered by a corresponding *adverb*, but sometimes only by the emphasis of the verb, e. g. Gen. 2, 17 מוֹת תָּמוּת thou shalt surely die, cf. 18, 10, 18; 1 Sam. 9, 6 (cometh surely to pass); Amos 5, 5; 7, 17; Hab. 2, 3 Zech. 11, 17 and with an *Infinitive* strengthened through אָז Gen. 44, 28 (but 27, 30 was yet hardly gone out, etc.); Gen. 43, 3 הָעֵד הָעֵד בָּנוּ he expressly protested unto us, 1 Sam. 20, 6 (he has earnestly asked leave of me); Judg. 1, 28 וְהוֹרִישׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוּ and did not utterly drive them out; especially instructive is Amos 9, 8 I will destroy it from off the face of the earth אֲפֹם כִּי לֹא הִשְׁמַר אֲשַׁמִּיר וגו' save that I will not utterly destroy, etc.; Jer. 30, 11 (and will not

¹ Cf. A. Rieder, die Verbindung des Inf. abs. mit dem Verb. fin. desselben Stammes im Hebr. Lpz., 1872; quae ad syntaxin Hebraicam, qua infin. abs. cum verbo fin. eiusdem radice coniungitur, planiorem faciendam ex lingua Graeca et Latina afferantur, Gumbinnen (Program der Gymn.), 1884.

leave thee altogether unpunished); cf. also Gen. 20, 18; Joel, 1, 7; Job 13, 5.

The *Infinitive absolute* is less emphatic in cases like Gen. 26, 28 רָאִינוּ רָאִי we have certainly seen; 15, 13 (know of a surety); 28, 22 (I will surely give the tenth); 1 Sam. 24, 21, as well as with such verbs as express a threat, blessing, benefit, etc. (Gen. 3, 16; 22, 17; 32, 13 etc.).

The *Infinitive absolute* serves to express an *antithesis*, e. g. 2 Sam. 24, 24 נָא, בָּרַךְ אֲנִי אֶתְּךָ (not take it as a gift); Judg. 15, 13 (no, but we will bind thee fast...but will not kill thee); cf. Gen. 31, 30 (though thou wouldest be gone, Vulgate: esto) because thou sore longedst, etc.; Ps. 118, 13, 18; 126, 6 (the second *Infinitive absolute*, complementary to the first, (vid. *b*) follows the verb). Hence it is also licitative in Gen. 2, 16 sq. אָבֵל תֹּאכַל thou mayest always eat, but, etc., v. 16 then antithetic to v. 17). It serves, furthermore, to strengthen questions, especially passionate, unwelcome questions, e. g. Gen. 37, 8 הֲמִלְךָ עָלֵינוּ shalt thou indeed reign over us? 37, 10; 43, 7; Judg. 11, 25; 1 Sam. 2, 27; Jer. 3, 1; 13, 12; Amos 3, 5; Zech. 7, 5; cf. also Gen. 24, 5 (must I then bring back?).

b) the *Infinitive absolute* after the verb is used partly (vid. *a*, above) to strengthen¹ the verbal idea (especially after Imperatives and Participles, since the *Infinitive absolute* can never precede them, e. g. Job 13, 17; 21, 2; 37, 2 שָׁמְעוּ שָׁמְעוּ hear attentively; Jer. 22, 10; after Participle Isa. 22, 17, also elsewhere Num. 23, 11; 24, 10 (thou hast altogether blessed them); Josh. 24, 10; 2 K. 5, 11; Dan. 11, 10 and with a strengthening of the *Infinitive absolute* by עַל Gen. 31, 15; 46, 4; Num. 16, 13), and partly, but chiefly, to indicate the longer *duration* of the action; thus again after Imperative Isa. 6, 9 שָׁמְעוּ שָׁמְעוּ

¹ In Arabic also the strengthening Infinitive regularly follows the verb (but in Syriac it precedes).

hear ye indeed evermore; after Perfect Jer. 6, 29; after Participles Jer. 23, 17; after Imperfect *consec.* Gen. 19, 9 (*he henceforth played the judge*); Num. 11, 32. Here belong especially the cases where one *Infinitive absolute* is coördinated with another; the second then expresses either a concomitant or antithetic action, or the object for whose attainment the main action is exerted; e. g. 1 Sam. 6, 12 הָלְכוּ הַלֵּךְ וְנָעוּ *they went a-going and lowing (they went continually lowing*; also after a Participle Josh. 6, 13 *Qerê*); Gen. 8, 7 (=it flew to and fro)¹; Isa. 19, 22 *smiting and, i. e. but still healing*; Joel 2, 26 (vid. Rem. under No. 3).

Rem. 1. In place of a second *Infinitive absolute* there is sometimes found (§ 112, 4, a, ε) a Perfect *consec.* (Josh. 6, 13, a and 2 Sam. 13, 19, each time as Perfect *frequentativum*; Isa. 31, 5 referring to the future) or an Imperfect *consec.* (2 Sam. 16, 13) or a Participle (2 Sam. 16, 5); cf. also Rem. 2.

2. The idea of longer *duration* is very often expressed by the verb הָלַךְ *to go*, with its *Infinitive absolute* or by the latter alone. This takes place not only when the actual sense (*to go, to stride*, as in the above-mentioned instances Josh. 6, 13; 1 Sam. 6, 12; 2 Sam. 13, 19; cf. also Isa. 3, 16 where both Infinitives *precede* the verb, and Ps. 126, 6 where הָלֹךְ *precedes*) is clear, but also in cases where הָלַךְ in the sense of *continuing, lasting* actually serves as the paraphrase of an adverb. The action itself is then included in a second *Infinitive absolute*, sometimes also (Rem. 1) in a Participle or verbal Adjective; e. g. Gen. 8, 3 וַיָּשֻׁבוּ הַמַּיִם וַיָּשׁוּב הָלֹךְ... *and the waters returned continually*; 8, 5; 12, 9; Judg. 14, 9; 2 K. 2, 11; with a following Participle Jer. 41, 6; with a following Adjective Gen. 26, 13; Judg. 4, 24; 1 Sam. 14, 19; 2 Sam. 5, 10 (1 Chr. 11, 9); 2 Sam. 18, 25.² But in 1 Sam. 17, 41 in place of the *Infinitive absolute* we find the Participle הָלֹךְ. Of a different nature are the examples where the Participle הָלֹךְ together with a coördinated Adjective (1 Sam. 2, 26; 2 Sam. 3, 1; 15, 12; Jon. 1, 11; Esth. 9, 4; 2 Chr. 17, 12) or Participle (Prov. 4, 18) serves as the predicate.

3. The negative stands regularly between the strengthened *Infinitive absolute* and the finite verb,³ e. g. Ex. 5, 23 הָצֵל לֹא-הִצַּלְתָּ *thou hast not*

¹ In Ezek. 1, 14 for the contorted צֹאֵן וְצֹאֵן read simply צֹאֵן וְצֹאֵן.

² Cf. the French: *le mal va toujours croissant, la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant, always growing increasingly worse.*

³ Cf. *Rieder quo loco ponantur negationes* לֹא et לֹא, conjunctio וְ, particula וְ, cum conjuncta leguntur cum infin., quem absolutum grammatici

delivered; Judg. 15, 13; Jer. 13, 12; 30, 11; cf. Mic. 1, 10 (אֵל). Exceptions: Gen. 3, 4 (where it relates to the negative in the threat of 2, 17); Amos 9, 8; Ps. 49, 8.

4. The derived conjugations employ not only their own *Infinitives absolute* (Gen. 17, 30; Ezek. 14, 3 *Niph.*; Gen. 40, 15 *Pu'al*; Hos. 4, 18 *Hiph.*; Ezek. 16, 4 *Hoph.*) but oftener those of the *Qāl* as the nearest and most common representative of the verbal idea, Gen. 37, 33 (in *Pu'al*); 46, 4 (in *Hiph.*); Ex. 19, 13; 2 Sam. 23, 7; Jer. 10, 5; Job 6, 2 (in *Niph.*); Isa. 24, 19 in *Hithpo.*; יָנַח *ibidem* should certainly be, according to the Massora, *Infinitive absolute Qāl*; vid. § 67, Rem. 2, and so always כּוֹת יָבִיט *he shall certainly be killed*. Elsewhere the *Infinitive absolute* of a corresponding conjugation (Lev. 19, 20; 2 K. 3, 23 *Hōph.* for *Niph.*; 1 Sam. 2, 16 *P'el* for *Hiph.*; Ezek. 16, 4 *Hōph.* for *Pū'āl*) or of another cognate vocal stem is used (Isa. 28, 28; Jer. 8, 13; Zeph. 1, 2). Finally the *Infinitive absolute* can no less be replaced by a substantive from the cognate root¹; Isa. 35, 2 (אֶף-גִּילַת); Jer. 46, 5; Mic. 4, 9 (after the verb); Hab. 3, 9; Job 27, 12. In Isa. 29, 14 such a strengthening substantive is found together with the *Infinitive absolute*.

5. In a few cases the *Infinitive construct* is used in place of the *Infinitive absolute* to strengthen the verbal idea; Num. 23, 25 (גַּם קָבַץ; cf. Ruth 2, 16 גַּם שָׁל); Jer. 50, 34 (רִיב יָרִיב); Prov. 23, 1 (בִּין תִּבְנֶה); Ps. 50, 21 (הָיוֹת), perhaps out of repugnance to the hiatus הָיוֹת הָיוֹת; Neh. 1, 7 (חָכַל); everywhere in a rapid flow of speech; after the verb in Josh. 7, 7 (in case הָיָה is not meant).

4. Frequently the *Infinitive absolute* appears as a *substitute for the finite verb*, either when the mere mention of the verbal idea suffices (vid. *a*) or when the sudden or otherwise excited speech is purposely satisfied therewith in order to render the verbal signification much clearer and more expressive (vid. *b*).

a) It is used in continuing a past finite verb. This is frequent in the later writings in several successive acts or states where only the first verb is inflected, the others being simply put in the *Infinitive absolute*. Thus after several Perfects Dan. 9, 5 (cf. v. 11) *we have sinned . . . and have rebelled* וְסוּר and *have departed* (lit. *a departure*

vocant verbo finito ejusdem radice addito (Ztschr. für Gymn.-Wesen, 1879, p. 395 sq.).

¹ This construction must not be confounded with the so-called *schema etymologicum* as explained under "The verb."

took place, unless in such a case the *Infinitive absolute* is to be considered as accusative, depending upon the active idea in the finite verb); also after the *Perfect* in Isa. 37, 19; Jer. 14, 5; 19, 13; Hag. 1, 6 (four Infinitives); Zech. 3, 4; 7, 5; Eccl. 8, 9; 9, 11; Esth. 3, 13; 9, 6; 12, 6 sq.; Neh. 9, 8, 13; 1 Chr. 5, 20; 2 Chr. 28, 19¹; after *Perfect consec.* Zech. 12, 10; after a pure *Imperfect* Lev. 25, 14; Num. 30, 3; Jer. 32, 44 (three Infinitives); 36, 23; 1 Chr. 21, 24; after an *Imperfect consec.* Gen. 41, 43 (continuation of וַיִּרְכֹּב); Ex. 8, 11; Judg. 7, 19; Jer. 37, 21; Neh. 8, 8; 1 Chr. 16, 36; 2 Chr. 7, 3; with אִם or after a *Jussive* Deut. 14, 21; Esth. 2, 2; 6, 9; after an *Imperative* Isa. 37, 30; Amos 4, 4; after a *Participle* Hab. 2, 15 (strengthened by אֲנִי and like the Participle itself to be understood as *accusativus adverbialis*); Esth. 8, 8.

b) It may stand at the *beginning* of a discourse, or a *new* division of the same. The *Infinitive absolute* may take the place of any form of the finite verb demanded by the connection. Usually the *Infinitive absolute* is thus used (corresponding to the Infinitive as an imperative in Greek and German)²:

α) for the *emphatic Imperative*, e. g. שְׁמֹר *observe* (shalt thou, shall ye) Deut. 5, 12; זָכוֹר *remember* (shalt thou) Ex. 13, 3; 20, 8 (complete in Deut. 6, 17 שֶׁ'תִּשְׁמְרוּן 7, 18 ו'תִּזְכָּר); Lev. 2, 6; Deut. 1, 16; Isa. 38, 5; Jer. 2, 2 with a following *Perfect consec.*; Josh. 1, 13; 2 K. 3, 16; Isa. 7, 4; 14, 31 (parallel with an Imperative); but הִבֵּיט Ps. 142, 5 may be orthographically incorrect for הִבֵּט (*Imperative*).

β) for the *Jussive*, 2 K. 11, 15; cf. also Prov. 17, 12 (*may rather meet!*).

¹ In Ezek. 7, 14 a Perfect seems to be continued with the *Infinitive construct*, but the text here is clearly corrupt (*Cornill* reads תִּקְעוּ תִקְוֶה הִבְיֵנוּ הִבֵּן).

² Cf. the French Infinitive *voir* (page etc.), *s'adresser* . . ., *se méfier de* *voleurs!*

γ) for the *Cohortative* 1 K. 22, 30 (2 Chr. 18, 29) *disguise myself and go into battle* (will I); Isa. 22, 13^b (אֶבֹּל וְשׁ) as the exclamation of a mocker); Ezek. 21, 31; 23, 30, 46; perhaps also Jer. 31, 2 (הָלֹךְ). In Josh. 9, 20 it is coördinated¹ with the Cohortative by means of וְ.

δ) for the *Imperfect in distinct promises*, 2 K. 4, 43 *eat and leave thereof* (ye shall); 19, 29 (Isa. 37, 30); 2 Chr. 31, 10; also in unwilling questions Job 40, 2 *he wants to contend . . . the faultfinder?*² (cf. for addition of subject the Rem.); Jer. 3, 1 (*and would you return to me?*); 7, 9 sq. (six Infinitives continued by a *Perfect consec.* cf. § 112, 2, b, γ).

ε) for *any historical tense* (corresponding to the Latin *Infinitivus historicus*) in lively narration (or enumeration) or description, even when still taking place, e. g. Hos. 4, 2 *swearing and lying and killing and stealing and committing adultery* (that they carried on!); 10, 4 (after *Perfect*); Isa. 21, 5; 59, 4; Jer. 8, 15; 14, 19; cf. also Jer. 32, 33; Eccl. 4, 2; Prov. 12, 7; 15, 22 and 25, 4, where the *Infinitive absolute* is rendered most simply by means of a passive construction.

Rem. Occasionally the *Infinitive absolute*, when used as the substitute of the finite verb, takes the noun used as subject after it. Lev. 6, 7; Deut. 15, 2; Prov. 17, 12; Job 40, 2; Eccl. 4, 2; Esth. 9, 1 (also Gen. 17, 10, although here כָּל יָכַר according to § 121, 2 may also be regarded as the *object* with a passive verb; cf. Esth. 3, 13). The subject follows the adverbial *Infinitive absolute* in Num. 15, 35 (vid. 2, above) and in Ps. 17, 5; the *Infinitive absolute* is coördinated with an *Infinitive constr.* in 1 Sam. 25, 26, 33 (vid. 1, d, above).

¹ In 2 Sam. 3, 18 the *Infinitive constr.* seems to be similarly used, but here doubtless אֶשְׁׁן should be read for הָ.

² In Job 34, 18 for the *Infinitive constr.*, in a similar question, the *Infinitive absolute* (הָאֵמֵר) is rather to be expected, unless, according to the LXX and the Vulgate, we read the Participle הָאֵמֵר.

§ 114.

THE INFINITIVE CONSTRUCT.

1. The *Infinitive construct*, as the *Infinitive absolute* (according to § 45, 1) is a *verbal noun*, but with much greater flexibility than the latter (cf. § 113, 1). Its close relationship to actual nouns is shown by the ease with which the *Infinitive construct* can fill any case whatever; hence it is used:

- a) as (*subject-*) *nominative*; e. g. Gen. 2, 18 לֹא-טוֹב הָיִיתָ לְבַדּוֹ lit. *not good is the being of man in his separation*; 30, 15; Isa. 7, 13; 1 Sam. 23, 20; Prov. 17, 26; 25, 7, 24 (but cf. 21, 9 in the same expression לְשִׁבְתָּ לְטוֹב); Ps. 32, 9 (lit. *there occurs no nearness to thee*).
- b) as *genitive*; e. g. Eccl. 3, 4 עֵת סִפּוֹר וְעֵת רִקּוֹד *a time to mourn and a time to dance* (of mourning and of dancing); Gen. 2, 17; 29, 7. Here also belong all the cases (§ 101) where the *Infinitive constr.* depends upon a preposition (v. 2).
- c) as (*object-*) *accusative*; e. g. 1 K. 3, 7 לֹא אֵדָע צֵאתָ וְבֵאתָ *I know not (how) to go out and to come in*; Gen. 21, 6; 31, 28; Isa. 1, 14; Jer. 6, 15; Job 15, 22 (cf. § 113, 1, c for the *Infinitive abs.* as object); as an accusative with a *verbum implendi* see Isa. 11, 9.

2. The *Infinitive const.* with *prepositions* (as the Greek *ἐν τῷ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ εἶναι*, etc.) is usually translated by a *finite verb* with a conjunction; e. g. Num. 35, 19 בְּפָגְעוֹ-בּוֹ *as he meets him*, i. e. as soon as he meets him; Gen. 27, 45 (עַד-שׁוּב); Isa. 30, 12 מֵאַחֲכֶם יַעַן *because ye despise*; Jer. 2, 35 עַל-אֲמַרְךָ *because thou sayest*; Gen. 27, 1 מְרֵאָה *so that he did not see*. The *Infinitive construct* is thus especially frequent in connection with בְּ or עַל in expressing relations of time (usually rendered by a temporal clause, like the connection of the *Infinitive* with יַעַן or עַל- in a

causal clause) particularly after וַיְהִי (vid. examples § 111, 2, Rem. 1) e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 27 בְּהִיוֹתָם בְּמִ' *while they were in Egypt*; Gen. 24, 30 וַיְהִי כִּרְאֹת אֶת־הַנָּזֶם . . . וַיִּשְׁמָעוּ וַג' *and it came to pass when he saw (lit. at seeing) the earring . . . and when he heard (at his hearing), etc.* But by far the most frequent use, however, is the union of the *Infinitive constr.* with לִ; from the main idea of לִ, i. e. the *direction toward which*, the Infinitives with לִ serve to express different purpose- and time-relations, often also (with a weakening or complete ignoring of the orig. meaning of לִ) to introduce the object of an action, and finally even (similar to the adverbial use of the *Infinitive absolute* § 113, 2 and the Latin Gerund in *-ndo*) to express causal and other attendant circumstances; vid. examples in the Remarks.

Rem. 1. The original meaning of לִ is most clearly seen in such Infinitives with לִ as express purpose (i. e. a paraphrase of a final clause), e. g. Gen. 11, 5 and Jehovah came down לִרְאוֹת אֶת־הָעִיר *to see the city*; also with a variable subject, e. g. 2 Sam. 12, 10 and hast taken the wife of Uriah לְהָיִית לְךָ לְאִשָּׁה *to be thy wife*; cf. Gen. 28, 4; Jer. 38, 26 (לְמִוִּית).

2. Equally clear is the idea of direction toward a definite object or of reference to a point by the union of the verb הָיָה *to be* with לִ and an Infinitive. Moreover, הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת may just as well mean a) *he is about to do, intends or purposes to do, and he is intent upon, is eager, to do something* as b) *he (or it) was decided, pressed to the action in question, etc.* In the latter case הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת corresponds to the Latin *faciendum erat* (cf. English *I am to give*). In both cases, however, הָיָה (as elsewhere when a copula) can easily be omitted.

Examples for a) are found in Gen. 15, 12 וַיְהִי הַשָּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא *and the sun was about to go down*; 2 Chr. 26, 5 וַיְהִי לִדְרֹשׁ אֱלֹהִים *and he was seeking God* (here with the attendant idea of duration); with omission of הָיָה Isa. 38, 30 יְהוָה לְהוֹשִׁיעַנִי *Jehovah was ready to save me*; 1 Sam. 14, 21 (?); Jer. 51, 49; Ps. 25, 14 (*et foedus suum manifestaturus est*

¹ Cf. on this point § 45, 2, according to which the union of לִ with the first consonant of the *Infinitive* (לְכַתֹּב with closed final syllable, in contrast with בְּכַתֵּב, בְּכַתֵּב, etc.) appears to give rise to a new verb form. Entirely out of the question are the few instances where the *Infinitive* with לִ expresses a relation of time: Gen. 24, 63 לְפָנֹת עָרֵב *toward evening* (lit. at the time of the turning of evening); cf. Deut. 23, 12; Ex. 14, 27; Judg. 19, 26; 2 Sam. 18, 29 (*when Joab sent the king's servant*).

eis); Prov. 18, 24 (?) ; 19, 8 (לְמַצָּא consecuturus est) ; 20, 25 ; Eccl. 3, 15 אֲשֶׁר לְהוֹת quod futurum est ; 2 Chr. 11, 22 ; 12, 12 (in a negative assertion) ; in a question, Esth. 7, 8 (will he also . . . ?) cf. also 1 Sam. 4, 19.

For b) Josh. 2, 5 וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לִסְגּוֹר and the gate was to shut (should be closed) ; Isa. 37, 26 ; Ps. 109, 13.¹ So usually with the omission of הָיָה 2 K. 4, 13 מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת לָךְ וְגו' what is to be done for thee? wouldst thou be spoken for (הַיֵּשׁ לְרֹכֵב-רָךְ) to the King, etc.? 2 K. 13, 19 לְהַכּוֹת (it was to smite i. e. thou shouldst have been smiting = thou shouldst have smitten ; Isa. 5, 4 ; 10, 32 ; Ps. 32, 9 ; 68, 19 (?) ; Job 30, 6 (habitandum est iis) ; 1 Chr. 9, 25 ; 22, 5 ; 2 Chr. 8, 13 (?) ; 36, 19 (?) ; Hos. 9, 13 ; Hab. 1, 17 ; in a question 2 Chr. 19, 2.

Here too belong the cases where the Infinitive with the ל depends upon an obligatory or permissive (or prohibitory) idea ; it is thus used in 2 Sam. 18, 11 יָגִיל לָתֵת לָךְ וְגו' it was mine, i. e. it was incumbent on me to give thee, etc.² ; cf. Mic. 3, 1 (2 Chr. 13, 5) הֲיִשׁ לְךָ (i. e. is it not your duty)?³ ; negative in 2 Chr. 26, 18 לֹא לָךְ וְגו' it appertaineth not unto thee to burn incense, but to the priests ; furthermore לֹא אֵין with an Infinitive it is not allowed (nefas est), may not, e. g. Esth. 4, 2 אֵין לְבוֹא for none might enter ; 8, 8 ; 1 Chr. 15, 2⁴ ; in a somewhat different sense אֵין follows the Infinitive (= it is impossible), e. g. Ps. 40, 6 ; Eccl. 3, 14 ; 2 Chr. 5, 11.⁵ לֹא can be used for אֵין in both senses ; e. g. Amos 6, 10 לֹא לְהוֹצִיר nefas est (to mention the name of Jehovah) ; but Judg. 1, 19 for it was not possible to drive out, etc., (doubtless the text was originally like Josh. 17, 12 לֹא יִכְלִי לָהּ ; 1 Chr. 15, 2.

3. Still another class is formed by the numerous cases where the Infinitive with ל serves to introduce the object⁶ of a governing verb

¹ Of a somewhat different nature are the cases where הָיָה לְ with the Infinitive (which is there used as a full substantive) means to become something, i. e. to fall upon a certain fate ; thus Num. 24, 22 (cf. Isa. 5, 5 ; 6, 13) לְבָעֵר the desolation, for which elsewhere often לְשָׂפָה and the like are found (no doubt Ps. 49, 15 לְבָלוֹת — with omission of הָיָה — is thus to be explained).

² 2 Sam. 4, 10 (cui dandum erat mihi) is similar to this ; but with Wellhausen אֲשֶׁר might be cut out.

³ But in 1 Sam. 23, 20 the Infinitive without ל as the subject of the sentence is found after וְלָנִי it is incumbent on us.

⁴ Such cases as Isa. 37, 3 וְכַח אֵין לְלָדָה and there is not strength to bring forth ; cf. Num. 20, 5 ; Ruth 4, 4 are of an entirely different nature.

⁵ In 2 Sam. 14, 19 אֵשׁ (= יֵשׁ there is) occurs after the negative asseverative particle אֵין = no one can indeed turn to the right or the left.

⁶ This view is based upon the fact that in numerous instances (vid. examples above) belonging here, ל is wanting ; the Infinitive consequently can serve as the real object-accusative. This union of the verb with the object is more binding and emphatic (hence especially popular in poetic or prophetic discourse) than the looser addition of the Infinitive with ל : לֹא אָבִי שְׂמוּעָה (Isa. 28, 12) they would have no obedience, as it were, but אֵין לְשָׂמִיעַ (Ezek. 20,

(noting the *direction* the action takes). The most common verbs or conjugations with ל and the Infinitive are רָחַל (with an Infinitive without ל; e. g. Deut. 2, 25, 31; Josh. 3, 7) הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיף (lit. *to add*) *to go on* (very frequent even in prose with an Infinitive without ל Gen. 4, 12; 8, 10, 12; 37, 5, etc.); חָרַל *to leave off, desist*; בָּלָה *to be complete, to conclude, to finish*, תָּכַח *to finish*, כָּהַר *to hasten* (with an Infinitive without ל (Ex. 2, 18); אָבָה *to be willing* (with an Infinitive without ל Isa. 28, 12; 30, 9; Job 39, 9) חָפֵץ *to will, choose*, נָאץ *to refuse*, בָּקַשׁ *to strive*; יָכַל *to be able* (with an Infinitive without ל, e. g. Gen. 24, 50; 37, 4; Ex. 18, 23); נָתַן with an accusative of the person in the sense of: *to give or resign, to tender, permit, allow* one to do, e. g. Gen. 20, 6; Ps. 16, 11 (with Infinitive without ל Job 9, 18) יָדַע *to understand, how to do*; לָמַד *to learn*; קִיָּה *to expect* (with variable subject, e. g. Isa. 5, 2 *he expected that it would bring forth grapes*). Furthermore, here belong a number of (partly denominative) Hiph'ls that describe an action toward some definite direction (cf. § 53, 2, Rem. c), such as הִגְדִּיל *to do great things*; הִשְׁפִּיל *to lay low*; הִגְבִּיהַ *to exalt*; הִעֲמִיק *to make deep*; הִרְחִיק *to remove far away*; הִיטִיב *to do well* (with an Infinitive without ל, Ps. 33, 3; but 1 Sam. 16, 17 in union with ל) הִשְׁפִּים *to rise early* (Ps. 127, 2 and its antithesis אָחַר *to tarry* with an Infinitive without ל); הִרְבֶּה *to multiply*; הִפְלֵא *to make notable* (even with a passive Infinitive 2 Chr. 26, 15),¹ etc.

4. Very frequently the Infinitive with ל is found in loose connection with causes, attendant circumstances or other particular qualifications. This is generally rendered into English by *that, in that, because*; e. g. 1 Sam. 12, 17 לְשֹׂאֵל לָכֵם מֶלֶךְ *in that ye asked a king*; 14, 33; Gen. 3, 22; 34, 7; 1 Sam. 19, 5; 20, 36; 1 K. 2, 3 sq.; 14, 8; Ps. 63, 3; 78, 18; 101, 8; 103, 20; 104, 14 sq.; 111, 6; Prov. 18, 5; Neh. 13, 18; also Isa. 44, 14 (*in that one heweth down cedars*). Occasionally the Infinitive with ל occurs without any clause, e. g. 1 Chr. 12, 8 *as swift as the gazelles on the mountains* לְמַהֵר; 2 Sam. 14, 25 (לְהִלֵּל); Isa. 21, 1 (לְחַלּוֹף); Joel 2, 26; Prov. 2, 2; 26, 2; thus throughout, the Infinitive לְאָכַר *dicendo* is used adverbially to introduce the direct discourse (= *so, as follows*).

5. In a number of instances, especially in the later books, the *Infinitive construct* with ל (like the *Infinitive absolute* § 113, 4 a) seems to be used by means of Wâw as the continuation of a preceding

8) more expressively *they could not forsake the idols*. In union with ל the governing verb has a more independent meaning than when it directly governs the object-accusative.

¹ In almost all these examples, the principal idea is really contained in the Infinitive, while the governing verb strictly contains only an adverbial qualification; hence it is often rendered into English and German by means of an adverb, e. g. Gen. 27, 30 *how hast thou found it so quickly* (lit. *how hast thou hastened to find it?*); 31, 27 (*wherefore didst thou flee away secretly?*); but cf. 2 K. 2, 10 (*thou hast asked a hard thing!*).

finite verb. In most of such cases however, it is evident that the Infinitive with ל virtually depends upon the idea of *willing* or *striving* which is contained in the foregoing verb, while the copula, as occasionally elsewhere, is used in an *emphatic* sense (*surely, indeed*). E. g. Ex. 32, 29 *fill your hands to-day* (sc. with a sacrifice) *for Jehovah, so as to lay a blessing upon you*, i. e. that you may receive a blessing; cf. 1 Sam. 25, 31 (otherwise in vss. 26 and 33 where the *Infinitive absolute* is used, vid. § 113, 1 d; Ps. 104, 21,¹ Job 34, 8; Eccl. 9, 1; Neh. 8, 13; 2 Chr. 7, 17. In Lev. 10, 10 sq. וְלֹא־תִשְׁכַּחֲרֹךְ unites itself to the command in v. 9 b (= this command not to drink wine you must observe while on duty, really to be better able to discriminate, etc.); in 2 Chr. 30, 9 וְלִשְׁכֹּחַ depends upon the idea of grace, or favor, contained in the word לִרְחֹמִים. For 1 Sam. 8, 12 the following rendering is sufficient: *and he will appoint unto him captains over thousands*. In Gen. 30, 15 for the Infinitive with ל, we should read the 2d sing. fem. of the Perfect consec. (וְלִקְחָתִי). Isa. 44, 28 is translated *he shall perform all my pleasure in that he* (Cyrus) *says to Jerusalem, etc.*

3. The time to which an action or event in the *Infinitive construct* belongs must often be determined from the context, or the character of the tenses dealt with above; cf. Gen. 2, 4 *these were the generations of the heavens and the earth בְּהִבְרָאָם when they were created* (lit. at their creation); Judg. 6, 18 עַד-בֹּאִי וג' *until I come to thee and bring forth, etc.*

Rem. 1. The constructions of the Infinitive with a preposition explained in 2 are almost regularly replaced, in the continuation of the discourse, by a *finite verb* (i. e. by an independent clause, not a coördinated Infinitive). Such a finite verb is to be understood as governed by a conjunction corresponding to the preposition before the Infinitive. Thus the Infinitive construction (often with a variable subject) is continued by the Perfect (with לָא) Jer. 9, 12 *because they have forsaken עַל-עֲוֹנָם my law, . . . וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ and have not obeyed my voice*; 1 Sam. 24, 12; Amos 1, 9; without לָא Job 28, 25; by a Perfect with וְ (cf. § 112, 3, a, δ and 3, c, η) Amos 1, 11 עַל-רִדְפוֹ וג' *because he pursued his brother*

¹ Delitzsch's explanation of the Infinitive with ל in Ps. 104, 21 by reference to Hab. 1, 17 as an elliptical expression of the *conjugatio periphrastica* (= *flagitaturi sunt a deo cibum suum*) is in the nature of the case applicable both here and in many other of the above-mentioned passages.

Generally, however, all instances where the Infinitive is joined to ל should be carefully distinguished from the cases mentioned in Rem. 2, where the Infinitive with ל *without Wāw* corresponds to the Latin Gerundive, or indeed serves to indicate the periphrastic conjugation.

with the sword וְשָׁחַת and continually cast off all pity (*Perfect frequentativum*; examples of the actual *Perfect consec.*, Gen. 27, 45; Judg. 6, 18; 1 Sam. 10, 8; 2 K. 18, 32 [Isa. 36, 17]; throughout after עַרְבָּאִי until I come); by a pure Imperfect, e. g. Prov. 1, 27 (after פָּ); Isa. 30, 26 (after בַּיּוֹם in the day, whose time relation is here apparently joined to a preposition) 5, 24 (after פָּ); 10, 2; 13, 9; 14, 25; 45, 1; 49, 5; Prov. 2, 8; 5, 2; 8, 21 (everywhere after לָ)¹; by an Imperfect *consec.* Gen. 39, 18 and it came to pass וַאֲקֵרָא כְּהִרְיֵמִי קוֹלִי as I lifted up my voice and cried, that . . .; 1 K. 10, 9; Job 38, 13 (after לָ); 1 K. 18, 18; Isa. 38, 9; Job 38, 7, 9 sq. (after פָּ); Isa. 30, 12; Jer. 7, 13; Ezek. 34, 8 (after לָ).

2. The negative of an *Infinitive construct*, owing to the latter's predominating nominal character, is not formed by the (verbal negative) particle לֹא, but by the original subst. בִּלְתִּי (vid. Lexicon) with a foregoing לְ (but cf. also Num. 14, 16 מִבִּלְתִּי, e. g. Gen. 3, 11 לִבְ אֶכְלֶה-לָּהּ whereof thou wast not to eat; in a final sense 4, 15 (so that they might not kill him); in 2 K. 23, 10 לְ is again repeated before the Infinitive. (In Ps. 32, 9 it is not the Infinitive, but a supplicative predicate negated by בִּלְ).

§ 115.

THE INFINITIVE CONSTRUCT WITH SUBJECT AND OBJECT.

1. The *Infinitive construct* as the *Infinitive absolute* (§ 113, 1, a) shows its character as a *verbal noun* by its being construed with the case of its verb; hence in transitive verbs² the *accusative of the object*; e. g. Num. 9, 15 בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא אֶת-הַמִּשְׁכָּן on the day of setting up the tabernacle; 1 Sam. 19, 1 לְהָמִית אֶת-דָּוִד to kill David; Gen. 14, 17; 19, 29; 1 K. 12, 15; 15, 4; negative in Lev. 26, 15 אֶת-כָּל-מִצְוֹתַי not to do all my commands. In like manner it takes the accusative of the personal pronoun, e. g. Deut. 29, 12 לְמַעַן

¹ The great number of such instances, particularly in the later books, is due to the tendency towards a so-called *chiasmus* in the arrangement of the parallel members in both halves of a verse; for instance, the Infinitive stands at the beginning of the first clause, and the finite verb at the end of the coördinated parallel clause. This caused a separation of the verbal form from ל and hence the use of the Imperfect for the Perfect *consec.* Such a parallelism of the outer and inner members is frequently found elsewhere, and was evidently a mark of elegance in exalted discourse, poetic or prophetic.

² For examples of an accusative of the object with the Infinitive passive, vid. § 121, 2.

אָתָּךְ *in order to establish thee*; Gen. 25, 26; Jer. 24, 7; with a verbal suffix, e. g. Ex. 2, 14 לְהַרְגֵנִי *to slay me*; Jer. 38, 26 לְבִלְתִּי הַשִּׁיבֵנִי *not to bring me back* (for suffix cf. Rem. 2). If the finite verb governs *two* accusatives, they will also be employed with the Infinitive; e. g. Gen. 41, 39 אֶחָרֵי הוֹרִיעַ אֱלֹהִים אוֹתָךְ אֶת־כָּל־זוֹאת *after God has shown thee all this*; Deut. 21, 16.

Rem. 1. An object-accusative should always be used after an *Infinitive construct* even when not expressly introduced (as in the examples above) by the so-called *nota accusativi* -אֶת-; and this substantive might be easily regarded as genitive of the object governed by the Infinitive (a construction common in Arabic); e. g. Prov. 21, 15 עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט *do right*. Against this supposition, however, as genitive (*exercise of right*) it should be noticed (a) that the *nota accusativi* is frequently found elsewhere; (b) that the other forms of the Infinitive, such as רֹאֶה for רִאֵת (פְּנִיךְ) Gen. 48, 11 (cf. Ps. 101, 3; Prov. 16, 16) would then be incomprehensible; (c) that the pretonic Qā'mēs could hardly stand in certain Infinitive forms, in case the latter were considered as in the construct state, while it would be, nevertheless, in connection with suffixes (and so with actual genitives; cf. § 33, 2, b), necessarily volatilized; e. g. Gen. 18, 25 לְהַמִּית צַדִּיק *slay a righteous one* (never like לְהַמִּית; but cf. (הַשִּׁיבֵנִי); 2 K. 21, 8; Ezek. 44, 30. Thus in cases like Isa. 3, 13 (Ps. 50, 4) one would naturally expect לְרִין עַמִּים for לְרִין if the Infinitive be considered as in the construct state, and 'ע as genitive.

2. With the exception of לְהוֹצֵאֵהוּ Jer. 39, 14, only the 1st sing. (cf., moreover, 1 Sam. 5, 10; 27, 1; 28, 9; Ruth 2, 10; 1 Chr. 12, 17, etc.) and pl. of verbal suffixes are used with the Infinitive; e. g. לְהַשְׁמִידֵנוּ *to destroy us*, Deut. 1, 27 (immediately after לָתֵת אֹתָנוּ, hence -נוּ is a verbal, not a nominal suffix, though the form could be either); לְהַמִּיתֵנוּ Num. 16, 13; Judg. 13, 23 (after חָפֵץ). Elsewhere the pronominal object is added either by means of the *nota accusativi* (e. g. Gen. 25, 26 בָּלִרַת אֹתָם *when she bore them*; לָרַעַת אֹתִי *to know me* Jer. 24, 7) or as a nominal suffix (as *genitivus objecti*). The latter occurs usually where there can be no ambiguity; e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 33: לְהַכְתּוֹ (lit. *to his slaying*) *to slay him* (not, as might be understood, *that he may slay*); cf. 1 K. 20, 35; with the 3d sing. fem. suffix, Num. 22, 25; the 3d pl. Josh. 10, 20; 2 Sam. 21, 2, etc. Hence the suffixes of the 2d sing. with Infinitives, like לְהַפְתִּיךְ Jer. 40, 14, cf. Mic. 6, 13; and like גִּדְּלֶךָ *to magnify thee*, Josh. 3, 7, are doubtless to be regarded as *nominal* rather than *verbal*. The union of the nominal suffix as the objective genitive with the Infinitive became so firmly established that it could occur not only in such unusual cases as Gen. 37, 4 לֹא יִכְלוּ דַבְּרוֹ לְשָׁלֵם *they could not speak peaceably unto them*; cf. Zech. 3, 1 לְשַׁמְנוּ *to resist him*) but also even in the 1st sing. Num. 22, 13 לְתַתִּי *to let me*.

3. The influence of the verb is felt even in such verbal nouns as, though originally various forms of the Infinitive, have actually the force of a substantive, e. g. Isa. 11, 9 יָדָעָה אֶת-יְהוָה (lit. to know Jehovah) *knowledge of Jehovah*; לִירָאָה אֹתִי to fear me Deut. 4, 10; 5, 26; 10, 12; accusative after לִאֲהַבָה Deut. 10, 12, 15; Isa. 56, 6 (cf. also Hos. 3, 1); Isa. 30, 28 (לְהִנָּפֵחַ); Deut. 1, 27 בְּשִׂנְאָתָא אֶתְנִי (אֲתֵנִי); after verbal nouns formed by the prefix כּ (cf. § 45, 1, c) Num. 10, 2; Isa. 13, 19; Amos 4, 11; Ezek. 17, 9. After Infinitives (or like forms) we find the accusative of the object united with the article (Gen. 2, 9; Jer. 22, 16); or with a suffix (Gen. 5, 4 al.; 28, 4, 6; 29, 19 sq.; 30, 15; 38, 5; 2 Sam. 3, 11; Isa. 29, 13).

2. The subject of the action, expressed by the *Infinitive* commonly follows this Infinitive immediately,¹ either in the *genitive* or *nominative*. The subject is in the genitive (§ 33, 2, b) wherever it appears as a nominal suffix, as well as when the Infinitive is in the form of the fem. sing. of the construct state, (Rem. 1); also in numerous other cases where the Infinitive in form and signification is regarded rather as a substantive, and hence has the force of a noun. On the other hand the subject of the Infinitive is to be considered rather as in the *nominative*, if separated from the Infinitive by some insertion, and by certain peculiarities (Rem. 2) in many other cases.

Rem. 1. Examples of the genitive-subject after Infinitives when united occur in Deut. 1, 27 בְּשִׂנְאָתָא יְהוָה אֶתְנִי in *Jehovah's hating us*; cf. 7, 8; Gen. 19, 16; 1 K. 10, 9; Isa. 13, 19; 47, 9. The subject-Infinitive is clearly regarded as genitive in cases like Ex. 17, 1 there was no water לְשִׁתּוֹת הָעָם for the people to drink (lit. for the drinking of the people) or in cases like Gen. 16, 16 (בְּלֶדֶת הָיִר); Ps. 133, 1; 2 Chr. 7, 3, etc.

2. Examples of subjects separated from the Infinitive, and so considered as *nominatives*, are found in Job 34, 22 הַפְּעִלִים שָׁם פָּעֲלִי אֵין that the evil-doers hide themselves there; cf. Gen. 34, 15; Judg. 9, 2; Ps. 76, 10, and vid. No. 3. When ל with pretonic Qāmēs stands before the Infinitive (cf. No. 1, Rem. 1), a *nominative* (subject) must be understood; e. g. 2 Sam. 19, 20 לְשׁוֹם הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל-לְבֹ, since by the use of the Infinitive as a governing noun according to § 102, 2, c, aa, לְשׁוֹם would be expected. That the subject of the Infinitive is elsewhere regarded as *nominative*

¹ The subject is wanting in Gen. 24, 30 with בְּרִאתָ (in that case כְּשָׁמְעוּ); there is no doubt that בְּרִאתָ לָבָן was originally found in the text (v. 30 a belongs to 29 b).

is furthermore evident (vid. No. 1, Rem. 1) from forms like הָנִיחַ (Deut. 25, 19; Isa. 14, 3), הָמִיר Ps. 46, 3, etc., where pretonic *Qāmēs* regularly occurs, while after the analogy of הָנִיחַ (Ezek. 24, 13), הָקִימוֹ Jer. 23, 20), etc. הָנִיחַ, הָמִיר etc. would be expected in case the Infinitive is considered as the governing noun. Or could *Qāmēs* (the undoubted certainty of the massoretic punctuation being supposed) be found even before a genitive as if belonging to the nature of the form? It is certain, however, that the difference between the genitive and nominative constructions due to the lack of case endings¹, could not in many cases be made apparent (even with such invariable forms as קָטַל, קִים, etc.).

3. When both *subject* and *object* are connected with the Infinitive, the subject regularly comes immediately after the Infinitive, and then the object. When the latter is necessarily in the accusative, the subject is then put (as in No. 2) either in the genitive or nominative. The nominal suffixes must of course be regarded as genitives (e. g. Gen. 39, 18 בְּהִרְיָמִי קוֹלִי as *I lifted up my voice*; cf. 1 K. 13, 21 and the examples given in No. 1, Rem. 3, Gen. 5, 4, etc.); so must the substantives after a connecting form (Deut. 1, 27, etc., vid. No. 1 *ibid.*, and No. 2, Rem. 1). But the nominative seems to be established in cases like Isa. 10, 5 כִּהְנִיף שֶׁבֶט אֶת־מִרְיָמוֹ as *if the rod could shake him that lifts it up* (cf. for the pl. מִרְיָמוֹ § 124, 1, *c*) not כִּהְנִיף as we should expect (vid. No. 2, Rem. 2), if שֶׁבֶט were in the genitive; cf. Job 33, 17. Other instances doubtless occur in Gen. 5, 1; 30, 10; Josh. 14, 7; 1 K. 13, 4; 2 K. 23, 10; Isa. 32, 7. In Jer. 21, 1, etc., the subject stands separated from its Infinitive (hence necessarily a *nominative*; vid. No. 2, Rem. 2).

Rem. Occasionally the *object* immediately follows the Infinitive, the nominative of the subject coming next (as an after-thought), Isa. 20, 1 כָּרְנוֹן בְּשָׁלַח אֹתוֹ כַּרְנוֹן when *Sargon sent him*; Gen. 4, 15; Josh. 14, 11; 2 Sam. 18, 29; Isa. 5, 24; Ps. 56, 1; Prov 25, 8. In Num. 24, 33 the *subject* follows the Infinitive with a nominal suffix in place of the object.

¹ In Arabic, where the case endings leave no doubt in regard to the construction, one may say: *qatlu Zaidin* (gen. of subject) 'Amran (acc.), lit. *the killing of Z. the 'A.* (i. e. Z. killing the A.; also: *qatlu 'Amrin* (gen. of object) *Zaidun* (nom. of subject), and even: *el-qatlu* (with article) *Zaidun* (nom. of subject) 'Amrun (acc. of the object).

§ 116.

THE PARTICIPLE.

1. The *Participle*, like the two *Infinitives*, takes an intermediate position between the noun and the verb. In form a pure noun and most closely related to an adjective, it cannot be used to represent *modal* and *tense* conditions. It shows, however, its verbal nature in that it does not, as the adjective, represent a single, invariable state, but rather one related in some way to an *action* or *deed*. The *active Participle*, moreover, indicates a person or thing in the constant, uninterrupted carrying-out of an action; the *passive Participle*, on the other hand, describes a person or thing in a certain state acted upon by external events.

Rem. That the difference between the active and the passive Participles is well marked is evident from the fact that the Qāl, expressing pure state, properly cannot form *Participles*, but verbal *adjectives* after the form *qātēl* (קָטֵל, etc.), or *qātōl* (קָטֹל, etc.). The Qāl *transitive* שָׂנֵא, *to hate*, although corresponding in form in the Perfect to the Qāl *intransitive* (as a middle e verb) forms, nevertheless, the *Participle active* in שֹׂנֵא, and the *Participle passive* עֲנִיָּא (cf. the fem. שְׁנוּאָה). Although the actual *Participle* and verbal adjective stand side by side, they never have a like signification. When the Assyrians are described as of “stammering lips” (לְעָגִי שֹׁפְהָ), Isa. 28, 11, a property is ascribed to them, which is inseparable from their persons; but בָּלֹהַ לְעָגָלִי Jer. 20, 7 describes the state of the prophet, constantly bringing reproaches upon himself. For the difference between the *Participle* as the expression of *pure*, and the Imperfect as to the expression of *progressive* duration, cf. § 107, 1, Rem. 2. This does not exclude the fact that the *Participle*, especially in the later books (cf. Neh. 6, 17; 2 Chr. 17, 11,) is sometimes used where we should expect a *distribution* of the action into its various successive moments, by means of the finite verb. But the suppression of an historical tense by the *Participle*, very common in Aramaic (cf. *Kautzsch*, Gramm. des Bibl. Aram. § 76, 2, *d* and *e*), does not occur in Hebrew.

2. The point of time to which

- a) an *active Participle* belongs, whether attribute or predicate of a sentence, is sometimes seen from the context.

Hence **מָת** may as well mean *moriens* (Zech. 11, 9) as *mortuus* (the usual rendering; with the article **הַמָּת** always *the dead one*) and *moriturus* (Gen. 20, 3); **בָּא** *coming, come* (Gen. 18, 11 al.), *venturus* (1 Sam. 2, 31 al.); **נָפַל** *falling, also fallen* (1 Sam. 5, 3) and *wishing to fall* (Isa. 30, 13, Amos 9, 11); other examples of perfect Participles vid. Gen. 27, 33; 43, 18 (**הַשָּׁב** *he who has returned*, cf. Ezek. 6, 21 al. **הַשָּׁבִים** *they who returned* from captivity) Gen. 35, 3; Ex. 11, 5; Zech. 12, 1; Ps. 137, 7; Prov. 8, 9; Job 12, 4 (**קָרָא**); also No. 5. Of future Participles, see Gen. 41, 25; 1 K. 18, 9; Isa. 5, 5; Jon. 1, 3, etc., apparently also Gen. 19, 14 (**לִקְחִי**).

- b) Of the *passive Participles*, that of the Qāl (e. g. **פָּחַיב** *scriptus*) always corresponds to a Latin or Greek *Participle perfect passive*, and those of the other conjugations, especially of *Niphal*, correspond sometimes to the Latin *gerundive* (or an adjective in *-bilis*), e. g. **נֹרֵא** *metuendus, fearful*, Ps. 76, 8 al.; **נִחְמָד** *desiderandus, desirable* Ps. 19, 11 al.; **נִבְרָא** *creandus* Ps. 102, 19; **נוֹלַד** (usually *natus*, also) *procreandus, nasciturus* 1 K. 13, 2; Ps. 22, 32; **נִעְרַץ** *terribilis* Ps. 89, 8; **נִתְעַב** *abominable* Job 15, 16; **נִהְשָׁב** *aestimandus* Isa. 2, 22; **הִנְאָבֵלֶת** *the eatable* (beast) Lev. 11, 47; in *Pu'al* **מְהֻלָּל** *laudandus, worthy of praise* Ps. 18, 4; in *Höph.* 2 Sam. 20, 1 (**מְשֻׁלָּךְ**); 2 K. 11, 2 (**הַמוֹמְחִים**); Isa. 12, 5 *Qeré* (**מִירְעָה**)¹.

3. By virtue of its partly verbal character, the *active Participle* fills to some extent the office of a verb; hence, when in the absolute state, it may take an object either in the accusative or by means of the preposition with which

¹ Examples like **נֹרֵא**, **נִחְמָד**, and **מְהֻלָּל**, clearly show the origin of this gerundive use of the passive Participle; that which is always *feared, demanded, valued* shows itself to be *fearful*, etc., hence also *to be later on feared*. From such examples, this use seems to have become extended to other cases.

the verb in question is otherwise usually construed; 1 Sam. 18, 29 אֶת־דָּוִד אֵיב holding David in enmity; Gen. 42, 29; with accusative suffix e. g. עֲשֵׂנִי creating me Job 31, 15; Ps. 68, 28 (also with article e. g. 2 Sam. 22 [Ps. 18], 33 הַמְּאַזְרֵנִי strengthening me (LXX ὁ παραωῶν με); Deut. 20, 1; 2 Sam. 1, 24; Isa. 9, 12; 63, 11; Ps. 103, 4; 1 K. 9, 23 הַרְרִים בָּעַם they who are ruling the people; 2 K. 20, 5 לָרְפָא לְךָ healing thee.¹

The verbal adjective, in the form *qātēl*, may likewise take an accusative of the person or thing, when the finite verb would be so construed; Deut. 34, 9 מְלֵא רוּחַ full of the spirit; 1 K. 9, 33 חָפֵץ רָשָׁע taking delight in mischief. As a species of noun the *Participle* has, in the construct state, a substantive force, in that it takes an object of the action (§ 89, 1; cf. also § 128, 3) in the genitive, e. g. Ps. 5, 12 אֹהֲבֵי שְׁמִי, those loving thy name; cf. Ps. 19, 8 sq.; a verbal adjective, e. g. Gen. 22, 12 יִרְאֵה אֱלֹהִים fearing God; Hab. 2, 15, with an Infinitive Ps. 127, 2; with a pronominal suffix (which according to § 33, 2, *b* represents a genitive), e. g. Gen. 4, 14 כָּל־מֵצְאִי every one finding me (lit. the one finding me; cf. עָשִׂי, my creator); 12, 3 מְבָרְכֶיךָ, they who bless thee; 27, 29; 1 Sam. 2, 30; Isa. 63, 13; Jer. 33, 2; Ps. 18, 49.²

Rem. To the category of the objective genitive belong also the local references after the *Participles*; בָּא iniens and יֵצֵא egressiens, for

¹ But in Isa. 11, 9 as waters לִים מְכַסִּים covering the sea, ל serves merely to introduce the object preceding the *Participle*, cf. Hab. 2, 14.

² When the *Participle* with a pronominal suffix עָשָׂה who made him Job 40, 19, has at the same time the article, it is like all similar cases (cf. § 127, *d*, Rem. 4, *b*) an anomaly difficult to explain; since the determination by a genitive absolutely excludes that by the article. Equally strange is the use in Jer. 33, 22 of the construct state of the *Participle* before the accusative (מְשָׁרְתִי אֵתִי ministering unto me, cf. vs. 21 מְשָׁרְתִי) and in Amos 4, 13 of the accusative of product after an objective genitive (making the morning darkness). In Jer. 2, 17 מוֹלֶכֶךָ means at the time he led thee; perhaps as in 6, 15 the Perfect (הוֹלֵךְ) should be the reading here; in Ezek. 27, 34 the earlier versions for the contorted עַת נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ read עַתָּה (ה) נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ now art thou broken!

the verbs בָּא and יָצָא in the sense of *ingredi*, *egredi* may be directly united to the accusative, e. g. Gen. 23, 10, 18 שָׁעַר עִירוֹ all going in at the gate of the city; Lam. 1, 4; after יָצָא Gen. 9, 10; 34, 24; 46, 26 et al. In poetry, the *Participle* in the *construct* state may be connected not only with an objective genitive, but also may stand in any other relation (especially local) that can be made dependent on the verb in question only by means of a preposition; cf. Isa. 38, 18 יוֹרְדֵי-כוֹר those going down into the pit (the grave); Ps. 88, 6 שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר lying in the grave; Deut. 32, 24 (Mic. 7, 17); 1 K. 2, 7; 2 K. 11, 5, 7, 9 (the guard coming in or going out on the Sabbath); Prov. 2, 7; 1 Chr. 5, 18 al.; for the construction with כִּן e. g. Isa. 1, 27 (returning from mischief); 59, 20; Mic. 2, 8. Such genitives, furthermore, often appear as nominal suffixes more definitely to qualify the statement, e. g. Ps. 18, 40, 49 קָמִי עָלַי (for קָמִים עָלַי) those rising against me; cf. Ex. 15, 7; Deut. 33, 11; Ps. 44, 6; Ex. 32, 25; Ps. 53, 6 (רוֹחֵן); 102, 9; Prov. 2, 19 (all coming to her); especially distinct is Isa. 29, 7 וּמִצָּדָתָהּ כָּל-צִבְיָה all that fight against her and her munition (for וְעַל-מִ' עָלֶיהָ). In Isa. 1, 30 (as a terebinth עֹלֶה נֹבֶלֶת whose foliage is fading) it is doubtful whether 'נ is to be considered as absolute state and hence with עָלֶה as the accusative or as construct state with עָלֶה as genitive; in the latter case Prov. 14, 2 (vid. No. 4) would be analogous.

4. The *passive Participle* also, when in the absolute state, can be used either with the *accusative*¹ as a more definite qualification, or in the *construct* state be dependent on such a qualification; e. g. Judg. 18, 11; 1 Sam. 2, 18; Ezek. 9, 2 לְבוּשׁ בָּדִים clothed with linen garments, cf. vs. 3: הַל' הַב' (with suffix קָרוּעַ בְּחִתָּתוֹ with his coat rent, 2 Sam. 15, 32; with the *Participle* following Judg. 1, 7); but Ezek. 9, 11 לְבוּשׁ הַבָּדִים the one clothed with linen; 2 Sam. 13, 31 קָרָעֵי בְגָדִים with torn clothes (cf. Jer. 41, 5); Isa. 3, 3; 33, 24; Joel 1, 8; Ps. 32, 1 (נְשִׁי-פָשַׁע he whose sin is forgiven; כְּסוּי הַטָּאָה he whose sin is covered); with suffix to the noun, Prov. 14, 2 נָלוֹו דְּרָכָיו he whose way is perverse.

Rem. The *Participle passive* dependent upon a *genitive of cause* is found in Isa. 1, 7 שָׂרְפוֹת אֵשׁ burned with fire; cf. Gen. 41, 6; Deut. 32,

¹ For the actual meaning of these accusatives retained in a passive construction, cf. § 117, 4 and § 121, 2. Neh. 4, 12 is so understood and those who were building עַל-מִתְנָיו חָרְבוּ אִישׁ חֶרְבוֹ buckled each one his sword on his loins and was building.

24; upon a *genit. auctoris*, e. g. Gen. 24, 31 בְּרִיךְ יְהוָה *blessed of Jehovah*; cf. Isa. 53, 4; Ps. 22, 7; Job 14, 1 (15, 14; 25, 4); hence also with a pronominal (*genit.*) suffix, Prov. 9, 18 הִרְאִיָּהּ *her invited ones*; cf. 7, 26; Ps. 37, 22.

5. The use of the *Participle* as *predicate* in so-called nominal clauses (describing, according to § 140, constant events or states) is very frequent. In this case again (*vid.* No. 2), the point of time to which the event belongs must be determined from the context. Its uses are:

a) as *present* in real events true at all times, e. g. Eccl. 1, 4 בָּא הַיּוֹר הַזֶּה וְיוֹר אֲחֵר *one generation goeth, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth* (עֲבָדָת) *forever*; cf. vs. 7; as also in representing continuing events accidentally begun, Gen. 3, 5; 4, 10; 16, 8 (*I flee*) 32, 12; Ex. 9, 17; 1 Sam. 16, 15 sq.; 23, 2; 2 K. 7, 9; Isa. 1, 7; with introduction of a subject through the vivid הִנֵּה *behold!* (§ 100, 5; 105, 2) e. g. Gen. 16, 11 הִנֵּנִי הַרְּהָה *behold, thou art pregnant*, etc., 27, 42; it is frequently used also in nominal clauses (introduced by *Waw*), cf. § 140, e. g. Gen. 15, 2 et al.

b) to represent *past* actions or states partly in independent nominal clauses e. g. Ex. 20, 15 וְכָל-הָעָם רָאוּ אֶת-הַקּוֹלֹת *and all the people perceived the thunderings*, etc.; 1 K. 1, 5; in negative assertions, Gen. 39, 23 a; sometimes in relative clauses, e. g. Gen. 39, 23 b; Deut. 3, 2 (cf. also the frequent union of a *Participle* with the article as the paraphrase of a relative clause, Gen. 32, 1 הַאֲמָרָה *he who said*; 12, 7; 16, 13; 35, 1, 3; 36, 35); but chiefly (*vid. a*) in *nominal clauses* that represent actions or events as occurring simultaneously with other actions or events, e. g. Gen. 19, 1 and the two angels came to Sodom וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב *as Lot was sitting*, etc.; 18, 1, 8, 16, 22; 25, 26; Judg. 13, 9; 2 Chr. 22, 9; also when the subject is introduced by הִנֵּה Gen. 37, 7; 41, 17.

c) to express *future* actions or events, e. g. 1 K. 2, -; 2 K. 4, 16 at this season next year אַתָּה חֲבִיקֶת בֵּן *shalt thou embrace a son*; so also in a reference of time, Gen. 7, 4; 15, 14; 17, 19; 19, 13; Isa. 23, 15 (when after וְהָיָה the Perfect consec. would be expected, so *Qimchi* explains וְנִשְׁכַּחַת as the 3d sing. fem. Perfect); Hag. 2, 6, or in relative clauses Gen. 41, 25; Isa. 5, 5 (*what I am doing*, i. e. have in mind to do); in deliberative questions Gen. 37, 20. It is especially frequent, however, with the introduction of the subject by הִנֵּה (also in form of a suffix הִנֵּנִי, etc., united by הִנֵּה) when it describes events immediately preceding or occurring shortly before (*futurum instans*), e. g. Gen. 6, 17; 15, 3; 20, 3; 24, 13 sq.; 50, 5; Ex. 8, 25; 34, 10; Josh. 2, 18; Judg. 7, 17; 9, 33; 2 K. 7, 2; Isa. 3, 1; 7, 14; 17, 1; Jer. 30, 10 etc. (cf. also § 112, 3, c, e).

Rem. 1. As the foregoing examples indicate, a nominal clause with a participial predicate may take as subject either a *substantive* or a *pronoun*; in both cases the *Participle*, especially when emphatic, may precede the subject. In clauses introduced by הִנֵּה the subject may be either a substantive or (e. g. Gen. 37, 7) a separate personal pronoun or may be joined with הִנֵּה as a suffix. It may also be introduced by יֵשׁ (*est*, vid. *Lexicon*) with a suffix, in negative clauses by אֵין (*non est*) with a suffix; Judg. 6, 36 אַם-יִשְׁעַן כּוֹשֵׁעַ if thou wilt save; Gen. 43, 5 אַם-אֵינְךָ מְשַׁלַּח if thou wilt not send; 1 Sam. 19, 11. In such cases as Isa. 14, 27 יָדוֹ הִנְטוּיָהּ and his hand is outstretched, הֵן is not as נִטְוִיָהּ in 9, 11, 16 etc., predicate (when the *Participle* could not take the article), but the subject; cf. Gen. 2, 11; 45, 12 a *Participle* in reference to the *present*, Deut. 3, 21; 4, 3 et al.; 1 Sam. 4, 16 in reference to the *past*; in 1 K. 12, 8; 21, 12 in relative clauses after אֲשֶׁר.

2. For the express emphasis of a continued *past* action the *Perfect*, הָיָה, is sometimes annexed in the person corresponding to the *Participle*; for a continued *future* action the *Imperfect* יִהְיֶה (or the *Jussive* or the *Imperfect consec.* is used; e. g. Job 1, 14 הַבָּקָר הָיוּ הֹרִישוּת the oxen were plowing; Gen. 37, 2; 39, 22; Ex. 3, 1; Deut. 9, 24; Judg. 1, 7; 1 Sam. 2, 11; 2 Sam. 3, 6; with a passive *Participle* Josh. 5, 5; Zech. 3, 3; הָיָה with a *Participle* Isa. 2, 2; *Jussive* Gen. 1, 6; Ps. 109, 12; יִהְיֶה with a *Participle* Judg. 16, 21; Neh. 1, 4.

3. The *personal Pronoun* which one would expect as the subject of the participial clause is frequently omitted, at least, the 3d pers. pron. הוּא (as elsewhere in nominal clauses, cf. Isa. 26, 3; Ps. 16, 8; Job 9, 32), e. g. Gen. 24, 30; 37, 15; 38, 24; 41, 1; 1 Sam. 10, 11; 15, 12; 20, 1; Isa. 29, 8 (throughout the *Participle* follows הִנֵּה); cf. also Gen. 32, 7; Deut. 33, 3; 1 Sam. 17, 25; Isa. 33, 5; 40, 19; Ps. 22, 29; 33, 5; 55, 20; Prov. 6, 14; Job 12, 17, 19 sq.; 25, 2; 26, 7; הַמֶּה is omitted in 2 K. 5, 1; Isa. 32, 12; Ezek. 8, 12; Neh. 9, 3; in a relative clause in Gen. 39, 22; Isa. 24, 2. The personal Pronoun of the 2d pers. masc. (אַתָּה) seems to be omitted in Ps. 7, 10; Hab. 2, 10; 2d fem. (אַתְּ) in Gen. 20, 16 (where to be sure for the *Participle* וְנִכְחַת the 2d fem. *Perfect* would rather be expected); Pronoun of the 1st sing. in Hab. 1, 5; Zech. 9, 12; Mal. 2, 16; 2d pl. (אַתֶּם) in 1 Sam. 2, 24; 6, 3; Ezek. 13, 7 (?). Of another nature are the cases where some subject not more definite is to be supplied; e. g. Isa. 21, 11 אֵלַי קָרָא one is calling to me (= one calls); cf. 30, 24; 33, 4. Plural *Participles* occur in Ex. 5, 16 (אֲמָרִים sc. the overseers); Jer. 33, 5; 38, 23; Ezek. 13, 7 (?); 36, 13; 37, 1 (= *sunt, qui dicant*).

4. Even nominal clauses at the beginning of a period emphasizing the continuance of an earlier action where another action (always con-

¹ A *Jussive* would naturally be expected with the forms of blessing and cursing בְּרִיךְ blessed be Gen. 9, 26 et al.; אָרִיר cursed be 3, 14 et al.

nected with וְ) commences, demand special notice ; e. g. Gen. 29, 9 ; Job 1, 16 sq. עוֹד יְהִי כְּרֹכֵר וְזֶה בָּא *while he was yet speaking, there came another and said*, sq.¹ etc. ; cf. 1 Sam. 9, 11, 27 ; 20, 36 ; 1 K. 14, 17 (*when she came to the threshold, the child died*) ; 2 K. 2, 23 ; 4, 5 ; Dan. 9, 20 sq. ; also Judg. 19, 22 ; 1 Sam. 9, 17 ; 17, 23 ; 1 K. 1, 42 ; Job 1, 18 sq. (consequent everywhere introduced by וְהָיָה). But in 1 K. 1, 14 the nominal clause itself is introduced by הָיָה, as in 1, 22 by וְהָיָה, and relates to a preceding action.² Finally the whole period is introduced by וַיְהִי (cf. § 111, 2, Rem. 1) and the consequent by וְהָיָה in Gen. 42, 35 ; 2 K. 2, 11 ; 13, 21 ; without הָיָה in the consequent in 2 K. 19, 37 (Isa. 37, 38). Active *Participles* used in the sense of a perfect Participle, as well as passive *Participles*, in conformity to their meaning, express in such nominal clauses a certain *state* existing at the entrance of the principal action, Gen. 38, 25 הָיָה מְנַעֶמֶת וְהִיא שְׁלֹחָה *when she was brought forth, she sent*, etc. ; cf. Gen. 50, 24 ; 49, 29.

5. Different from the examples given in Rem. 4, are the cases where a *Participle* (alone or as an attribute of a noun) is used as *casus pendens* at the beginning of a sentence to name a condition whose eventual occurrence is followed by another occurrence ; e. g. Gen. 9, 6 שֹׁפֵךְ דַּם הָאָדָם בְּאָדָם וְגו' *the one shedding man's blood = whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall*, etc. ; Ps. 75, 4 ; Job 41, 18 ; so especially when כָּל- precedes the *Participle* Gen. 4, 15 ; 1 Sam. 3, 11 (2 K. 21, 12). The consequent is usually introduced by וְ (the so-called *Waw apodosis*), e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 13 כָּל-אִישׁ וְכִבֹּחַ יָבִיחַ וְכִבֹּחַ יָבִיחַ וְכִבֹּחַ יָבִיחַ *when any man offered sacrifice, then the priest's servant came*, etc. ; 2 Sam. 14, 10 (*Participle* with the article) ; 22, 41 (where, however, according to Ps. 18, 41 the text should be emended), Prov. 23, 24 *Keth.* ; 29, 9. As in the examples mentioned in the preceding Rem., וְ in such a case occasionally stands first, cf. 1 Sam. 10, 10 ; 11, 11 ; 2 S. 2, 23 כָּל-הַבָּא *whoever came thither*, etc.) But in Dan. 8, 22 וְהַנְשִׁבֶרֶת is merely a catch-word (= *as for the broken*) to recall the contents of vs. 8.

6. For the use of the *Participle* after the Infinitive absolute הָלוֹךְ cf. § 113, 3, b, Rem. 2.

7. The Participial construction beginning a sentence is regularly (as according to § 113, 3, Rem. 1, the Infinitive construction) continued by a *finite verb* with or without וְ, before which the relative pronoun con-

¹ The independent nominal clause in this case expresses more emphatically the co-existence (and thereby the precipitation of the events) than could be done by any indefinite time relation (e. g. בְּרֹכֵר וְזֶה בָּא) ; this could best be rendered "he had not yet finished speaking, when" . . . As the foregoing instances show, the consequent is often found in a nominal clause.

² Thereby the premised עוֹד *yet* shows that not chiefly a future, but a simultaneous future event is to be understood ; this is entirely different from the examples in § 112, 3, c, e, where הָיָה refers to the following *Participle*, while here it belongs to the consequent (before which it usually stands, vid. examples).

tained in the *Participle* must be supplied, so by the Perfect, Isa. 14, 17 הָרַס וְעָרָיו הָיָה כְּמִדְבָּר שָׁם תִּבְלָה he made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof;¹ 43, 7; Ezek. 22, 3; Ps. 136, 13 sq.; Prov. 2, 17; by the pure Imperfect (as *modus rei repetitæ* in the present) Isa. 5, 23; 46, 6; Prov. 7, 8; Job 12, 17, 19 sq.; 24, 21; by the Imperfect without *Waw* 1 Sam. 2, 8; Isa. 5, 8; Prov. 2, 14; 19, 26; by the Imperfect consec. Gen. 27, 33; 35, 3; 1 Sam. 2, 6; Jer. 13, 10 (after several *Participles*); Ps. 18, 33; 136, 10 sq.

C. The Verb.

§ 117.

VERBS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE.

1. The simplest position of a noun with a verb is that of the *accusative* which follows a transitive verb.²

Owing to the lack of terminations,³ such an accusative can be observed only from the context or from its preceding words אֶת (אֵת, before suffixes also אֶת, אֹת, אֵת).⁴ This so-called

¹ For this parallelism of the outer and inner clauses in these and other examples of this nature, see above, foot-note to § 114, 3, Rem. 1.

² It is not to be considered whether the verb referred to is in itself transitive or has become so in divergence from its original meaning. Owing to the vocalization, the following verbs prove themselves to have been originally intransitives: אָהַב (to feel love, trans.) to love; נָחַץ (to be pleased with, usually with ב) to desire; שָׂנֵא (to feel hatred) to hate; cf. also such cases as בָּכָה to weep (usually with עַל-ל, אֵל, אֶל), also to bewail with an accusative; שָׁב to dwell (usually with ב), also to inhabit, with an accusative: (cf. furthermore, No. 4). Of another nature are the examples of verbs of motion, such as בֹּא intrare, also aggredi נִצַּח egredi (cf. § 116, 3, Rem.), שׁוּב redire (Isa. 52, 8) which takes the accusative—according to an old Semitic usage also בֹּא, the personal object (in poetry at least, for עַל בֹּא of prose)—to indicate the object toward which the action is directed.

³ Cf., of those that still occur, especially the remains of an old accusative ending in *a*, § 90, 2.

⁴ Without doubt אֶת (emphasized by the following māqqē'ph) or אֵת (with a tone-long *ē*, only in Job 41, 26 אֶת-), before the so-called light suffixes § 103, 1, Rem. 1 אֵת or אֹת Phœnician אֵת (probably *iygath*, *yth* or [after *Euting*] merely pronounced as a prefixed *t*), Arabic before suffixes *'iygā*, תָּ, תַּ, was originally a substantive which expressed *being, substance* or *self* (like the Syriac *gath*; but

nota accusativi is, however, seldom used in poetry; in prose even it is not absolutely required. Furthermore, it is then limited to cases where the accusative is a proper name or more closely defined by the article or a following determinative genitive (or by suffixes) or in any other manner (vid. Rem. 2); Gen. 4, 1 *and she bore* אֶת-קַיִן *Cain*; 6, 10; 1, 1 *God created* אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ *the heavens and the earth* (but 2, 4 אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם); 1, 25 *and God made* אֶת-חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ *the living thing of the earth*; 2, 24.

Rem. 1. The infrequency of the *nota accusativi* in poetry (it does not occur in Ex. 15, 2-18; Deut. 32; Judg. 5; 1 Sam. 2, etc., but is often found in the later Psalms) might be explained by the fact that this poetry (cf. § 6, 2) represents an earlier stage of the language than the prose. The need of some external indication of the accusative was felt only at the disappearance of the case-endings; even then only the object immediately *before* the verb (the object following was sufficiently known through its position) as well as proper nouns were designated by אֶת.¹ Ultimately the *nota accusativi* was adopted in prose to such an extent that the pronominal object was indicated rather by means of אֶת with suffixes, than by verbal suffixes, even when none of the reasons mentioned in Rem. 3 were applicable. Cf. on this point *Giesebrecht* in *Stade's Zeitchr.*, 1881, p. 258 sq.; cases like אֶתְּךָ אֶתְּךָ אֶתְּךָ אֶתְּךָ (Gen. 6, 22 in the so-called Priest-codex) together with אֶתְּךָ אֶתְּךָ אֶתְּךָ (7, 5 in the so-called Jehovist document) are especially instructive.

2. Collectives introduced by כֹּל *totality*, without a following article or definite genitive are primarily to be considered as *definite accusatives*, provided כֹּל is in sense definite (cf. Gen. 1, 21, 30; 8, 21; Deut. 2, 34; 2 K. 25, 9; in an absolute sense אֶת-כֹּל is found in Gen. 9, 3; cf. 39, 23); furthermore מִי is always a personal sign, so אֶת-מִי (= *quem?* Isa. 6, 8; 37, 23 *et al.*, but never אֶת-מִה *quid?*) is in itself definite,

with *Nöldeke ZDMG* vol. 40, p. 738 a relation between the Hebrew אֵינָם, the Syriac 'ātā, the Arabic 'āyat, *signs* is to be rejected), but now united in the *construct state* with a following noun or suffix, serves as a paraphrase for the pronoun *ipse*, αὐτός. Usually it merely serves, (like the oblique cases αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶ, αὐτόν, ἑαυτοῦ, *ipsum*, etc.) to introduce a definite object; אֵינָם הַשָּׁמַיִם properly αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν (cf. αὐτὴν χρυσήδα Iliad I, 143) is no more emphatic than the simple הַשָּׁמַיִם τὸν οὐρανόν.

¹ Thus in Deut. 33 only in vs. 9 does it occur (twice) with a preceding object; in Gen. 49 only in Jacob's blessing vs. 15 with a co-ordinated second object (and so further separated from the verb). Of the thirteen occurrences of אֵינָם referred to on the Moabite stone, seven occur *directly before* a proper noun, four others *before* but a little separated therefrom.

as also the relative אֲשֶׁר in the sense of *eum, qui* or *quem*, etc. (e. g. 1 Sam. 16, 3) or *id, quod* (Gen. 9, 24 *et al.*; cf. also instances like Josh. 2, 10; 1 Sam. 24, 19, where אֵת אֲשֶׁר means *the circumstance that*, etc.) Elsewhere אֵת is found before nouns that are in sense definite although the article (which, according to § 126, 2, *h*, Rem., frequently occurs in poetic or otherwise exalted discourse) is omitted, so in Isa. 41, 7; 50, 4; Ezek. 13, 20; 43, 10; Prov. 13, 21 (where צְדִיקִים is to be regarded as a definite category); Job 13, 25; in Eccl. 7, 7 an older maxim is probably cited.

Very rare, on the contrary, is the use in prose of אֵת before an (actually or apparently) indefinite noun. In 1 Sam. 24, 6 בָּנָהּ, in 2 Sam. 18, 18 מֵצִי, are both qualified by the following relative clause; in 2 Sam. 4, 11 אִישׁ צָדִיק refers to Ishbosheth (as *him, who is an innocent man*); in 5, 24 reference is made to the going of some definite one, sc. Jehovah; also in 13, 17 וְאֵת refers to a definite person, in 1 K. 6, 16 עַד עֶשְׂרִים אַמּוֹת to twenty cubits. In Ex. 21, 28 (or 29) אֶת-אִשׁ אוֹ אֶת-אִשָּׁה must in any case be so explained that justice for the killing of a definite man or woman may be satisfied (cf. the similar examples in Lev. 7, 8; 20, 14). In Num. 16, 15 אֶת-אֶחָד מֵהֶם is doubtless used in the sense of *a single one* (then *eo ipso* definite) *of them*; so also אֶת-אֶחָד מִחֹנְעָרִים in 1 Sam. 9, 3 may refer to a definite one of the servants — in 26, 20 אֶת-פֶּרְעֶשׁ אַחֵד refers to David. But in Gen. 21, 30 with the Samaritan Pentateuch we should read אֶת-שָׁבַע הַבָּיָה; in Ex. 2, 1 the proper noun יוֹכָבֵד has apparently been omitted after אֶת-, and in 2 Sam. 15, 16 the latter has been erroneously introduced from 20, 3 (where it is required as a reference to the women already mentioned). In Ezek. 16, 32 אֶת-זָרִים could refer to *the known strangers*; but *vid. Smend* on this passage.

3. The pronominal object *must* be expressed by אֵת with a suffix (instead of by a verbal suffix) whenever

a) it precedes the verb, e. g. Num. 22, 33 וְאֵתָהּ הִרְגֵּיתִי וְאֵתָהּ הִחַיֵּיתִי *I had even slain thee, and saved her alive*; 1 Sam. 8, 7; Jer. 7, 19;

b) the verb already has a suffix, 2 Sam. 15, 25 וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ *he will let me see it*;

c) it follows an *Infinitive absolute*, *vid.* § 113, 1, N.;

d) it follows an *Infinitive construct* with the subject immediately following, e. g. Gen. 41, 39, or when the union of the Infinitive with the suffix might be misleading, e. g. Gen. 4, 15 לְבִלְתִּי הַכּוֹת-אֹתוֹ *lest any should slay him*, etc. (הַכּוֹת לְבִי could also be *lest he slay*).

4. The pronominal object is generally omitted when it can be easily supplied from the context. This is especially so with the neuter accusative (English *it*) after verbs of perceiving (שָׁמַע) and saying, e. g. Gen. 9, 22 *et al.* וַיַּגֵּד *and he made (it) known*; also after נָתַן *to give* (18, 7; 24, 11 *al.*) לָקַח *to take*, הָבֵא *to bring*, שָׂם *to put* (9, 23 *al.*) מָצָא

to find (31, 33) et al.; the personal object is omitted e. g. in 12, 19; 24, 51 (after לָקַח). Owing to the ambiguity, the omission of the pl. object is peculiar in Gen. 37, 17 שָׁמַעְתִּי אֶמְרֵם¹ = *I heard them say*; perhaps, however, with the Samaritan Pentateuch שָׁמַעְתִּים should be the reading.

5. A frequent peculiarity is the omission of the substantive object (an elliptical expression), so we find e. g. כָּרַת 1 Sam. 20, 16 et al. (vid. Lexicon) for כָּרַת כָּרִית analogous to our *make an agreement* with some one; נָטַר to keep (sc. אַף *his anger*) = to bear a grudge Ps. 103, 9 et al.; also שָׁמַר Jer. 3, 5 (with נָטַר); נָשָׂא for נָּקוּל to lift up the voice Isa. 3, 7; נִגְאָל for נָּעוֹן לְ to remove (forgive) the guilt of some one Gen. 18, 24, 26; Isa. 2, 9; שָׁלַח stretch forth (sc. יָד the hand) = to reach for something 2 Sam. 6, 6; Ps. 18, 17.

6. Nouns are often joined to verbs of perceiving as accusative which should be properly subjects of the following objective clauses; this is especially true of the verb רָאָה to see, Gen. 1, 4 and *God saw the light that it was good* instead of, *God saw that the light was good*; 6, 2; 12, 14; 13, 10; 49, 15; Ex. 2, 2; Ps. 25, 19; Prov. 23, 1; Job 22, 12; Eccl. 2, 24; 8, 17; also of the verb יָדַע to know Ex. 32, 32; 2 Sam. 3, 25; 17, 8 (with two objects). 1 K. 5, 17; with a verb of saying (אָמַר) Isa. 3, 10.

7. In a number of examples אֵת serves apparently to introduce or to emphasize a *nominative*. In no wise can any reference here be made to the original substantive force of אֵת, since the undoubted examples of this nature all belong to the later books of the O. T. Rather (unless textual errors or other explanations are to be noted) there is throughout a virtual dependence upon a governing verb understood. Finally, the numerous instances of the use of אֵת referring to a member of the sentence governed by the verb, all point to the fact that אֵת should be considered chiefly as a particle of *reference*, regardless of any governing word; so in the Hebrew of the Mishna² אֵתוֹ and אֵתָּה are, without special emphasis, placed before a *nominative*.

Cases, where אֵת is not a *nota accusativi*, but a preposition, are not to be considered here (cf. אֵת at, by, § 103, 1, Rem. 1); e. g. Isa. 57, 15; 1 Sam. 17, 34 (אֵת־) and with . . . ; but אֵת was perhaps erroneously inserted here from vs. 36, where it is now wanting); also cases where an accusative is subordinated to a passive (§ 121, 2); or, as in Josh. 22, 17; Neh. 9, 32, to an idea of deficiency. In Hag. 2, 17 the accusative after אֵין is explained from § 100, 5; in Ezek. 43, 17 קָבַיִב round about has a verbal force. Elsewhere there is clearly an attraction to a following relative pronoun in the accusative (Ezek. 14, 22; Hag. 2, 5; Zech. 8, 17) or

¹ According to the usual syntax (cf. § 116, 5, Rem. 3) we should here translate *I heard some saying*, etc.

² Cf. Weiss, *משפט לשון המשנה* (Vienna, 1867) p. 112.

the accusative is dependent upon a verbal idea virtually contained in what precedes, and thus is in the mind of the speaker as governing the whole. So in Num. 3, 26 (in וּמִשְׁמֶרֶת vs. 25 we find: *they had to watch*); Josh. 17, 11 in לָּ יָדַי *it was given up or they gave to him*; 1 Sam. 26, 16 (*behold, where = seek then*); 2 Sam. 11, 25 אֶל-יָרֵעַ בְּעֵינַיִךְ is due to a *noli aegre ferre*;¹ Jer. 36, 33 (he had *indeed the firepan before himself*); Eccl. 4, 3 in אֵת אֲשֶׁר there is understood a ruling idea of *I judge or I name*. Aposiopesis is found in Deut. 11, 2 (*not your children do I mean*); 2 Sam. 23, 17 (provided the present text is correct) *the blood of men . . . ?* (sc. shall I drink? cf. 1 Chr. 11, 19); even bolder is Zech. 7, 7, where either שְׂכַנְתֶּם or תִּשְׁכְּנוּ (or תִּגְשְׁנוּ) is to be supplied.

After eliminating some passages doubtless corrupt², there remain the following where אֶת in later Hebrew (perhaps somewhat in the sense of the Latin *quod attinet ad*) with more or less emphasis introduces a noun: Judg. 20, 44, 46; Ezek. 17, 21; 20, 16; 35, 10; 44, 3; Neh. 9, 19, 34; Dan. 9, 13; 2 Chr. 31, 17. In Ezek. 47, 17-19 (cf. also 43, 7) according to vs. 20 אֶת should be corrected to וְאֵת. But the LXX, who have in vs. 18 only ταῦτα, scarcely knew any other reading than אֵת, hence in all these passages אֵת is virtually considered as dependent on a governing idea, like ecce (LXX 43, 7 ἐώρακα), 47, 17 sq., perhaps *there hast thou . . .*

8. To the solecisms of later times belongs finally the introduction of the object by the preposition לְ (properly *in reference to, in the direction of*), as occasionally in Ethiopic³ and generally in Aramaic.⁴ For the introduction of an object *preceding* the verb (and also clearly for the sake of greater perspicuity), לְ is found in Isa. 11, 9 and Job 5, 2 (cf. also Dan. 11, 38); furthermore, *after* אֶת Lev. 19, 18, 34; אֶת Lam. 4, 5; אֶת Num. 10, 25; הָאָרֶץ Ps. 129, 3; הַבְּדִיל Ezra 8, 24; בְּרֶךְ 1 Chr. 29, 20 (with an accusative directly before); הַגִּלָּה 1 Chr. 5, 26; דָּרַשׁ Ezra 6, 21; 1 Chr. 22, 19; 2 Chr. 17, 13; הָלַל 1 Chr. 16, 36; 2 Chr. 5, 13; הָרַג Ps. 135, 11 (vs. 10 with an accusative); 136, 19; זָקַף Ps. 145, 14 (but cf. 146, 8); יָדַע Ps. 69, 6; לָקַח Jer. 40, 2; הִמְלִיךְ and מָשַׁח 1 Chr. 29, 22; סָמַן Ps. 145, 14; עִינָה 1 Chr. 16, 37; הִעֲלָה Ezek. 26, 3; עָלַל Lam. 3, 51 et al.; הִעֲמִיד 2 Chr. 31, 2 (previously accusatives); פָּתַח Ps. 116, 16;

¹ So in 1 Sam. 20, 13, instead of the Hiph., (טַח) we should with Wellhausen read the Qāl.

² So in 1 K. 11, 25, where the predicate of the relative clause is now lacking; in 2 K. 6, 5 אֵת is probably due to a text which had the Hiph. for נָפַל. In Jer. 23, 33, read with the LXX, Vulg. אַתֶּם הַמְּשָׂא ye are the burden! In Ezek. 37, 19 with Hitzig read אֶת-לְ for אֵת.

³ Dillmann, Gram. der Aethiop. Sprache, p. 349.

⁴ As to the Biblical Aramaic, consult Karitzsch Gram. des Bib.-Aram. p. 151 sq. Elsewhere, too, a tendency may be noticed in later Hebrew, in place of the strict subordination of a noun in the accusative, to admit a loose construction by means of prepositions.

שָׁכַר 2 Chr. 24, 12 (previously *accusative*); הָשִׁיב (in the verb לְהָשִׁיב) 2 Chr. 10, 6 (but vs. 9 and 1 K. 12, 9 with an accusative); שָׁלַח Ezra 8, 16; 2 Chr. 17, 7; שָׁמַר 2 Chr. 5, 10.

9. Sometimes the verb upon which an accusative depends is in sense contained in the apparently governing verb, e. g. Isa. 14, 17 אֲכַדְרֵי לֹא-פָתַח בַּיְתָה released his prisoners and dismissed them *not from the house*; cf. Ps. 74, 15, and for this so-called *constructio praeg-nans* cf. § 119, 4.

2. Within the sphere of the actual *accusative* belongs the so-called *inner* or *absolute object* (also called *schema etymologicum* or *figura etymol.*), i. e., the supplying of the objective idea by a noun from the same root,¹ e. g. Ps. 14, 5 פָּחַדוּ פָּחַד they feared a fear; also with the object preceding, Lam. 1, 8 חָטָא חָטָא הַמָּאָה י sins Jerusalem has sinned; with a double *accusative* (vid. No. 5), e. g. 1 K. 1, 12 אֶעֱצֶדָּה נָא עֲצָה I will counsel (give) thee counsel.²

Rem. a) Strictly speaking, only such verbs as are supplied by means of an *indeterminate* substantive are here considered (vid. examples above). Such a substantive, regardless of the union of the inner object with denominative verbs (vid. below) is found, like the Infinitive absolute, very inactive; it serves rather to strengthen the verbal idea. Such a strengthening occurs whenever the *inner object* is not made definite, analogous to the German: *das war ein Leuchten*.³ It is evident that frequently (as regularly in Greek) some strengthening attribute follows the *inner object*, e. g. Gen. 27, 34 וַיִּצְעַק צַעֲקָה גְדֹלָה וַיִּמְרָה עַר-קָמָר he cried a great and very bitter cry; cf. Greek *νοσεῖν νόσον κακήν, ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην* (Matt. 2, 10); *magnam pugnare pugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere*, etc. Examples of the *inner object*, after the verb, without an additional clause, occur in Ex. 22, 5; 2 Sam. 12, 16; Ezek. 26, 15; Zech. 1, 2; Prov. 21, 26; with an enlarging attribute, Gen. 27, 33; Ex. 32, 31; Judg. 15, 8; 2 Sam. 13, 36; 1 K. 1, 40 (cf. Jon. 4, 6; 1 Chr. 29, 9); Isa. 21, 7; Jon. 1, 10; Zech. 1, 14; 8, 2 a; Dan. 11, 3. (Besides an actual object, the inner object is found with an attribute in Gen. 12, 17; 2 Sam. 13, 15; cf. also Isa. 14, 6.) An inner object with attributes

¹ For the use of the Infinitive absolute as inner object, and the difference there is in such a case between it and the noun itself, cf. § 113, 3, together with the Rem.

² Cf. *βουλὰς βουλευεῖν*, Iliad X. 147.

³ Arabic grammarians, in many instances, give the indeterminate cases an intensive signification, whereas the Qoran scholars usually render such a case by an expression like the German *was für ein*. Vid. § 125, 1, Rem.

before the verb, Jer. 14, 17; Zech. 1, 15 (cf. also Gen. 30 8; Jer. 30, 14; Ps. 139, 22); in Zech. 8, 2 the expected substantive is supplied by one of kindred signification.

b) Only in a broader sense fall within the sphere of the *schema etymologicum* examples where the noun is added to a denominative verb from which it has arisen (so Gen. 1, 11; 9, 14; 11, 3; 37, 7; Ezek. 18, 2; Ps. 144, 6; also Mic. 2, 4), or where the substantive in question, partly determinate, follows its verb (so Gen. 30, 37; Num. 25, 11; 2 K. 4, 13; 13, 14; Isa. 45, 17; Lam. 3, 58¹; determinate in sense at least in Jer. 22, 16) or precedes (2 K. 2, 16; Isa. 8, 12; 62, 5; Zech. 3, 7; cf. also Ex. 3, 9). In both cases the said substantive gives special emphasis to the clearness or the easier union of the verb with other members of the sentence.

3. Such verbs as express an utterance (outcry, weeping), or any other external action, frequently take the means or the instrument of the action in the accusative (in other words, the means may be understood as in some way due to the action itself). This, however, is on condition that a more definite modification (in the form of an attributive adjective or a genitive) be added to the substantive in question. By this the close relation between this *accusative* and *inner object*, discussed in No. 2, becomes evident; it, too, usually takes a strengthening attribute. This excludes, however, its consideration as an *adverbial accusative* (instrumental) or its being paralleled with the second (objective) subject, as explained in § 141.

Examples of the *accusative* following the verb are found in Ezek. 11, 13 וַאֲזַעַק קוֹל-גָּדוֹל and *I cried out a loud voice* = with a loud voice; 2 Sam. 15, 23 (after the object itself, Deut. 5, 19; 1 K. 8, 55); Ps. 109, 2, they spoke with me לְשׁוֹן שֶׁקֶר a tongue of lies = with a lying tongue; Prov. 10, 4 poor becomes כַּף-רַמְיָה עֹשֶׂה the sluggish hand working = who works with a sluggish hand (cf. the English idioms *writing a beautiful hand, striking a clear note, playing ball*, and the German *eine schöne Stimme singen, Schlittschuhe laufen*, etc.). Examples of a preceding accusative שִׂפְתַי רִנְּנוֹת יְהוָה-כִּי (with) lips of joy my mouth praises, Ps. 63, 6; cf. 12, 3 where a case of instrument with כִּי follows the accusative.

¹ Also in Ps. 13, 4 (lest I sleep the sleep of death) is הַמִּית more expressive for שֵׁנַת הַמָּוֶה (cf. Jer. 51, 39), as Isa. 33, 15 צָרְקוֹת for צָרָה.

4. Many verbs originally (partly from their external form, vid. above, No. 1, note) intransitive, by virtue of a certain divergence from the original meaning, gradually brought about in the language, may be used as *transitive*; cf. e. g. רִיב *to contend*; also with an accusative *causam alicujus agere* (so in Isa. 1, 17 et al.; elsewhere with לְ = for any one); יָכַל *to be able* (really = *to be in a condition*), with an accusative *to overcome* any one; הִפֵּץ *to be inclined*, and רָצָה *to delight in* (usually with בְּ) with an accusative = *to enjoy*; שָׁכַב *cubare*, hence in the sense *concumbere*, originally always connected with עִם *cum*; in later Hebrew, however, also with the accusative, Gen. 34, 2 = *comprimere* (feminam), etc.

Rem. 1. It is very difficult, however, to determine whether or not some verbs that were subsequently used alone, or united with prepositions, were originally transitive, so that the supposed original idea itself, that we habitually ascribe to each, makes them appear as intransitives.¹

In this case nothing more can be said of any syntactical peculiarity. An enumeration of such verbs would therefore be very desirable. There is a possibility, too, that certain verbs were originally used at once as transitive and intransitive (so, perhaps לָבַשׁ *to be dressed*, together with לָבַשׁ *to dress*). Finally, also, the analogy of certain frequently occurring transitives caused a direct union of intransitives in sense with the accusative, and accustomed us to bring, with other words, whole classes of verbs into a definite point of view of transitivity (vid. Rem. 4).

2. Especially clear is this divergence from the original meaning when even reflexive conjugations (Niph, Hithpa., etc.) take an accusative, e. g. נָבֵא *to prophesy*, Jer. 25, 13; נָכַב (properly *to turn oneself around*) *to surround*, Judg. 19, 22; נָלַחַם *to fight*, Ps. 109, 3 (where we should read וַיִּלְחַמֵּנִי as a Qal; cf. Ps. 35, 1); furthermore הִתְנַחֵל *take some one as captive*, Isa. 14, 2; הִתְנַבֵּל *make the object of conspiracy*, Gen. 37, 18; הִתְבונֵן *consider something*, Job 37, 14.

3. When not incorrect nor due to colloquial usage, it can be due only to a divergence from the original meaning of a verb, that occasionally a separated object (otherwise introduced by לְ) is directly subordi-

¹ So, for example, עָנָה *to answer* (ἀπεκρίσθαι τινα) *some one discreetly*; צִוָּה *to command* (jubere aliquem); זָכַר *to remember*; קָיָה (also with לְ), *to wait for some one*; בָּשַׂר *to tell good tidings* (vid. Lex.); גָּאֵף *to commit adultery* (adulterare matronam); עָבַר *to serve* (colere); עָרַב *to pledge one's self for*, etc.

nated to the form of an accusative suffix, e. g. Zech. 7, 5 *הָצוֹם צִמְתָּנִי אֲנִי* *did ye fast unto me* (move me by your fasting)? Even more peculiar is Job 31, 18 *כָּאֵב גִּבְלִי בְרַלְנִי* *he (the orphan) brought up with me, as with a father*; cf. Isa. 27, 4; 65, 5; Jer. 31, 3; with Niph. Isa. 44, 21; cf. Aram. Dan. 5, 6; but Josh. 15, 19 *נָתַתְנִי הָרַץ אֶרֶץ* is to be understood as double accusative, with a verb of giving; Ezek. 29, 3 is to be read either, with Olshausen *עָשִׂיתִי*, or with Smend *עָשִׂיתִים* (then *אָרִי* precedes); Ps. 42, 5 *אֲדַרְדֵּר* or *אֲדַרְדֵּם*.

4. Whole classes of verbs are, according to Rem. 1, above, treated as *transitives*, either because of their original meaning or (for the sake of analogy) because of a divergence from the latter. Such are:

a) Verbs *induendi* and *exuendi*, like *לָבַשׁ* to put on, *פָּשַׁט* to put off, *לָבַשׁוּ קָרִים הַצֹּאֵן* *the meadows are covered with flocks*; cf. 109, 29; 104, 2 (*עָטָה*); 65, 14 b (*עָטָה*), etc.¹

b) Verbs *copiae* and *incopiae* (also verbs *abundandi* and *deficiendi*) like *מָלָא* to be full, of something (Ex. 8, 17, here and often elsewhere construed with *אֶת* and evidently with an accusative, Gen. 6, 13; with personal object, Ex. 15, 9 = *my lust shall be satisfied upon them*; with an emphatic preceding accusative, Isa. 1, 15 *דָּמִים מָלְאוּ יְדַיִם* *are full of blood*, cf. 22, 2); so also Niph. *נִמְלָא* to fill with something, Gen. 6, 11; Ex. 1, 7 (object added with *אֶת*); Isa. 2, 7 sq.; 6, 4; Prov. 3, 10; *שָׁרַץ* to swarm with, Gen. 1, 20, 21 (where *אֲשֶׁר* = accusative); *שָׂבַע* (*שָׂבַע*) to be sated, Isa. 1, 11; Prov. 12, 11; *זָכַר* to become strong, take hold of, Job 21, 7; *פָּרַץ* to overflow (object preceding), Prov. 3, 10; *יָרַד* properly *descendere*, poetical also to run, flow (over) with (cf. Greek *πορεύειν ὑβερναι*, *δύκναι ὑβερναι*), e. g. Lam. 3, 48 *מִיַּם תִּרְדַּם עֵינַי* *mine eye runneth down with streams of water*; 1, 16; Jer. 9, 17; 13, 17; Ps 119, 136; also *הִלָּךְ* to go with, go over from = overflow Joel 4, 18; *נָזַל* flow or run, Jer. 9, 17; *נָטַף* to drop, overflow from, Judg. 5, 4; Joel 4, 18 a; *שָׁטַף* to pour out, overflow, also (trans.) overwhelm, Isa. 10, 22; *נִגַּח* gush forth from, Prov. 10, 31; so, perhaps also *עָבַר* to go or flow over from, Isa. 5, 28. Especially bold, but still analogous to the foregoing examples, is the declaration in Isa. 5, 6 concerning the vineyard *וְעֵלָהּ שָׁמִיר וְשֵׂתִי* *and it shall come up (be overgrown) with briars and thorns*; cf. Prov. 24, 31, and still bolder in Isa. 34, 13.

The following are antithetic: *חָסַר* to be wanting, lacking, Gen. 18, 28 *שָׁכַל* to be deprived of (lose), Gen. 27, 45.

c) Many verbs of *dwelling*; the *accusative* then expresses either the place or the thing in or by which one tarries (so in Gen. 4, 20 after *יָשַׁב*;

¹ From the idea of covering oneself with something, *יָרְחוּצוּ מִים* Ex. 30, 20 must necessarily be explained they shall wash themselves with water; still the customary *בַּמֵּיִם* may here be used.

Judg. 5, 17; Isa. 33, 14 after גִּיר; Isa. 33, 16 with שָׁכַן or the person (people) with whom one dwells or whose guest one is (so in Ps. 5, 5; 120, 5 after גִּיר).

5. *A double accusative* (especially of the person and the thing) is taken by:

a) the causative conjugations (*Pi'el Hiph'il*, sometimes *Pilp'el*, e. g. כָּלַל Gen. 47, 12 al.) of such as are merely transitive in Qāl, and of *verbs induendi and exuendi*, etc. (cf. Nos. 1 and 4, especially Rem. 4), e. g. Ex. 33, 18 הִרְאֵנִי נָא אֶת־כְּבוֹדְךָ *let me see thy glory*. Frequently we find הוֹרִיעַ to *inform some one of something*; לָמַד *docere aliquem aliquid*, etc.; cf. also Gen. 41, 42 וַיִּלְבַּשׁ אֹתוֹ בְּגָדֵי־שֵׁשׁ *and he clothed him in (with) vestures of fine linen*; cf. the antithesis Gen. 37, 32 (both accusatives after הַפְּשִׁיט introduced by אֶת), so with מָלֵא to *fill with*, Gen. 21, 19; 26, 15; Ex. 28, 3; אָוַר to *gird one with something*, Ps. 18, 33; עָטַר to *surround*, Ps. 8, 6 al.; בָּרַךְ to *bless one with something*, Deut. 15, 14; הִפֵּר to *deprive one of something* Ps. 8, 6; הָאֵכָל *cause to eat something*, Ex. 16, 32; הִשְׁקָה *cause to drink something*, Gen. 19, 32 sq.

b) by numerous verbs (already in Qāl) that indicate an influence upon an object through some external means, the latter is then (being in a manner influenced by the action; cf. the analogous case, No. 3 above) added as a second object. To this category belong:

a) Verbs expressing the idea of *covering, clothing, coating* חָנַךְ Ex. 29, 9; צָפָה Ex. 26, 29 al.; טָיַח Ezek. 13, 10 sq.; עָטַר Ps. 5, 13 (cf. also אָכַן Josh. 7, 25 al.), hence also of *sowing* (זָרַע Judg. 9, 45; Isa. 17, 10; 30, 23), *planting* (Isa. 5, 2), *anointing* (Ps. 45, 8) *with something*.

β) Expressions of *giving* נָתַן Josh. 15, 19 with the object of the thing preceding; *presenting* (זָבַח Gen. 30, 20; antithetic of *despoil*, so קָבַע Prov. 22, 23); *favoring* (חָנַן Gen. 33, 5), *sustaining* (= *supporting, maintaining, outfitting*) *with something*, e. g. Gen. 27, 37; Ps. 51, 14 (סָמַךְ); Judg. 19, 5 (סָעַר); *dealing with some one* (גָּמַל 1 Sam. 24, 18); cf. also קָדַם *making advances to one*, Ps. 21, 4; שָׁלַם *repaying some one* (with double accusative, Ps. 35, 12; Prov. 13, 21, and for the accusative of

the person *εὖ, κακῶς πράττειν τινά*). In a broader sense, here belong such usages as Mic. 7, 2 (*to hunt any one with a net*); Ps. 64, 8 (*to shoot arrows at one*; the accents indicate a different translation), etc.

γ) Expressions of *enquiring after something, or desiring something for some one* (שָׁאַל Deut. 14, 26; Ps. 137, 3); *answering one something* (עָנָה Mic. 6, 5; cf. in other conjugations הָשִׁיב דָּבָר properly *verbum reddere*, with the accusative of the person 1 K. 12, 6 al., *to announce the idea*; so sometimes הִנִּיר *to inform one of*, Job 26, 4 al. for ה' ל).

δ) Expressions of *making, building, forming something*, with the accusative of the actual object, and an accusative of material of which something is made, e. g. Gen. 2, 7 הָאֱדָמָה מִן-הָאֲדָמָה וַיַּצְרֵהּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲדָם *and Jehovah God formed man of the dust of the ground*; so with יָצַר 1 K. 7, 15, and Ex. 38, 3 כָּל-כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת *all the vessels made he of bronze* (for a linguistically possible rendering of the accusative נְחֹשֶׁת, but excluded by the context itself, see letter c, with the Rem.); Ex. 25, 18, 28; 26, 1, 14, sq. 29; 27, 1; 1 K. 7, 27; with the preceding accusative of material, Deut. 27, 6 אֲבָנִים שְׁלֵמוֹת תִּבְנֶה אֶת-מִזְבֵּחַ יְהוָה *of whole stones shalt thou build the altar of Jehovah*.

- e) by verbs expressing a *making, preparing, forming for something*; the second accusative then is related to the actual object as the *accusative of the product*, e. g. Gen. 27, 9 אֶעֱשֶׂה אֹתָם מִטְעָמִים *I will make them (the kids) savory meat*; cf. 6, 14, 16; Ex. 26, 1 b; 30, 25; 32, 4; Hos. 8, 4; 1 K. 18, 32 וַיִּבְנֶה אֶת-הָאֲבָנִים מִזְבֵּחַ *and he built the stones into an altar*; also אָפָה with double accusative, *baked something of something*, Ex. 12, 39; Lev. 25, 4; שִׂים (properly *set up something*, cf. Gen. 28, 18; Ps. 39, 9 and also הָרִים Gen. 31, 45) *change into something* Josh. 8, 28; Isa. 50, 2; 51, 10; Mic. 1, 7; 4, 13; with a *double accusative* of the person (*appoint or exalt one to the position of*) Isa. 3, 7 (in a similar sense we find also נָתַן with a *double accusative*, Gen. 17, 5 or שִׁית 1 K. 11, 34; regularly, however, the indication of honor — as also frequently of product — is made by לְ *to*); furthermore שִׁית *put or make to (for) something* (Isa. 5, 6; 26, 1¹; with personal object

¹ Cf. the exceedingly expressive idioms that really belong here, Ps. 21, 13 כִּי תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לִי שָׂרְפִי *for thou makest that they must turn their backs to me*; similarly Ps. 18, 41 (2 Sam. 22, 41; Ex. 23, 27) אֶבֶר נִתְּתָה לִי עֶרְפִי *thou gavest me the necks of mine enemies*; cf. Jer. 18, 17.

Ps. 21, 7; 91, 9); יָרַע *to recognize something for something*, Eccl. 7, 25 (similarly רָאָה *find out*, Gen. 7, 1); חָשַׁב *to reckon something for one . . .* (Gen. 15, 6) or *consider one as* (Isa. 53, 4; otherwise always construed with לְ or כִּי); הִחְשִׁיךְ *to darken* (Amos 5, 8). Here, too, belong passages like 1 K. 11, 30 וַיִּקְרַעְהָ שָׁנִים עֶשְׂרִי קָרְעִים *and he tore it (the mantle) into twelve pieces*; cf. Isa. 37, 26 (accusative of the product before the real object after לְהַשְׁאִית *to lay waste*).

Rem. At first glance some of the foregoing examples seem to be identical with those mentioned in b, d, so one could say, for instance, that 1 K. 18, 32 should be rendered *he built the altar of stones*, in sense similar to the other, explaining מְזִבְחֵי as the nearer object, but אֶת-הָאֲבָנִים as an accusative of material, like Deut. 27, 6 (vid. above, b, d). In reality, however, the actual rendering is not at all the same. It should not be said that the living speech in the one case took an accusative of material, in the other an accusative of the product. Driver (§ 195) with reason intimates that in both cases the remoter accusative should be strictly regarded as in apposition with the nearer one. This becomes especially clear in examples like Ex. 20, 25 *thou shalt not build them* (the stones of the altar) אֲבָנִים of *hewn stones*; cf. also Gen. 1, 27. The question is, however, which one of the two accusatives, being the sooner acted upon or influenced, is to be placed first. On this point either the position of the word (the most determinate, nearer object, regularly follows the verb immediately), or the context leaves scarcely a doubt. So in 1 K. 18, 32, the picking up of the stones is the primary thought, and the erection of the altar therewith the secondary. In Deut. 27, 6 this order is completely reversed.

- d) The second *accusative*, finally, adds to the nearer object a more definite qualification in that it indicates the part that is especially affected by the action,¹ e. g. Ps. 3, 8 *thou hast smitten all mine enemies* לְחִי *on the cheek-bone* = *thou hast smitten their cheek-bone*; cf. Gen. 37, 21 *let us not strike him* נַפְשׁוֹ *as to his life*, i. e. *let us not kill him*; Deut. 22, 26; 2 Sam. 3, 27; also with שָׁחַ Gen. 3, 15; רָעָה Jer. 2, 16, and even with the bold poetic use of the special object preceding in Deut. 33, 11 (with מַחֲזִי).

¹ Analogous is the so-called καθ' ὅλον κατὰ μέρος in Greek epics, e. g. ποῖόν σε ἄπὸς φύγεν ἔρκος ὀδόντων.

§ 118.

LOOSE RELATION OF THE ACCUSATIVE WITH THE VERB.

1. The numerous instances of a *loose relation* of an accusative with a verb are distinguished from the different kinds of object-accusative (§ 117), in that they do not indicate the persons or things directly affected by the action, but rather *certain circumstances* under which an action or event comes to pass. As such we must count in all indicating the circumstances of *place, time, degree, cause* and *manner* of the action under consideration. Regularly these considerations *follow* the verb, but they may precede it.

Rem. That these cases are to be considered as *accusatives* can readily be seen from the fact that frequently the *nota accusativi* (ॠ) may precede; that in a sort of *casus loci* the termination (ॠ—) is used, in which, according to § 90, 2, the former accusative ending has been preserved; and finally, from the manner in which the examples here mentioned are placed by the written Arabic in the accusative (recognized even externally), and indeed in cases where one would sooner expect to find an apposition in the nominative.

The relations between the circumstantial and the object accusatives is clearly seen whenever the former (as for instance in statements of the aim or object after verbs of motion) are immediately united to the verb. The more loosely connected circumstances, however, were doubtless originally considered as objects of a regularly omitted governing word. The knowledge of such a strict governing condition gradually disappeared, so that the *accusatives* more and more came to be regarded as a *casus adverbialis*.

2. The *accusative* (*accus. loci*) serves as a more definite indication of *place* (*a*) answering the question *whither?* after verbs of motion,¹ (*b*) answering the question *where?* after verbs of *being, remaining, resting*, etc. (also after transitive

¹ It predominates in this sense in Sanskrit; in Greek only in poetry, e. g. Iliad I. 317, κνίσσῃ δ' οὐρανὸν ἵκει; Latin *rus ire, Romam proficisci*.

verbs, vid. examples); (c) as a more definite indication of *extent* in dimensions, to the questions *how far?* *how high?* *how much?* etc.

Instead of the pure *accusative*, a *locative* (vid. § 90, 2)¹ is used in the cases mentioned in letter *a* (sometimes also in those under letter *b*), or (especially before persons as the object of the action) the preposition אֶל ² to express *at* a place, regularly indicated by the preposition בְּ .

Examples for (a): $\text{וַיֵּצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה}$ *let us go out into the field*, 1 Sam. 20, 11; cf. Gen. 27, 3; 31, 4; Job 29, 7; $\text{וַיֵּלֶךְ תַּרְשִׁישׁ}$ *to go to Tarshish*, 2 Chr. 20, 36; cf. Gen. 10, 11; 13, 9; 24, 27; 26, 33; 31, 21; Ex. 4, 9; 17, 10; Judg. 1, 26; 2 K. 11, 19; Nah. 1, 8 (?); Ps. 134, 2; with בְּוֹא (in the sense of *aggređi* = בְּוֹא עַל cf. § 117, 1, note) the *personal* aim or object in poetic composition is found added in the *accusative* in Ezek. 32, 11; 38, 11; Prov. 10, 24; 28, 22; Job 15, 21; 20, 22; this case, however, is considered rather as the *object-accusative* (cf. our *fall in with*, *meet one*). But vid. also Num. 10, 36 (where וַיֵּבֶן is scarcely transitive); Judg. 11, 29; 1 Sam. 13, 20. Cf. also וַיֵּשֶׁב for וַיֵּשֶׁב שָׁמָּה . . . 'א *whither*, Num. 13, 27. In Gen. 12, 15, the *accusative of place* is found after a passive.

Examples for (b): Gen. 38, 11 *remain as a widow* בֵּית אָבִיךָ *in thy father's house*; cf. 24, 23; 1 Sam. 17, 15; 2 Sam. 2, 32; Isa. 3, 6; Hos. 12, 5; Mic. 6, 10; 2 Chr. 33, 20; בְּפֶתַח הָאֹהֶל *at the door of the tent*, Gen. 18, 1, 10; 19, 11, etc. In all these examples the *accusative*, instead of the customary construction with בְּ , could be said to be used for the sake of euphony (to avoid fusion of sounds in 'בִּב' and 'בִּפ'); cf. furthermore Gen. 2, 14; 4, 16; 1 K. 7, 8; and 15, 23 *he was diseased* אֶת-רַגְלָיו *in his feet* (2 Chr. 16, 12 'בָּר'), analogous to the cases referred to in § 117, 5, d. For Isa. 1, 30, vid. § 116, 3, Rem.³ (In Deut. 6, 3, on the contrary, according to the LXX, a verb of giving before וַיִּתֵּן has been lost.)

Examples for (c): Gen. 7, 20 (*fifteen cubits . . . did the waters prevail*); 31, 23; 41, 40 $\text{רַק הַכִּסֵּא אֲנִי עָלָיו כִּמְצָא}$ *only on the throne will I be greater than thou*; Deut. 1, 19 *we went through the great and terrible wilderness*; cf. Job 29, 3. Here belong also examples like Ex. 16, 16: *according to the number of your persons*, for which elsewhere לְכִמְצָא is found; Job 1, 5. In 2 Sam. 14, 26, a statement of weight is put in the *accusative*.

¹ So for the K^{eth}. $\text{הַיָּנִי, הַיָּנִי}$ is required by the Massora.

² So in Judg. 19, 18 בְּאֶת-בֵּית could be read for 'אֶת-בֵּית.

³ In Ps. 2, 12 הַיָּרֵךְ should not be regarded as *accusative loci* (on the way), but as *accusative of reference* (in reference to the way; vid. No. 5).

3. The *accusative* (*acc. temporis*) serves to designate the *time* of an action

a) answering the question *when?* e. g. הַיּוֹם *this day* (in question) *then*; also *on this day*, i. e. to-day, or finally *by day* (= יוֹמָם) like עֶרֶב *in the evening*, לַיְלָה *noctu*, בֶּקֶר *in the morning, early* (Ps. 5, 4 al.), צַהֲרָיִם *at noon* (Ps. 91, 6); cf. אֶחָד *on one and the same day*, Gen. 27, 45; furthermore שָׁנָא *in sleep* (Ps. 127, 2), תְּחִלַּת קִצִּיר שְׁעָרִים (*Qerê 'Beth*) *at the beginning of the barley harvest*, 2 Sam. 21, 9; at a definite period of time, Gen. 11, 10; 14, 4 (in the 13th year).

b) answering the question *how long?* e. g. Gen. 3, 14 כָּל-יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ *all the days of thy life*; 7, 4 (forty days and forty nights long); 7, 24; 14, 4; 15, 13; 21, 34; 29, 18; Ex. 20, 9 (six days throughout); 23, 15; עוֹלָמִים *forever*, 1 K. 8, 13, also with a determinate accusative, Ex. 13, 7 אֶת שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים *throughout the* (already mentioned, immediately preceding) *seven days*; cf. Judg. 14, 17; Deut. 9, 25.

4. The *accusative* of cause (*acc. causae*) is used in Isa. 7, 25 thou goest not thither שָׁמַיִר יִרְאָתָא *for fear of the thorns*.

5. There are manifold uses of the *accusative* (as strictly *accusativus adverbialis*) to describe *the manner of the fulfillment* of an action; in English such an *accusative* is commonly rendered by *in, with, as, in the form of, in such a way, according to measure, circumstance, with regard to*, etc. For the sake of clearness we distinguish:

a) Adjectives after the verb more definitely to describe a *bodily* or other *external* circumstance, e. g. Isa. 20, 2 and he entered עָרֹם וְיָחָף *naked and barefoot*; cf. vs. 3; 8, 21; Gen. 15, 2; 33, 18; (שָׁלֵם) Judg. 8, 4; Mic. 1, 8; Job 30, 28; after an accusative, e. g. Deut. 15, 18; for a statement of a mental circumstance see Gen. 37, 35 (אֲבִל) *before* the verb (with a certain emphasis) Amos 2, 16; Job 1, 21; Eccl. 5, 14; Lev. 20, 20; Ps. 15, 2; Job 19, 25; 27, 19; Ruth 1, 21 מִלְּאָדָּה *with which the adverb רִיקָם is parallel*).

Especially instructive are the examples where the conditional adjectives, although descriptive of several persons or things are used in

the singular, (e. g. Job 24, 10 עָרוֹם הֵלְכוּ *naked* = in the form of naked ones *they go about*, cf. vs. 7; in 12, 17 the singular is used *after a pl. object*) as evidence that the adjective should not be understood as in apposition, but rather merely as an adverb.

b) Participles, both *after* the verb (Gen. 49, 11; Num. 16, 27; 1 Sam. 2, 18; Jer. 2, 27; 43, 2; Ps. 7, 3; Job 24, 5; Cant. 2, 8) and *before* (Ex. 3, 18; Isa. 57, 19; Ezek. 36, 35; Ps. 56, 2; 92, 14; Prov. 20, 14); cf. also the Participles Niph. that have become substantives נִוְרָאוֹת *in a fearful manner* (Ps. 139, 14) and נִפְלְאוֹת *in a wonderful manner*, Job 37, 5; Dan. 8, 24. So also Participles dependent on genitives כִּתְּהִלָּךְ Gen. 3, 8; אֲעִיגִים 4, 10 (cf. בָּאָה 1 K. 14, 6) should be regarded as attributives rather than as appositives, since in the latter case they would require the article. In 2 Sam. 13, 20 and Hab. 2, 10 the so-called explicative Waw precedes the Participle.

c) Substantives¹ employed in manifold relations; this appears in the description of an external condition; e. g. Mic. 2, 3 לֹא תֵלְכוּ רוּמָה *ye shall not enter in an upright position* (its antithesis שָׁחוּת is in Isa. 60, 14); Deut. 4, 11; Judg. 5, 21; Isa. 57, 2; Prov. 7, 10; Job 31, 26; Lam. 1, 9; in describing a mental or moral condition, e. g. Num. 32, 14; Josh. 9, 2 (אֶחָד פֶּה אֶחָד *unanimous*; 1 K. 22, 13; cf. Zeph. 3, 9); 1 Sam. 15, 32; 2 Sam. 23, 8; Jer. 31, 7; Hos. 12, 15; 14, 5; Ps. 56, 3; 58, 2; 75, 3; Prov. 31, 9; Job 16, 9; Lam. 1, 9; in a statement of the age, e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 33 יָמוֹתוֹ אֲנָשִׁים *they will die as men*, i. e. at man's age; cf. 2, 8 (נֶעַר); Isa. 65, 20 and Gen. 15, 16; in specifying more definitely the number, e. g. Jer. 13, 19 שְׁלֹכִים *wholly*; cf. Deut. 4, 27; 2 K. 5, 2; Jer. 31, 8. The description of an outer or inner condition in poetry can be expressed equally well by comparison with a known figure, e. g. Isa. 21, 8 וַיִּקְרָא אֲרִיָּה *then he cried out (like) a lion*; cf. Ps. 22, 14; Isa. 22, 18 כִּדּוּר *like a ball*); 24, 22; Zech. 2, 8; Ps. 11, 1; 58, 9 b (provided that the foregoing בְּ no longer here, is in force, as in Ps. 90, 4); Ps. 144, 12; Job 24, 5 (פָּרָאִים before the verb); 41, 7².

6. To this category of circumstantial expressions belong, finally, nouns introduced by the comparative בְּ³, in so far as the latter may be regarded as original substantives.⁴ They

¹ Cf. § 100, 2 b for certain substantives which have become adverbs; also § 113, 2 with Rem. 2 for the adverbial use of the *Infinitive absolute*.

² Classing the preceding examples as *comparatio decurtata* is, of course, permitted, provided that the otherwise regular comparative particle בְּ be not assumed as in some mechanical way omitted.

³ Cf. on this as the so-called prefix, § 102, 2.

⁴ Opposed to this explanation of בְּ, due especially to *Fleischer*, is that of *Schwabe* (בְּ nach seinem Wesen und Gebrauch im alttestam. Kanon gewürdigt. Halle, 1883), since he agrees with *Gesenius* and *Ewald* in placing בְּ as a preposi-

are then used in the sense of *manner* (*instar*) as standing in the accusative (ךָ = *according to the way, manner*), whereas the following noun represents a genitive governed by כִּי. With this meaning of כִּי, it is possible to indicate many pregnant references that are rendered into English or German only by the aid of prepositions.¹ The comparison can thus be extended:

a) to the *place*, e. g. Isa. 5, 17 כִּי־בָרְכָם *after their manner*, i. e. *as if in their pasture*; 23, 15 (as it runs *in the song of the harlot*); 28, 21; 29, 7 (כִּי־חֲלוֹם *as in a dream*).

b) to the *time*, especially in union with כִּי־יוֹם *in the manner of the day* = *as in the day*, Isa. 9, 3; Hos. 2, 5; כִּי־יָמִי *as in the days* . . . Isa. 51, 9; Hos. 2, 17; 9, 9; 12, 10; Amos 9, 11; cf. moreover Lev. 22, 13; Isa. 17, 6; Job 5, 14; 29, 2. (Of an entirely different nature is the use of כִּי as a pure particle of time, e. g. Gen. 18, 10 כִּי־עַתָּה *at this time* [not: *about this time*] if it lasts till next year, cf. Isa. 23, 5 and the numerous instances of the union of כִּי with the *Infinitive construct* to express relations of time: Gen. 12, 14; 27, 34 et al.).

c) to *persons*, e. g. Gen. 34, 31 *should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?*

d) to *things*, e. g. Isa. 10, 14; Ps. 33, 7; Job 28, 5; כִּי־מוֹ־אֵשׁ *according to the manner of fire*, i. e. *as by fire* (cf. Isa. 1, 25 כִּי־בַר, *as by lye*); Job 29, 23 כִּי־מָטָר, *as for the rain* (they waited for me); 38, 30 כִּי־אֶבֶן *as (to) stone* (the water has become congealed).

Rem. According to the older grammarians כִּי is sometimes pleonastic; i. e. not when referring to a comparison, but as a shorter introduction of the predicate (the so-called *Kāph veritatis*), e. g. Neh. 7, 2 *for he was אֱמִתָּה כִּי־אִישׁ a faithful man*. Such a pleonasm is of course out of the question. At most a *Kāph veritatis* may in sense be understood, that the comparison may be introduced by כִּי, with a certain degree of emphasis (= *as right, as!*); in Neh. 7, 2 כִּי־אֱמִתָּה is simply =

tion on a level with כִּי and לִי, and in holding that it is clearly related to the root כָּן as well as to כִּי and כִּי־כֵן. Its present interpretation as a *substantive* does not imply that it was formerly used in another sense. For כִּי with numerical statements in the sense of *about, approximately*, vid. Lexicon.

¹ It would be entirely incorrect to suppose here (vid. 5, c, Note 2) an omission of a preposition; examples like Isa. 1, 26 כִּי־בִרְאֵשִׁיתָהּ and כִּי־בִרְאֵשִׁיתָהּ are explained by the fact that both the preposition and the substantive, before the prefixing of כִּי, are assimilated to *one word*. In 1 Sam. 14, 14 (כִּי־בִרְאֵשִׁיתָהּ) the text is no doubt corrupt.

nature of a faithful man, i. e. as only a faithful man really can be; cf. Num. 11, 1; Isa. 1, 7; 13, 6; Hos. 4, 4; 5, 10; Obad. 11; Job 24, 14; 27, 7; Lam. 1, 20; 2, 4, also טַמֵּא in places like Ps. 105, 12 (= *even very few*; but Isa. 1, 9, *almost, quite easily*).

§ 119.

PREPOSITIONAL RELATION OF NOUNS TO VERBS.

1. *In general.* The prepositional relation of nouns to verbs (cf. § 118) presents a more definite specification of the conditions (of place, time, cause, purpose, degree, association or separation) under which an action or event takes place. Indeed, most prepositions have an underlying idea of spatial conditions; from this their use has gradually extended so as to include any temporal, causal or intellectual conditions.

For the origin and the original case-relation, in which prepositions stood, to the nouns governed by them, cf. § 101; here we have given both the history of prepositions and their original meanings. Cf. also § 102 for the so-called prefixes and § 103 for the union of prepositions with suffixes.

2. A very frequent Hebrew construction is the use of compound prepositions to express more accurately local conditions which may either precede or follow an action. In the former case מִן and in the latter (the more rare) אֶל are found preceding other local prepositions; cf. Amos 7, 15 and *Jehovah took me away* מֵאַחֲרֵי הַצֹּאן *from after the flock*; 2 K. 9, 18 *turn thee* אֶל-אַחֲרַי *behind me*; מֵעַם, מֵאֵת *from beside, with* (like the French *de chez, d'auprès quelqu'un*¹); for more examples, vid. the Rem.

¹ In other cases the French, like the English, deems it sufficient to emphasize only one of two combined representations; as in uses like *il prend le chapeau sur la table* (English equally defective: *he takes the hat from the table*); the Hebrew, on the other hand, would, by means of מֵעַל *from off* (cf. Isa. 6, 6), represent equally well both significations.

Rem. 1. The following compound prepositions do not fall under the preceding statement, viz. : (1) those substantives which, by their union with prefixes, have become prepositions, *לפני* before, *מפני*, *למען* on account of (also *מלפני* from before, Gen. 4, 16 al.); (2) adverbs which are formed by the union of original substantives (used also as prepositions) with prepositions, *מחוץ* outside, *מתחת* in the sense of below,¹ *מעל* above (so Gen. 27, 39; 49, 25 not from above). Of course such local adverbs by the addition of *ל* may be transformed to prepositions, e. g. *למחוץ* outside in the relation to . . . i. e. outside of anything; *למתחת* under in relation to, *למעל* over something, etc.; *לבד* properly in separation, *לבד כן* in separation from, i. e. outside, except. Occasionally the *ל* in such a case is omitted for the sake of brevity, e. g. Job 26, 5 (*מתחת מים* from under the waters); Neh. 3, 28 (*מעל*).

2. Actual combinations of prepositions (mutually to strengthen the meaning) occur

a) with *מן* in *מאחרי* (vid. above) away from behind something; *מאת* and *מעם* from beside (vid. above); *מבין* or *מבינות* from between something (e. g. Gen. 49, 10); *מלפני* from before (vid. above); sometimes with *ממול* Lev. 5, 8 al.; *מעל* from off, i. e. from above something away; *מתחת* from under something away (vid. foot-note).

b) with *אל*-*אחרי* unto behind something; *אל-בינות* unto between; *אל-מבית* unto from within to (2 K. 11, 15); *אל-מחוץ* unto from without to, i. e. from without (Num. 5, 3); *אל-תחת* unto under.² In Job 5, 5 both are united to the motion with a peculiar force; *אל-מצנים* until (he goes about where) he taketh it even out of the thorns.

¹ This is not to be confounded with *מתחת* away, from under, e. g. Prov. 22, 27, where compound prepositions actually occur. Furthermore *מן* in the examples above was in no wise originally pleonastic; *מתחת* signifies properly the locality from under which, which is next considered, etc. This primary meaning of *מן* however, in union with local ideas, has, in forming independent adverbs, become so hidden that—evidently only analogous to such frequent adverbs as *מעל*—it is also prefixed in cases where the adverbial idea was really excluded, e. g. in *מלבד* without (cf. examples like *משם*, *מפני*, *ממול*, *מנגד* = there, etc.). Since *מן* was never repeated after *לבד*, it seems as if *מלבד* with transposition of *מן* was used for *מן-לבד*. Actually, however, the same omission of the preposition changing the adverb to a preposition, occurs in *מעל מתחת* without a following *ל* (vid. above). In itself *מלבד* means purely adverbially taken for itself, as *מעל* (Syriac *men l'el*) above, as distinguished from *למעל* or *לעל* (Syriac *l'el men*) from above, over something. Even *למן* to . . . from is perhaps not used for *מן-ל* but *ל* serves only (exactly like the Latin *usque* in *usque a, ad, ex*) as a more expressive reference to the starting point rather than to a definite *terminus a quo* (of place or time).

² Also in 1 Sam. 21, 5 *אל-תחת* in a pregnant construction is virtually dependent upon the foregoing idea of wishing contained in *אין*.

3. This paragraph contains a survey of the union of certain verbs or whole classes of verbs with specific prepositions, especially to explain particular idioms and pregnant constructions: ¹

a) **אֶל- (אֵל)** *toward*, properly an expression of motion or direction toward something (equally well in the sense of *even until* = **עַד**, as *unto the midst of* = **אֶל-תוֹךְ**), is found by virtue of a particularly pregnant expression after such verbs as contain not the question *whither?* but the question *where?* e. g. Jer. 41, 12 *they found him אֶל-כִּיִּם רַבִּים* by the great waters; cf. Deut. 16, 6; 1 K. 13, 20 and more noteworthy 8, 30 (**אֶל-הַשָּׁמַיִם** and **אֶל-כִּקְוֹם שׁ**). The same combination of two different representations is found here (the motion *toward*, and the being or action at a place; so Deut. 16, 6, *but at the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose . . . shalt thou bring thy offering, and there shalt thou sacrifice*, etc.), like the Greek *eis, ἐς* for *ἐν*, the Latin *in pot statem in amicitiam ditionemque esse, manere* (Cic. Verr. 5, 38; div. 2, 14 al.); cf. also our fixed idioms: *at home*, be *in* Leipzig, be *in* bed, etc.

b) **בְּ**.² The manifold uses of this preposition are always due to the idea either of *being* or *moving* oneself within a certain province, a certain (local or temporal) sphere, or of *clinging to* or *attaching one's self to* something (in a subjective sense: to some rule or direction, e. g. to the advice or command of one, etc.), or of *supporting* or *resting one's self upon* . . . or also of *leaning, touching* something.

The use of **בְּ** is distinguished thus:

1) After an idea of appearing, working, representing or being, in the sense of *as, with the peculiarity of* (properly in the sphere, according to the rule), *tanquam*: the so-called **בְּ** *essentiae* of the older grammarians (corresponding to the Greek *ἐν*, Latin *in*,³ French *en*), e. g. Ex. 6, 3 *I appeared to Abraham . . . בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי as *El Shadday*; Ps. 68, 5 **יָהּ בֵּיתוֹ שְׁמוֹ** *Jah is his name* (cf. Isa. 26, 4); Job 23, 13 **וְהוּא בְּאֶדָּר** and *he is* (represents himself as) *one, i. e. is always like himself*; Isa. 40, 10; Ps. 39, 7; 55, 19. Cf. also passages like Ex. 18, 4 (Ps. 35, 2; 146, 5) **בְּעֵזְרִי** as *my help*; Prov. 3, 26, perhaps also Ps. 31, 22; 37, 20 (102, 4). For the origin of the whole idiom, the following passages are especially instructive, Ps. 54, 6 (where with **אֶרְנֵי בְּסִמְכִי נִפְשִׁי** no reference is made to the Lord's *belonging* to the **סִמְכִים**, but only to the assertion of like characteristics = *the Lord is one who supports my soul*); 118, 7; Judg. 11,*

¹ A survey of all references and meanings in which a preposition may be used does not come within the province of a grammar, but of a Lexicon.

² Cf. Wandel, de particulae Hebr. **בְּ** indole, vi, usu. Jen. 1875.

E. g. *res in praeda captae* = *taken as booty*, vid. Nägelsbach, Lat. Stilistik § 123, 4.

35. So Ps. 99, 6 is doubtless to be rendered *Moses and Aaron were* (stood there as) *his priests*, not, *among his priests*. Cf. Gesenius Thes. Linguae Hebr. I, 174 sq. and Delitzsch on Ps. 35, 2.

2) To introduce the object after transitive verbs that express a *touching, leaning upon* or *reaching to* (and so in a manner *cleaving to*, vid. above) something (variously represented in English though in German usage indicated by compounds with *an*, e. g. *anfassen* = אָפַחַן, *anrühren* = אָרְוֶה etc.)¹ To this category belong also constructions of ruling or governing (מָלַךְ, מָשַׁל, רָדָה, נָגַשׁ, the latter properly *to tread upon*) with אֲחֵרְךָ whenever the exercise of authority is thought of, in acts of seizure or goading on or of conquering. This is true also of the introduction of an object with אֲחֵרְךָ after certain verbs of *saying*, or when the influence of a mental act is extended to some person or thing; e. g. אֲחֵרְךָ קָרָא *to call* (upon) some one, אֲחֵרְךָ נִשְׁבַּע *jurare per aliquem*, אֲחֵרְךָ שָׁאַל *to inquire of* some one; אֲחֵרְךָ רָאָה *to regard* some one, אֲחֵרְךָ שָׁמַע *to listen to* some one, usually with the underlying idea of sympathy or joy (especially malicious triumph, so אֲחֵרְךָ רָאָה *to see his evil wishes fulfilled on some person or thing*; cf. also Gen. 21, 16 *I cannot behold the death of the child*), with which one regards or bears something. This use of אֲחֵרְךָ is closely related to the following;

3) To introduce the person or object upon which a *subjective deed* (represented by the so-called *verba cordis*) extends, e. g. אֲחֵרְךָ נִשְׁמַח *to rely* (confidingly) upon some person or thing; אֲחֵרְךָ בָּטַח *to trust one* . . . ; אֲחֵרְךָ שָׂמַח *to rejoice over* (find joy in) something, etc.

4) This idea of the extension of an action *to*, with the additional force of participation *in* something, underlies also the so-called *partitive* use of אֲחֵרְךָ; e. g. in אֲחֵרְךָ אָכַל *eat with* (Ex. 12, 43 sq; Lev. 22, 11; also merely *to eat, enjoy* something, Judg. 13, 16; Job 21, 25; also אֲחֵרְךָ אָכַל *to eat of*, and אֲחֵרְךָ שָׁתָה *to drink of* something, Prov. 9, 5); אֲחֵרְךָ נָשָׂא *to bear together with*, Num. 11, 17; Ezek. 18, 20; Job 7, 13; cf. also אֲחֵרְךָ חָלַק *to share with*, Job 39, 17; אֲחֵרְךָ בָּנָה *to build upon*, Neh. 4, 4.

5) With the idea of touching or leaning upon, may of course be included that of proximity to, relationship *with*, or, furthermore, association *with* something; cf. Gen. 9, 4 בָּנִפְשׁוֹ *with his soul*; 15, 14; 32, 11 (בְּמִקְלִי *with my staff*). Occasionally אֲחֵרְךָ in connection with verbs of motion (*come with something*) paraphrases the idea of bringing, e. g. Judg. 15, 1 *Samson visited his wife with a kid* = brought her a kid; Deut. 23, 5.

¹ So אֲחֵרְךָ שָׁתָה = *to drink out of* (a goblet, etc., Gen. 44, 5; Amos 6, 6) could properly be rendered *in a goblet*, provided the lips touch its brim; so in Arab. and Aram. (Dan. 5, 2); cf. ἐν ποτηρίῳ (Xen. Anab. 6: 1, 4), ἐν χρυσώματι πίνειν (3 Ezra 3, 6); *in ossibus bibere* with Florus; French *boire dans une tasse*. Another nature (sc. partitive) is to be ascribed to אֲחֵרְךָ in No. 4 above.

6) From this idea of union with, or being accompanied by, something (vid. No. 5) the *instrumental* use of בְּ has gradually arisen; the means or instrument (also the personal agent) is then stated as something *with which* one has become connected in order to the accomplishment of the action; cf. Mic. 4, 14 בַּשֵּׁבֶט *they strike with the staff*; Isa. 10, 24; Ps. 18, 30 בְּךָ *through you* (so also 44, 6, parallel with בְּשִׁנְךָ); Isa. 10, 34; Hos. 1, 7; cf. also בְּעַבְרָךְ *do the work through some one*, i. e. they had it done, Ex. 1, 14 al. (for the introduction of the means or the originator in passives, cf. § 121, 3).

A deviation from this use of בְּ *instrumentum* is that of the so-called בְּ *pretii* (price considered as the means of acquisition), cf. Gen. 23, 9; 30, 16; 33, 19; 34, 15 (בְּזָרָה *on the condition*); 37, 28, in a wider scope also Gen. 18, 28 (בְּ *for sake of*) 29, 18.

Rem. The use of בְּ *instrumentum* to introduce an object is peculiar in such passages as Ps. 44, 20 *thou hast covered us* בְּצִלְמֹת *with deepest darkness*; Job 16, 10 $\text{בְּפִיהֶם עָלֵי בְּפִיהֶם}$ *they gaped upon me with their mouth* (properly *made a cleft with their mouth*); cf. Ps. 22, 8; Ex. 7, 20 (*he raised* בַּפֶּטֶה *the staff*), Lam. 1, 17. Analogous to English usage we as often find *shaking the head*, Ps. 22, 8, as *shaking with the head* (Jer. 18, 16; Job 16, 4); *gnashing the teeth* Ps. 35, 16 and *gnashing with the teeth* (Job 16, 9); *winking the eye* (Prov. 10, 10) and *winking with the eyes* (Prov. 6, 13). In all these cases the (intransitive) verb construed with בְּ has much greater independence, and more emphasis, than that directly united with the accusative. This latter conveys the idea of a necessary qualification, of the action, while the noun introduced by בְּ contains rather an adverbial modification. The following cases are in point: נָתַן בְּקוֹל *vocem emittere, to utter a sound, also to thunder*, but נָתַן בְּקוֹלוֹ Ps. 46, 7 (68, 34; Jer. 12, 8) with independent force of נָתַן = *he thundered with his voice* (i. e. powerfully).

c) לְ ¹ to, the most common expression of *direction* (not *motion*, like אַלְ) *toward* something, serves to indicate the manifold references of an action or state to a person or thing. For its use as a paraphrase of the *genit. possessoris* or *auctoris* (idea of ownership), vid. § 129; for its use in introducing the origin or cause with passives, vid. § 121, 3; for its use in purely local (e. g. לְיְמִינְךָ *at your right, properly toward your right hand*) and temporal (לְעֶרְב *in the evening*, etc.), and even distributive senses, vid. Lexicon. Within the sphere of verbal influence לְ is used:

- 1) As *nota dativi* ² to introduce the indirect object; also
- 2) To introduce the *dat. commodi*. Such a *dat. commodi* (or *incommodi* Ezek. 37, 11) appearing—especially in colloquial and later Hebrew—

¹ Cf. Giesebrecht, die hebr. Präpos. *Lamed*, Halle, 1876.

² As in the romance languages the Latin preposition *ad* (Ital. *a*, before vowels *ad*, Fr. *à*, Span. *a*) and English *to* (German *zu*) are used as a paraphrase of the dative.

in the form of a pronoun united with ל as an *ethical dative*, seems to be pleonastic with many verbs, but is used expressly to emphasize the significance of the preceding occurrence for a particular subject. The person of the pronoun must always agree with that of the verb.¹ By far the most frequent use of ל is that with the pronoun of the 2d pers. after Imperatives, e. g. לך-לך go, take thyself hence (fem. in Cant. 2, 10, 13); לך-לך fly (to save thyself); על-לך arise Isa. 40, 9; לך קים raise thyself Cant. 2, 10; שבי לך remain Gen. 22, 5; לך חרל forbear 2 Chr. 35, 21 (pl. in Isa. 2, 22) and so regularly לך השמר (vid. § 51, Rem. 3) cave tibi! and לך השמרו guard yourselves; לך דמה be thou like! Cant. 2, 17 (cf. vs. 9) is rather unusual; 8, 14; after an Imperfect consec. Isa. 36, 9, ואתבטח לך and thou trustest. It is used with the 3d pers. in ואתשב לה and she sat down Gen. 21, 16; cf. Ps. 120, 6; 123, 4; Job 6, 19; even after a Participle Hos. 8, 9; in the 1st pers. pl. Ezek. 37, 11.

3) To introduce the product of verbs of making, forming, changing, or naming to something or regarding for something; in short, in all such cases as, according to § 107, 5, c, can take a second accusative.

4) In loose connection with any verb in the sense of *in reference to*, so after a verb of saying in Gen. 20, 13; after an attributive expression 1 K. 10, 23; cf. Isa. 36, 9; even before the verb, Jer. 9, 2. To this category belongs also the *Lamedh inscriptionis* (to us untranslatable and always corresponding to our colon) used to introduce a quotation, inscription or appellation, so in Isa. 8, 1 write in it . . . (the words) 'מהר שאל וג' (cf. vs. 3 where ל is naturally wanting); Ezek. 37, 16.

d) כן, doubtless originally (§ 101, a) *part of*² something, indicates equally well the idea of remoteness or separation from a thing, as the idea of motion from (hence departure or arrival from a place, Amos 1, 1.

1) From the sense of separation there arises on the one hand the idea of (taken) out from . . ., *e numero*, e. g. Gen. 3, 1 more subtle than any other beast, etc.); cf. 3, 14; Deut. 33, 24; Judg. 5, 24 (so with

¹ Examples analogous to the German *geh mir weg! komme mir nur!* etc., are wanting in Hebrew.

² This original *partitive* force of כן is most clearly retained in the sense of some, somewhat, even some one in cases like 2 Chr. 21, 4 he slew משרי ישראל also (a number) of the princes of Israel, Lev. 4, 2 (מפל-); 1 K. 18, 5; מדם הפר some of the blood (French *du sang*) of the bullocks Ex. 29, 12 al.; Job 27, 6 my heart does not reproach me in anything כימי i. e. of my days; 38, 12 כימי of the days, i. e. even in thy life; 1 K. 1, 6 confirms this view; cf. also 1 Sam. 14, 45). In this manner we can explain the misunderstood Hebrew (and Arabic) idioms after which כן before אחת, אחר (properly a part of one) is a paraphrase for *ullus*; e. g. Lev. 4, 2 and some one doeth מהנה מאחת any one of these things; 5, 13; Deut. 15, 7; Ezek. 18, 10. In the sense of the Arabic *min-el-beyan*, i. e. of the explication, כן occurs in Gen. 7, 22 (in everything that . . .) also 6, 2 (= *whomsoever they . . .*).

the idea of selection *from* a greater number, 1 Sam. 2, 28; cf. Ex 19, 5 al.) and, on the other hand, the idea of *without* (separated, free from . . .), e. g. Isa. 22, 3 אֶפְרוֹ בִּקְשֵׁת *without bows* (i. e. without the necessity of drawing a single bow against them) *were they taken*; cf. Jer. 48, 45 (מִכֹּחַ *powerless*); Mic. 3, 6; Job 11, 15; 21, 9; 19, 26, also examples like Num. 15, 24 (*away from the eyes*, i. e. unnoticed by the congregation); Prov. 20, 3. Here too belongs the use of מִן in the senses of *withholding, excluding from, refusing to some one*, and frequently in forcible constructions that can be rendered into English only by final or consecutive clauses; e. g. 1 Sam. 15, 23 *Jehovah hath rejected thee מִמֶּלֶךְ from being king*, rather than מִקִּיּוֹת מֶלֶךְ (v. 26) *that thou no longer be king*; cf. 1 K. 15, 23; Isa. 17, 1 מִעִיר *that she is no more a city*; Jer. 17, 16; Job 28, 11 (מִנְבֵּי) *that they may not trickle (as tears) he obstructs the stream*; Gen. 16, 2; 23, 5 מִקְבֵּר *that thou mayst not bury*; Isa. 24, 10. Still more pregnant is the use of מִן in examples where the idea of separating is indirectly contained in the preceding verb, e. g. Gen. 27, 1 *and his eyes were dim מִרְאֵה from seeing*, i. e. *so that he could not see*; Isa. 7, 8 *shall Ephraim be broken מִעַם that he be not a people* (similarly Isa. 23, 1; Jer. 48, 2, 42; Ps. 83, 5); Isa. 5, 6; 49, 15; 45, 9; Ezra 2, 62 (for other pregnant constructions with מִן vid. No. 4).¹

2) The use of מִן in the sense of *motion from* is found after ideas of *departing from, fleeing, saving one's self, fearing, rescuing one's self, concealing one's self* (cf. καλύπτω ἀπό, *custodire ab*), e. g. in pregnant constructions such as Isa. 33, 15. The frequent causative use of מִן depends upon an idea of *proceeding or springing from = on account of, in consequence of* (cf. our: *that comes from . . .*), *prae* (e. g. מִרַּב for the multitude 1 K. 8, 5).

e) -ל.² The two local significations of this preposition are *upon* (ἐπὶ)³ and *above* (ὑπέρ, *super*).

¹ For the use of מִן as a paraphrase of the comparative in connection with the idea of *remoteness from* cf. § 134, 1; for מִן as an expression of distance in time from a period (in the sense of *after*, e. g. Ps. 73, 20 מִהֲקִיץ *after one awaketh* [cf. ἐξ ἀπέρου, *ab itinere*] or *after a lapse of*, e. g. Gen. 38, 24; Hos. 6, 2 and frequently מִקֵּץ *from the end*, i. e. *after the lapse of*) vid. Lexicon; similarly for representing *rest beside* of something, analogous to the Latin *prope abesse ab* . . .

² Cf. *Budie die hebr. Präpos. 'Al* (על), Halle, 1882.

³ Whenever the idea of placing *upon* includes that of adding to, -ל means also to or towards; cf. Gen. 28, 9 (31, 50); 30, 40; 32, 12 (colloquially = *mother and children*); Deut. 22, 6. Even -ל *despite* is really to or toward, e. g. Job 10, 7 *although thou knowest, properly in opposition to your knowing*. From the meaning *upon*, the rendering *on account of* (*upon the cause*), *according to, in consequence of*, often arises in that the earlier perceptions are considered as the scale *upon* which the later ones are proportionately rated.

1) From the meaning *upon* is to be explained (regardless of the independent constructions *lying, resting, leaning, confiding, pressing upon* something; cf., for the last, examples like Isa. 1, 14; Job 7, 20; 23, 2, especially 2 Sam. 18, 11 וַיֵּץ and *upon*, properly *upon me* it would have lain, it would have been my duty, etc.) the use of עַל after ideas of *enjoining upon, commissioning* (פָּקַד עַל), etc., whenever the command or duty is laid *upon* one.

2) From the meaning *above* is to be explained the use of עַל after ideas of *covering, protecting, preserving* בָּסְתָה עַל, גָּנָן עַל; also the compounds עַל-רַחֵם take pity upon, עַל-חַיִּים spare some one depend upon the idea of compassionate, protecting inclination towards (over) something; cf. also עַל-נַלְחָם Judg. 9, 17 = *for* some one, sc. *to strive* for one's safety.

3) Furthermore, עַל is used after verbs of *standing, going*, to express some over-towering person or thing, partly in cases where the original local force is suppressed, and so usually rendered into English by other prepositions (*at, by, before, with*); e. g. Gen. 41, 1, Pharaoh stood עַל-הַיָּאֵר *by the Nile* (rising *above the water-level*; cf. Ps. 1, 3) and so עָמַד עַל in the pregnant sense, *s'and serving before* one (properly *over* one sitting or reclining at table) Zech. 4, 14 (cf. Isa. 6, 2 where קָפַעַל is used for עַל); עָרְצוּ הָחַיִּיצָב עַל- present themselves for service to one Job 1, 6 al.; cf. also עַל-יָד, עַל-יָד (Job 1, 14) *beside* some one or thing.

4) Finally, from the root meaning *upon* (not as already explained: *on something toward*) may have arisen the manifold constructions of עַל in the sense of *toward, against*. This is due to the fact that the (often unknown) original point of view of the contestant was *over* his opponent, in order to *overpower* him; cf. chiefly קָיָם עַל- *to raise one's self over* = *against* some one; then with a change of standpoint to every sort of hostile approach גָּלַחַם עַל- *to struggle against*; חָנָה עַל- *to encamp opposite*, נִאֲסַף עַל- *to combine against* (Mic. 4, 11; cf. Ps. 1, 2), etc.; ever after verbs expressing a mental act, like חָשַׁב רָעָה עַל- *to plot against* some one, etc.

4. Occasionally a preposition seems to be immediately governed by a verb, which, however, must in sense exclude such a union. In reality the preposition is dependent upon a verb (usually one of motion) which, though omitted for the sake of brevity, is in sense contained in the supposable governing verb.

Various examples of this so-called *constructio praegnans*¹ have already been mentioned with כָּן, No. 3, d; cf. furthermore for כָּן Ps.

¹ Cf. for the same § 117, 1, Rem. 4.

22, 22 **וַיִּקְרַנִּי רָמִים עִנִּיָּהִי** *thou hast heard and saved me from the horns of the wild oxen* (like Isa. 38, 17 which Delitzsch renders *thou hast in love rescued my soul from the pit*, etc.); Gen. 25, 23; 2 Sam. 18, 19; Job 28, 12; cf. also **זָנָה כֵּן** Ps. 73, 27 *go a whoring from any one*, i. e. *being faithless to him*; **רָשַׁע כֵּן** Ps. 18, 22 *wickedly departed from God*; **חָרַשׁ כֵּן** Ps. 28, 1 *silently departing from some one* (turning away while silent), cf. Job 13, 13. Pregnant constructions with **אַחֲרָי** Num. 14, 24 = **לָלַכְתָּ אַחֲרָי** *he followed me fully*; 1 Sam. 13, 7 (**אֲחֲרָי** *they trembled* [went trembling] *behind him*); with **אַל** Gen. 43, 33 **תָּמָה אֵל** *they turned astonished toward one another* (cf. Isa. 13, 8); **דָּרַשׁ אֵל** Isa. 11, 10 al. *turn one's self inquiringly to one*; **הֶחֱרִישׁ אֵל** Isa. 41, 1 *turn silently to one*; **חָרַד אֵל** Gen. 42, 28 *turn tremblingly to one* (cf. **קָרְאתָ ח' !** *meet tremblingly* 1 Sam. 21, 2); cf. Jer. 41, 7; 2 Chr. 32, 1; with **בְּ** Ps. 55, 19 (*he has delivered and set my soul in peace*; similarly Ps. 118, 5); with **לְ** Ps. 74, 7 *they have defiled and cast down*, etc.); cf. 89, 40.

5. The influence of a preposition is sometimes extended within the so-called parallelism, even to the corresponding substantive of the second member,¹ thus **בְּ** Isa. 48, 14 *he will do his pleasure בְּבָבֶל on Babylon and his arm בְּשָׁדִים* (for **בַּבְּ**) *on the Chaldeans*; Job 15, 3; **לְ** Isa. 28, 6; Job 34, 10 (perhaps also Gen. 45, 1; still **מִשָּׁל** can here, according to § 117, 5, c, be understood as a second accusative); **לְמַעַן** Isa. 48, 9; **מִן** Ps. 141, 9; **עַד** Isa. 15, 8; **תָּחַת** Isa. 61, 7.

§ 120.

VERBS GOVERNING VERBAL IDEAS.—CO-ORDINATION IN SUBORDINATION.

1. Whenever a so-called relative verb is supplied with the necessary complement in the form of a verbal idea, the latter is regularly subordinated to that verb in the Infinitive *construct* (with or without **לְ**). Occasionally it stands in the Infinitive *absolute*, in a few cases in the Participle (or verbal adjective), and finally (as a case of asyndeton) in the Imper-

¹ The influence of a negative is sometimes equally felt upon a parallel clause; vid. Negative Clauses.

fect. In such connections the main idea is very often represented by the subordinated member of the sentence, whereas the governing verb contains more definitely the mode of the action; cf. on this point No. 2, and especially § 114, 1, *c*, Note.

a) For the subordination of an Infinitive *construct* as the accusative as well as the complement of a relative verbal idea, vid. § 114, 1, *c*, and the numerous examples § 114, 3; for the Infinitive *absolute* as object § 113, 1, *c*. The Participle serves as the complement (as in Greek and frequently in Syriac) in Isa. 33, 1 כְּהַתְמֵךְ שׁוֹרֵר (cf. for the form § 67, Rem. 6) *when thou shalt cease as despoiler* = to spoil; Jer. 22, 30 (יֹשֵׁב . . . יִצְלַח *he will prosper sitting*, etc.);¹ a verbal adjective is thus used in 1 Sam. 3, 2 and his eyes כְּהוּת החֲלוּ *began to be dim*, i. e. to grow dim.

b) Examples of the subordination of the verbal idea in the *Imperfect*² (in English usually rendered by *to* or *in order to* with the Infinitive, or by *that* with a clause):

1) with agreement in person: after *Perfect* Isa. 42, 21 יְהוָה חָפֵץ . . . יַגְדִּיל *it pleased Jehovah . . . to magnify*, etc.; Job 32, 22 אֲכַנֶּה לֹא יֵדַעְתִּי *I know not how to flatter*; after *Perfect consec.*: 1 Sam. 20, 19 (where with the LXX תִּפְקֹד should be read for תִּרָּר); after *Imperfect* Ps 88, 11; 102, 14; Job 19, 3; 24, 14.

2) with a different person: after *Perfect* Lev. 9, 6; *this is the thing* וְאֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה יְיָ תַעֲשֶׂה *which Jehovah has commanded that ye (they) should do*; so a negative Imperfect follows צִוָּה Lam. 1, 10; after *Imperfect* Isa. 47, 1 (5) לֹא תִקְרְאוּ לָךְ עוֹד *thou shalt no more continue (that) they call thee* = thou shalt no longer be called, etc.; Num. 22, 6 *perhaps I shall prevail (so that) we shall smite him and I drive him out* (but אֵיכָל owing to some mistake might be ascribed to the preceding אֵילִי for נוֹכַל; this would then be classed under No. 1); after a *Participle* 2 Sam. 21, 4. In Lam. 1, 10 the *Perfect* might be said to be subordinated; still the explanation of בָּאֵי as a relative clause is preferable.

¹ In 1 Sam. 16, 16 יָדַע כִּנְגֵן which apparently belongs here, Wellhausen rightly explains as due to a coalescence of two different readings (יָדַע לִנְגֵן) and simply (כִּנְגֵן).

² Such a subordination is frequent in Arabic (by means of the Subjunctive) and also in Syriac (cf. Peshito on Luke 18, 13); regularly, however, a conjunction (corresponding to our *that*) is inserted. Cf. moreover the Latin *quid vis faciam?* Ter.; *volo hoc oratori contingat*, Cic. Brut. 84, and the German *ich wollte, es wäre*; *ich dachte, es ginge*.

2. In place of subordination (vid. No. 1) co-ordination of a complemental verbal idea as a *finite verb* is often found, either:

- a) so that the second verb is co-ordinated¹ with the first through וְ (וּ, וִ) in a corresponding form (but vid. Rem. 1). Regularly here too (vid. Rem. 1) the second verb contains the main idea, whereas the first (so especially הוֹסִיף, יָסַף, שָׁוָה) defines the mode of the action, e. g. Gen. 26, 18 וַיִּשָּׁב וַיַּחֲפֹר *and he repeated and dug*, i. e. *dug again*, 2 K. 1, 11, 13; Perfect consec. Isa. 6, 13; of הוֹסִיף e. g. Gen. 25, 1 *and Abraham continued and took a wife* = took another wife; 38, 5 al.; of הִחֵל Gen. 9, 20; הוֹאִיל in *Jussive* Job 6, 9; in *Imperfect* (cf. § 110, 2, a, Rem. 2) Judg. 19, 6 הוֹאֵל-נָא יָלֵן *be content and tarry all night* (cf. the German *er. liess es sich gefallen und blieb*, for *zu bleiben*); 2 Sam. 7, 29; of מָהַר Gen. 24, 18, 20 al.; of חָפַר Cant. 2, 3.

Rem. 1. Instead of an exact correspondence of the co-ordinated verbal forms, there occurs occasionally a succession of *Imperfects* and *Perfects* consec. (cf. § 112, 2), e. g. Deut. 31, 12 *that they יִלְמְדוּ וִירָאוּ* *may learn and fear Jehovah* = *to fear Jehovah*, Isa. 1, 19; Hos. 2, 11; Esth. 8, 6; Dan. 9, 25b; of *Perfect* and *Imperfect*, Job 23, 3 (Oh that I knew where I might find him!); *Perfect* and *Imperfect* consec. Josh. 7, 7; Eccl. 4, 1, 7; *Jussive* and *Imperative*, Job 17, 10; cf. finally also Gen. 47, 6 וְאִם-יִדְעָתָּ וְשָׁכַח *and if thou knowest and there is among them* = that there is among them.

2. Special mention should be made of the examples where the expected complement of the first verb is suppressed, or appears in the form of an historic statement, e. g. Gen. 42, 25 *then Joseph commanded and they filled*² (properly that they should fill, and they filled . . .; cf. the complete narrative in 50, 2); a further command is then added with לְ and the Infinitive; Ex. 36, 6; here too belongs Gen. 30, 27 (*I have tokens and Jehovah hath blessed me*, etc., = that Jehovah hath blessed me for thy sake).

¹ Corresponding to the German idiom *ich bin im Stande und thue es!*

² Cf. analogous examples in Kautzsch Gram. des Bibl.-Aram. § 102.

- b) so that the second verb (according to the foregoing containing the principal idea) is added as a case of asyndeton¹ in a corresponding mode, etc. So again הוֹסִיף Hos. 1, 6 לֹא אוֹסִיף עוֹר אֲרַחֵם *I will no more continue to have mercy upon* = no longer will I pity; Isa. 52, 1; Prov. 23, 35; שׁוּב (apparently a paraphrase of the idea "again") in a *Perfect*, Zech. 8, 15; in an *Imperfect* Mic. 7, 19; Ps. 7, 13; 59, 7; in a *Jussive* Job 10, 16; in a *Cohortative* Gen. 30, 31; in an *Imperative* Josh. 5, 2; 1 Sam. 3, 5 (lie down again); הוֹאִיל (sometimes a paraphrase of the idea "freely" or "willingly") in a *Perfect* Deut. 1, 5; Hos. 5, 11; in an *Imperative* Job. 6, 28; הִרְבָּה (= manifold) 1 Sam. 2, 3 אַל-תִּרְבּוּ תִּרְבּוֹתַי do not increase your talking = talk not so much presumption; in an *Imperative* Ps. 51, 4; הִחַל Deut. 2, 24 רֵשׁ הִחַל begin, possess it; יָבֹל Lam. 4, 14 יִגְעוּ יִבֹּלוּ בָּלֹא so that men could not touch, etc.; מָהֵר (= hastily) Ps. 106, 13. Other examples are Hos. 9, 9 הָעֵמִיק = deep, fundamental; Zeph. 3, 7 הַשְׁכִּיחַ = early; even in *Participles* Hos. 6, 4; 13, 3; Isa. 29, 4 שָׁפֵל = low; cf. Jer. 13, 18; Josh. 3, 16 הֵמָּה = complete; Ps. 112, 9 מְלֹךְ (= royal); Isa. 3, 26 נִקְרָה (= devastated).

Rem. This asyndetic co-ordination is the more fitting (being bolder and more vivid) for poetic or exalted discourse (cf. Isa. 52, 1; Hos. 1, 6 with Gen. 25, 1 etc.); still asyndetons are not wanting in prose, cf. besides the above-mentioned examples (Gen. 30, 31; Deut. 1, 5; 2, 24; Josh. 3, 16; 1 Sam. 3, 5) also Neh. 3, 20; 1 Chr. 13, 2. For a special reason the verb representing the principal idea may precede; so in Isa. 53, 11 יִרְאֶה יִשְׁבֹּעַ he shall see . . . and shall be satisfied (sc. with seeing), for the satisfaction will come only after the enjoyment; Jer. 4, 5 קְרָאִי מְלֵאֵי מְלֵאֵי cry, make it full = with a full voice.

¹ Of a different nature are of course the examples where, in vivid poetic narrations, two equally important and independent verbs stand together asyndetically, as for instance Ex. 15, 9; Job 29, 8 et al.

§ 121.

CONSTRUCTION WITH PASSIVE VERBS.

1. Such verbs as in the active take *one* Accusative (cf. on this point § 117, 1, 2, 4) may in the passive — corresponding to our idiom — be construed *personally*, in that the object of the active sentence now becomes the subject e. g. Gen. 1, 9 וַתֵּרָאֶה הַיַּבֶּשֶׁה *and the dry land was seen*. Frequently, however, the passive is used *impersonally* (in the 3d sing. masc.) and subordinates apparently the object of the active construction to the accusative,¹ e. g. Gen. 27, 42 וַיִּגַּד לְרִבְקָה *and it was told* = they told *Rebekah the words of Esau*, 2 Sam. 21, 11; 1 K. 18, 13.

Further examples after the *Niph.* Gen. 4, 18 וַיֵּלֶד לְחֶנֹּךְ אֶת-עִירָר *there was born to Enoch Irad* (cf. Num. 26, 60, and after *Infinitive* Gen. 21, 5); Gen. 17, 5; 21, 8 (after *Infinitive*); 29, 27; Ex. 21, 28; Num. 7, 10 (after the *Infinitive*); 26, 55 (cf. vs. 53); Deut. 20, 8 (where for וַיִּסַּח according to 1, 28, we should read the *Hiph.* וַיִּסַּח); Josh. 7, 15; with preceding object Ex. 6, 3; Dan. 9, 24.² Furthermore, after the *Pūāl* Jer. 50, 20; before the *Pūāl* Isa. 14, 3 (אֲשֶׁר equivalent of the inner object וַעֲבָדָה = *wherein thou wast made to serve*); Job 22, 9; according to the Masoretic text also Gen. 46, 22, but Sam. and LXX have here יִלְדָה for יֵלֶד; also Sam., Gen. 35, 26; 46, 27 יִלְדוּ; doubtless the latter (or יֵלֶד) 2 Sam. 21, 22 should be read for יִלְדוּ. After the *Hōph.* Ex. 10, 8; Lev. 16, 27; Num. 32, 5; 1 K. 2, 21; Job 30, 15; after the *Infinitive Hōph.* Gen. 40, 20; Ex. 16, 4 sq.; before the *Hōph.* Isa. 21, 2; Hos. 10, 6; Zech. 13, 6; after *Infinitive Hōthpa.* Lev. 13, 55 sq.

¹ When this is not marked by the *nota accusativi* or a deviation of a passive form in person, number and gender, it is of course impossible to say whether or not there is actually an impersonal construction. Moreover, this whole phenomenon can be explained only by the fact that in the passive form the origin or cause of the action in question is simultaneously thought of, for in the suppositions of Arabic grammarians, there is then contained in such a passive a *hidden agent*. Hence the possibility (cf. § 143, b, Rem.) of paraphrasing the passive by actives with an indefinite subject.

² In 2 K. 18, 30 either read יִבְהֵן or strike out אֶת- as in the parallel passage Isa. 36, 15.

2. Verbs that, according to § 117, 5, take *two* accusatives, retain in the passive construction *one* accusative at least (that of the second, indirect object), the nearer object now becoming the subject. So corresponding to אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶךָ that *I will show thee* (Gen. 12, 1) we find in the passive: אֲשֶׁר אֶתָּה מְרָאָה (Ex. 25, 40) which *thou wast made to see* = which was shown thee; cf. Ex. 26, 30; Lev. 13, 49; Job 7, 3. In Ps. 22, 16 מְרַבֵּק מ' depends upon an imaginary double transitive הִרְבִּיק (my tongue is made to touch my palate). On Isa. 1, 20 vid. below, No. 3.

Rem. 1. Examples of the retention of the second accusative are found with

a) verbs *induendi* and *exuendi* (§ 117, 5, a); Ps. 80, 11 כָּסּוּ הָרִים צֵלָהּ the hills were covered with its (the vine's) shadow; here too belong in part the passive participles (mentioned in § 116, 4) of such verbs: Judg. 18, 11; 1 Sam. 2, 18; 17, 5; 1 K. 22, 10; Ezek. 9, 2, 3¹; with preceding Accusative, Neh. 4, 12.

b) verbs *copiae* and *inopiae* Ex. 1, 7; Isa. 38, 10 (= *I must miss the rest of my years*); 40, 20.

c) accusative of product (§ 117, 5, c) with passives, Isa. 6, 11; Mic. 3, 2 (Jer. 26, 18); Zech. 14, 4; Job 28, 2; with preceding accusatives Isa. 24, 12; Job 15, 7; 22, 16²; also in Ezek. 40, 17 and 46, 23 the accusatives before אַחֲרָיו (after in 41, 18) may be understood as those of product; it is frequently interpreted as subject of ע', perhaps hinting at the idea of *space*.

d) a special accusative of a member or part (§ 117, 5, d) of a preceding action Gen. 17, 11, 14, 24; Judg. 1, 7 (accusative before a passive Participle); 2 Sam. 15, 32 (accusative with suffix after a passive Participle).

2. Both accusatives, strangely enough, seem to be retained after the passive of a verb *implendi* in Num. 14, 21 (so in Isa. 72, 19); but with the LXX in place of the Niph. וְיִמְלֵא we should read the simple Qāl (used also elsewhere as transitive).

¹ 1 Chr. 31, 10 seems to be analogous to הַלְבִּישׁ הַבְּדָדִים he who was clothed with linen Ezek. 9, 3, but with the LXX we should doubtless read וַיְבָדֵד. Still less does Ps. 87, 3 belong here; in this passage נִכְבְּדוֹת is not *accusative*, but subject of a nominal clause. But 1 K. 14, 6 may with Ewald be so interpreted that שְׁלִיחַ corresponds to one *commissioned with something*, and so like צִוְיָה can be construed with an accusative.

² In the nature of the case וְיִמְלֵא Ex. 16, 20 (it became corrupt) is also due to a passive idea (it was changed) with which תּוֹלָעִים appears as the accusative of the product.

3. The active cause (or the personal originator) is regularly indicated in the passive by לְ (corresponding to the Greek and Latin dative), e. g. Gen. 25, 21 וַיֵּעָתֶר לוֹ יְהוָה *and Jehovah let himself be moved by him*; cf. 14, 13, 19; *before* the verb Prov. 14, 20 et al., more rarely with מֵן (מֵן as a starting point = *from*), e. g. Gen. 9, 11; Job 28, 4; *before* the verb Ps. 37, 23; Job 24, 1; with בְּ (the בְּ *instrum.*) Gen. 9, 6 (בְּאָדָם *by man*); Num. 36, 2; Isa. 14, 3; Hos. 14, 4 — throughout to introduce a personal originator. An accusative *instrum.* seems to be found in Isa. 1, 20 תִּחְרַב הָאֶפֶסְךָ *ye shall be devoured by the sword*,¹ and Prov. 19, 23. For passive Participles dependent on a gen. *auctoris*, cf. § 116, 4, Rem.

II. SYNTAX OF THE NOUN.

§ 122.

GENDER OF NOUNS.

1. According to § 80, 1, the Hebrew, like the other Semitic languages, has only a *masculine* and a *feminine* gender. To denote the latter there is, according to § 80, 2 and § 87, 2 in general (most important with adjectives and Participles; cf. § 87, 5) a special feminine termination in the singular as well as (but vid. § 87, 4) in the plural. This ending is most naturally present when the word for a female and a male are from the same root and must be distinguished; e. g. אָח brother, אָחִית sister, עָלָם youth, עֹלְמָה maiden, young woman; פָּר bull, פָּרָה cow, עֵגֶל bull-calf, עֵגְלָה heifer-calf. Furthermore, the feminine form plays an important

¹ The active would be *I shall let the sword devour you*; according to above-mentioned rule (No. 2) the corresponding passive would be *the sword (Nom.) shall make you (acc.) to be devoured*. Instead of this, the indirect object seems to be made the subject and the nearer object retained in the accusative. Otherwise it could be explained only according to the Arabic idiom *to let the sword (as indirect object) devour some one* (i. e. devote him to it).

part in distinguishing between complete categories of ideas (vid. No. 4) regarded by the Hebrews as feminine. The Hebrew language, however, does not necessarily adopt the feminine form either to distinguish between *natural* gender of animate beings (vid. No. 2) or to denote the (apparently figurative) gender of inanimate things considered as feminine (vid. No. 3).

2. Distinctions of *natural* gender can be indicated without the feminine ending:

a) by the use of words derived from different roots for the masculine and feminine.

b) by the different constructions (as masculine or feminine) of one and the same word (so-called *communia*). Distinctions of gender may

c) be entirely omitted with names of animals, since all species, whether masculine or feminine, may be included under one definite genus (the so-called *epicene*).

Examples for *a* are אב *father*, אם *mother*; אֵיל *ram*, רֵחַל *ewe*; תֵּישׁ *he-goat*, עֵז *she-goat*; חֲמֹר *he-ass*, אֲתוֹן *she-ass*; אֲרִי *lion*, לִבְיָא *lioness* (sometimes indicated at the same time by the feminine ending, e. g. עֶבֶר *slave, man-servant*, אַמָּה or שִׁפְחָה *female slave, maid-servant*; חָתָן *groom*, בֵּלָה *bride*).

For *b*, גָּמַל *camel*, pl. גָּמְלִים as masculine Gen. 24, 63; as feminine 32, 16; בָּקָר collective *horned cattle*, as masculine Ex. 21, 37, but feminine 33, 13; Job 1, 14. In Jer. 2, 24 the construction of פָּרָה *wild ass* is changed from the (intended epicene) masculine directly to the feminine. Cf. the Greek ὁ, ἡ παῖς, ὁ, ἡ βούς.

For *c*, analogous to the epicene usage of other languages, species of strong, courageous animals are considered as masculine, whereas the weak are regarded as feminine; cf. ὁ λύκος, ἡ χελιδὼν the (m.) lion, tiger, panther, wolf, eagle, etc., on the other hand, the (f.) cat, dove, bee, etc., so in Hebrew, e. g. אֲלִיף *cattle* (Ps. 144, 14 refers to cows with calf), דִּב *bear* (Hos. 13, 8 שִׁכּוּל ד' *bear bereaved of her young*; cf. also 2 K. 2, 24; Isa. 11, 7), זֶאֵב *wolf*, כָּלֵב *dog*, but the following are feminine: אֲרִנָּה *hare*, יוֹנָה *dove*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, דְּבוּרָה *bee*, נְמָלָה *ant*, etc.

Rem. 1. Occasionally such masculines as have a feminine form or can readily adopt one are used as epicene; so חֲמֹר *he-ass* 2 Sam. 19, 27 for אֲתוֹן אֵיל *hart* Ps. 42, 2 for אֵילָה. In Gen. 23, 4 sq. מֵת *dead one* is

rather the corpse of a woman; אֱלֹהִים *God* (elsewhere always masculine) in 1 K. 11, 5 is applied to a goddess; אֲמֹן *master* Prov. 8, 30 of wisdom (חֲכָמָה feminine, cf. Pliny 2, 1 *natura omnium artifex*; the English *friend, teacher, servant, neighbor* used for a female friend, teacher, etc.; also the German *Gemahl* for *Gemahlin*, etc.

2. Of the personal signs נַעַר *παῖς* was originally used as epicene (but vid. § 2, 5, Rem.). In any case, however, the use of the pl. נַעָרִים (Job 1, 19; Ruth 2, 21) for *young people* (of both sexes) is not permissible. In this and in similar cases (cf. e. g. Gen. 1, 27 אָדָם; 32, 1 אֲתָהֶם) the masculine as *genus potius* is much oftener found in place of the feminine.²

3. The following ideas, although the substantives in question are in general devoid³ of feminine endings, are usually regarded as *feminine*:

- a) Names of *countries* and *cities* when regarded as the mothers⁴ or supporters of the inhabitants, e. g. אֲשׁוּר *Assyria*, אֲדָם *Idumaea*, צֹר *Tyre*; cf. also expressions like בֵּת צִיּוֹן בַּת בָּבֶל *daughter of Babel, daughter of Zion*, etc.

Rem. Such proper nouns as names of countries, considered feminine, are frequently used also as the names of peoples; in this case, analogous to such names in other languages, they can be construed as masculines; so יְהוּדָה *m.* Isa. 3, 8 al. = *Jews*; but feminine 7, 6 = *Judea*; אֲדָם

¹ So in earlier written Arabic *ba'l* (master) and *zau'g* (conjux) are used as well for *maritus* as for *uxor*; 'arūs for *groom* and *bride* (later Arabic, however, distinguishes the fem. from the masc. in all these cases, usually by the ending *a* [at]). Furthermore, even the fem. endings of such Participles as (like *hāmīl*, *bāṭin* *gravida*, etc.) can naturally be used only by females, are in the earlier language usually omitted.

² Such a use of the masculine pl. and dual (e. g. *el ābawāni* the two fathers, i. e. the *parents*) the Arabs represent as a *taghlīb* or predominance (of the masculine over the feminine). Cf. *M. Grünert*, die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab., Vienna, 1886.

³ When, however, words with fem. endings are sometimes found, like נְחֹשֶׁת *bronze*, קֶשֶׁת *bow* (root קִשַׁשׁ), עֵת *time* (vid. *Lexicon*), construed as masculine, it is due to an ignorance in the formation of the word, i. e. עֵת fem. was mistaken for a root consonant.

⁴ Cf. "a city and mother (אִם) in Israel" 2 Sam. 20, 19. On Phœnician coins אִם (like μητήρ *mater*) is used for *mother city*, μητρόπολις. This explains, moreover uses like *sons of Zion*, Ps. 149, 2; *sons of Babel* Ezek. 23, 15 al., as well as the indication of smaller suburbs of a city as its daughters, Josh. 15, 45 sq. et al. The comparison of Jerusalem to a woman in detailed allegory is of very frequent occurrence (Ezek. 16; Lam. 1, 1 et al.).

m. = *Idumeans* Num. 20, 20, *fem.* *Idumæa* Jer. 49, 17. This does not however exclude the fact that by virtue of a frequent change of thought (analogous to the German: *die Türkei schliesst Frieden*) such names may be construed as feminine, whenever not the land, but the inhabitants are meant; so *יְהוּדָה* Lam. 1, 3; cf. Ex. 12, 33; 1 Sam. 17, 21; Isa. 7, 2; 21, 2; Job 1, 15. Hence arises the frequent personification even of peoples (as well as of countries and cities, vid. letter *a* above) as feminine (e. g. Isa. 50, 1; 54, 1 sq.) and the change of meaning *בֵּית בְּנֵי* (Isa. 41, 1 sq.), *בֵּית צִיּוֹן* etc. (vid. above) from the city to the inhabitants.

- b) Appellative nouns indicating *limited space*, as *אֶרֶץ* *earth, land*, *הָעוֹלָם* *habitable world*, *שָׂאֵל* *nether world*, *כֶּכֶר* *circle, compass*, *עִיר* *city*, *בְּיָר* *well*, *צָפוֹן* *north*, *הַיָּמִן* *south*.

In a great number of spatial designations the gender is doubtful, thus *אֶרֶץ* and *דֶּרֶךְ* *way*, *נָגַל* (ג') *valley*, *גֶּן* *garden*, *הַיָּכָל* *palace, temple*, *חָצֵר* *outer court*, *קֶרֶם* *vineyard*, *מַחֲנֶה* *camp*, *שַׁעַר* *door*, etc., also *מָקוֹם* *place* is found rendered as feminine at least in Gen. 18, 24 (designating Sodom) and 2 Sam. 17, 12 *kethibh*.

- c) Designations of *tools, implements* (and from the same point of view) of *members* and *parts* of human or animal *bodies*, provided these are all considered as subordinate.

So *חֶרֶב* *sword*, *יָתֵד* *tent-pin*, *בַּר* *pail*, *כּוֹס* *goblet*, *נֶעַל* *shoe*, *יְרֵשׁ* *bed*, etc. (with others, as *אָרוֹן* *chest, ark*, *תֹּנִי* *oven*, the gender is doubtful). Furthermore *אָזֶן* *ear*, *אֶצְבָּע* *finger* (so too *בֶּהֶן* *thumb, great toe*), *יָד* and *כַּף* *hand*, *יָמִין* *right hand*, *רֶגֶל* *foot*, *בִּרְךָ* *knee*, *יֶרֶךְ* *loin*, *כַּתֵּף* *shoulder*, *לִחִי* *cheek*, *בֶּטֶן* *belly*, *כַּנָּף* *wing*, *קֶרֶן* *horn*, *עֵצָם* *bone*, *שֵׁן* *tooth*; regularly also *זְרוֹעַ* *arm* (masc. Isa. 17, 5 al.), *לָשׁוֹן* *tongue* (masc. Ps. 22, 16 al.), *עֵיִן* *eye* (m. Zech. 3, 9 al.), *שׁוֹק* *leg* (m. Ex. 29, 27)¹.

- d) Designations of *natural powers* and *substances* (apparently considered as subordinate); so *שֶׁמֶשׁ* *sun* (also masc. Ps. 19, 6; 104, 19); *אֵשׁ* (Ethiop. *ēsât*) *fire* (seldom masc.); *נֹגַהּ* *rays of light*, *אֶבֶן* *stone*, regularly also *רוּחַ* *wind, spirit*; *נֶפֶשׁ* *breath, soul*; Jer. 13, 16; Job 36, 32; also *אֹר* *light*, etc.

4. The following ideas, usually regarded by the Hebrews (vid. No. 3) as feminine — despite their occasional applica-

¹ The following are always construed as masculine: *אָף* *nose*, *זָנָב* *tail*, *מִצָּח* *forehead*, *עֶקֶב* *heel*, *עֹרֶף* *nape* (of neck), *פֶּה* *mouth*, *צִוָּאר* *neck*; Jer. 20, 7, *womb* excepted.

tion to males (vid. letters *b* and *c*) — are generally indicated by a feminine form:

a) Abstract nouns (partly with masc. forms of the same root, like נִקְמָה *revenge* and נָקָם; עֲזָרָה *help* and עֶזֶר), e. g. אֶמּוּנָה *firmness, faithfulness*, גְּבוּרָה *strength*, גְּרוּלָה *greatness*, מְלָאָה *abundance*, מְמִשְׁלָה *authority*, etc. Here too belongs the substantive use of the feminine (sing. and plu.) of adjectives and Participles in the sense of our *neuter*, e. g. נְכוּנָה *certainty* (Ps. 5, 10); טוֹבָה *the good*, רָעָה *the bad* (Gen. 50, 20); נְקִלָּה *the easy* (=slight Jer. 6, 14), in plu. e. g. גְּדֻלוֹת *great things* (Ps. 12, 4), הַנִּהָרְסוֹת *the destroyed* (Ezek. 36, 36 and הַנִּשְׁפָּה *the devastated*); טֹבוֹת *good things* (2 K. 25, 28); נִכְחוֹת *just, upright* (Isa. 26, 10); נְעִימוֹת *amoena* (Ps. 16, 11; but vs. 6 in same sense נְעִימִים); נִפְלְאוֹת *wondrous things* (Ex. 34, 10 al.). Cf. furthermore the frequent use of הֵיא, זֹאת (also זֶה and הוּא) Ps. 118, 23 al., in the sense of *hoc, illud* (also הִנֵּה = *illa* Isa. 51, 19), as well as the use of the fem. form of the verb (Isa. 7, 7 הִנֵּה וְלֹא תָקִים *it shall not be brought about nor come to pass*; Jer. 10, 7) or of the suffixes (Gen. 15, 6; Ex. 10, 11; Job 38, 18) with a reference to previously expressed statements¹.

b) Honorary and official titles, properly a subdivision of the abstract ideas of letter *a*, and used for the sake of emphasis only on account of their peculiar application to concrete masculine persons. In Hebrew we thus find קְהֵלֶת Eccl. 1, 1 (as a designation of Solomon) properly the doing or speaking one in a religious assembly, so LXX ἀκκλῆσι-αστής, i. e. *concionator, preacher*; the proper nouns סִפְרָת (Ezra 2, 55; Neh. 7, 57) and פִּכְרֵת (Ezra 2, 57; Neh. 7, 59) and the foreign word פֶּהָה *governor*; of plurals there are בְּנוֹת properly *co-names*, then *similarly-titled, citizens*; פְּרָעוֹת *princes* (properly *tops, heads*); also the feminine plu. אֲבוֹת *fathers* could originally have represented an abstract honorary appellation (perhaps like *paternitas*).² These words, moreover, in harmony with their meaning, may be construed as masculines (in Eccl. 7, 27 אֲמָר *is preferable to אֶקְרָה*; cf. 12, 8).

There belong, furthermore, within the province of abstract ideas:

¹ Although it is easy in all these cases in Hebrew to pass from the *feminine* to the *neuter* (a gender customarily used in Greek, Latin and German for a similar purpose), it must not be forgotten that the genius of the Semitic tongues, since a *neuter* is really wanting, considered the foregoing forms as actual *feminines*; hence the Arabic commentators explain the (to us) *neuter* *feminines* of adjectives and Participles by the addition of a feminine substantive.

² This use of the fem. form is much more frequent in Arabic, Ethiopic and Aramaic; cf. e. g. Arabic *chalifa* (fem. of *chalif*, following, substituting) = *the follower, representative* (of Mahomet), *allāma* (i. e. *great learning*) as title for the learned. Analogous are the Latin *magistratus*, magistracy, for the magistrate, and our *Majesty, Excellence, Magnificence*, etc.

c) *Collectives* with a fem. form,¹ especially as including a great number of *persons*, e. g. אֲרָחָה (fem. of wandering) properly the wandering persons (caravans); גּוֹלָה (fem. of going into exile) band of exiles (frequently used even of the numbers returned); יוֹשְׁבֵי the inhabitants Isa. 12, 6; Mic. 1, 11 sq.; אֹיֵבָה (the hostile body) = the enemy Mic. 7, 8, 10 (cf. also Mic. 4, 6 sq., the halting, scattered, exiled ones); דָּלָה (the low) the proletariat; of impersonal beings, cf. חַיָּה (living), = animals, דָּגֵי fish Gen. 1, 26 (but Jon. 2, 2 as one fish, cf. letter *d* for דָּג fish, which in 1, 11 is used as a single fish); furthermore, cf. נִבְלָה dead Isa. 26, 19 (as masc.) for a number of corpses. For the collective poetic personification of a multitude by means of בַּת daughter in בַּת בָּבֶל (= בְּנֵי עַ) my fellow citizens, vid. above, No. 3, a, Rem.

d) Occasionally, however, the fem. form (as in Arabic) serves as a *nomen unitatis*, i. e. to designate *individuals* of a species indicated by the masculine form; cf. אֲנִי navy (1 K. 9, 26), אֲנִיָּה a single ship (Jon. 1, 3 sq.); שֵׁעַר hair (collective), שֵׁעֶרָה a single hair (Judg. 20, 16; in pl. 1 Sam. 14, 45; Ps. 40, 13); שִׁיר singing, שִׁירָה a single song; also תֵּאֲנֶה a marigold (the corresponding masculine tin is in Arabic collective); שׁוֹשַׁנָּה a lily (together with שׁוֹשֵׁן); לִבְנָה a brick (Arabic libina, whereas libin is collective).

e) Designations of *inanimate* things (and so weaker, less important) named after their close similarity to *organic* beings (indicated by the corresponding masculine form); cf. יָרֵךְ side (of the body), לוֹיִן, יֵרֶכָה or יֵרֶכָה rear side (of a piece of land, house, etc.); מִצְחָה forehead, מִצְחָה greaves; for a similar distinction between the masculine with natural objects and the fem. with artificial objects vid. § 87, 3, ¶ 2.

Rem. The co-existence of the masculine and feminine of the same root is found occasionally to express totality e. g. Isa. 3, 1 מִשְׁעָן וּמִשְׁעָנָה the stay and the staff, i. e. every sort of support; a similar usage with persons is found in Isa. 43, 6; 49, 22; 60, 4 (sons and daughters); 49, 23; Eccl. 2, 8.

§ 123.

THE PLURAL, AND COLLECTIVE NOUNS.

The plural of living beings or things, besides indicated by means of the plural endings mentioned in § 87, 1, 2, may be indicated:

¹ Cf. the Greek ἡ ἰππος the cavalry (together with τὸ ἵππικόν), ἡ κάμηλος Her., 1, 80 al., the camel.

- a) By means of certain words which have an exclusively collective meaning, while the individual parts are indicated by special words (*nomina unitatis*; here used in another sense than that of § 122, 4, d).

So חֲמִשָּׁה בָּקָר *cattle*¹ (also used with numbers, e. g. Ex. 21, 37 חֲמִשָּׁה בָּקָר *five oxen*, but שׁוֹר *an ox*; צֹאן *small cattle*, i. e. (like *μῆλα*) *sheep and goats*, cf. Job 1, 3 צֹאן אֶלְפִי-צֹאן 7000 *head of small cattle*; but שָׂה *a single head of* (sheep or goats). Other more or less frequent collectives are: יָד (properly what bestirs itself) *animals*, מִן (doubtless properly tripping of a) *multitude of little children*; יָרֵא *the new green* (= young plants), יֶרֶק *the green* (vegetation in general); עוֹף *any flying thing, birds*; רֶכֶב *wagon-train or company of equestrians*, רֶמֶס *worms*, רֶמֶשׂ *swarms* (of small animals), שָׂרֵץ *creeping things*.

- b) By means of the collective use of substantives, used simultaneously as *nomina unitatis*; so אָדָם (never plural) means *man* (homo) and *mortals*, אִישׁ *man* (vir) and *men, male persons*; אַרְבֶּה *locust*, but usually a swarm of locusts; נֶפֶשׁ *soul*, and *souls* (persons); עֵיט *bird of prey* and *birds of prey*; עֵלֶף *leaf and foliage*; עֵשֶׂב *plant and plants, herbs*; עֵץ *tree and trees* (also *foliage*); פֶּרִי *fruit and fruits*; שִׁיחַ *shrub and shrubbery*; nouns like עֶבֶד *man-servant*, שִׁפְחָה *maid*, חֲמֹר *ass*, שׁוֹר *ox* (cf. Gen. 32, 6) stand alone. On the union of singular nouns with the article so as to include every individual under the same species, cf. § 126, 3; for the special meaning of plural nouns formed from certain collectives, cf. § 124, 1, Rem. 1.
- c) By means of feminine terminations, vid. § 122, 4, c.
- d) By means of the repetition of individual words and even whole groups of words, especially to express totality or distribution. This use may be subdivided into:

¹ Only in late Hebrew is the plural בָּקָרִים found: Neh. 10, 37 (where according to ed. Mant. etc. it should read צֹאנֵינוּ *our sheep*; Baer, however, has צֹאנֵנוּ); 2 Chr. 4, 3 (in Amos 6, 2 read with *Hitzig* בָּקָרִים).

1. The repetition of one or more words as expressive of the idea of *every one, all*, like יוֹם יוֹם *day by day, every day*; שָׁנָה שָׁנָה *year by year* Deut. 14, 22; אִישׁ אִישׁ *every man* Ex. 36, 4; with בְּ preceding the second word e. g. בְּיוֹם יוֹם *day by day* 1 Chr. 12, 22, בְּשָׁנָה שָׁנָה *year by year* Deut. 15, 20; 1 Sam. 1, 7 (but vs. 3: כִּי־יָמִים יָמִיכָה or preceding both words, like בִּבְקֹר בִּבְקֹר *every morning* (so too before a group of words, Lev. 24, 8), for which we also find with the so-called distributive לְ: לְבֹקֶר לְבֹקֶר 1 Chr. 9, 27 (also with one plural לְבֹקֶרִים Ps. 73, 14, or לְכִי Job 7, 18 together with לְרִגְעִים *at every moment*). Furthermore, the union of the second word with Waw copulative occurs in וְאִישׁ וְאִישׁ Ps. 87, 5, וְדוֹר דוֹר *every generation* Deut. 32, 7; יוֹם יוֹם Esth. 3, 4; cf. Esth. 8, 9; Ezra 10, 14; sometimes (but aside from Ps. 45, 18 only in very late passages) with a preceding pleonastic use of כָּל- Esth. 2, 11; 2 Chr. 11, 12 et al.

2. The repetition of words in an expressly *distributive* sense¹ (which can be found in part in the examples in No. 1) = *one at a time*, etc., e. g. Num. 14, 34 *forty days*, יוֹם לְשָׁנָה יוֹם לְשָׁנָה *each day for a year*; cf. Ezek. 24, 6; Ex. 28, 34 (three words repeated); also with addition of לְכֹר *particularly*: עֶרְרָה לְכֹרָה *each herd particularly* Gen. 32, 17; cf. Zech. 12, 12; most frequently with the addition of a number (cf. for the simple repetition of numbers for the same object § 134, 5) and quite often not merely groups of two (Num. 13, 2; 31, 4) or three (Num. 7, 11; 17, 21), but even six words (Ex. 26, 3) and seven words (Ex. 25, 33; 26, 19, 21, 25) are repeated.²

3. The repetition to express an exclusive or pre-eminent quality, e. g. 2 K. 25, 15 (*as were of gold, gold, silver, silver*, i. e. composed of pure gold and silver); Deut. 2, 27 בְּדֶרֶךְ בָּרָה *only in the direct road*; cf. Num. 3, 9; 8, 16 *given, given unto him*, i. e. for his exclusive service; thus with a certain hyperbole even in examples like 2 K. 3, 16 (גִּבֹּם גִּבֹּם *full of ditches*); Gen. 14, 10 בְּאֵרֵת בִּ' חֲמָרָה *full of slime-pits*). The repetition in Judg. 5, 22 (of the active *tramlings*) and Joel 4, 14 (*numberless multitudes*) serves to strengthen the expression.

4. The repetition with the copula to express a plurality; so Deut. 25, 13 (Prov. 20, 10) אֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן *a stone and a stone*, i. e. two kinds of weights (hence the addition *a great and a small*), Ps. 12, 3 וְלֵב וְלֵב *with a double meaning*, cf. the similar use in 1 Chr. 12, 33.

¹ Cf. New Testament, Mark 6, 39 sq. συμπόσια σ., πρασιαὶ πρ. (Weizsäcker: tischweise, beetweise).

² These repetitions of larger groups of words belong entirely to the so-called Priestly codex, and are undeniably indications of a later period of the language. Of an entirely different nature are the examples like Ezek. 16, 6 where the repetition of four words serves to make more impressive the solemnity of the statement (if not, as surely in 1, 20, it is merely a vain repetition; the LXX in both passages omits the repetition).

§ 124.

DIFFERENT USES OF THE PLURAL.¹

1. The plural form in Hebrew is by no means used merely to express a numerical plurality, but also to express a number of ideas considered as in some way united. This union may be either (a) of different external objects (plural of *spatial extension*), or (b) a more or less intensive union of characteristics clustering around a principal idea (*abstract plural*, corresponding to our *-hood*, *-ty*, *-ness*, *-ship*, the German *-heit*, *-keit*, *-schaft*). A deviation from the plural of characteristics and with a clearly co-existing idea of intensity or internal multiplication of the principal idea, forms (c) the so-called plural of *honor* or *authority*.

Examples for (a) the plural of *spatial extension* are generally used to indicate localities, particularly certain places, whenever the latter clearly expresses the idea of a *space* made up of innumerable parts or points, so שָׁמַיִם (§ 88, Rem. 2), *heavens* (cf. also מְרוֹמִים *heights* Isa. 33, 16; Job 16, 19; al. מְרוֹם); מַיִם *waters*, יָם (the wide surface of the sea) poetic for יָם *sea*, פָּנִים² principally *surface*, gen. *face*; צִוְּאָרִים *neck, nape*;³ furthermore מִרְאָשׁוֹת *toward the heads*, מְרִגְלוֹת *toward the feet*; עֲבָרִים *toward that side* (of a river), מַעְמָקִים *depths*, מְרָחֵק (al. מִרְחָק) *distance*, מִשְׁכָּבִים *couch* (Gen. 49, 4 unless with Dillmann in the sense of *double couch*, i. e. *torus*), מִשְׁכָּנִים (Ps. 46, 5) and מִשְׁכָּנוֹת (132, 5) *habitation*. Still the four latter are really poetic, hence are the more properly classed among the extended plurals mentioned in letter b, so perhaps יַצְעָרִים *camp*

¹ Cf. Dietrich for the form and meaning of the Hebrew Plural (in den Abhandl. zur hebr. Gr. Leipzig, 1846, p. 2 sq.).

² It is worthy of note that it is doubted whether or not these plurals refer to ל"ה (i. e. ל"ו or ל"ז) roots (שָׁמַיִם, מַיִם, פָּנִים, חַיִּים *life*; perhaps also דְּמַיִם vid. below), cf. Barth, ZDMG. 1888, p. 346. According to him, they are due to a false analogy, in that in forms with suffixes, like דְּמַיִן, the root י is held to be a sign of the plural, and so only the absolute state was provided with plural terminations. In any case, the existence of other *extended* plurals would not through the hypothesis of Barth be in vain.

³ Cf. the similar plurals τὰ στήρνα, τὰ νῶτα, τὰ τράχηλα, *praecordia, cervices, fauces*; for the use of prepositions of place and time in the plural form with the *extended* plural, vid § 103, 3.

(Ps. 63, 7; Job 17, 13; but Gen. 49, 4; Ps. 132, 3 al. in sing.); apparently however, עֲרִימִים (properly *strata*) should refer to a number of covers or cushions.

To designate spatial extension we find the extended plural in עוֹלָמִים *eternity* (eternal time).

Rem. To the category of extended plurals belong examples heretofore explained as purely poetic plurals; such as Job 17, 1 לִי קְבָרִים *graves are for me*, i. e. the place where they are (cf. our *church-yard*) is my lot; Job 21, 32; 2 Chr. 16, 14.

For (b), the numerous abstract plurals belonging mostly to a definite formation (*qetûlîm, qittûlîm*, etc.) may be divided into two classes. They contain either a union of the *conditions* and *peculiarities* clustering around the main idea or the different *acts* that together form the whole. Cf. for the former: בְּחֹרִים and בְּחִירוֹת *age of youth*, זְקֵנִים *old age*, נְעִירִים *youthful years*; בְּתוּלִים *maidenhood*, בְּלוּלוֹת *brideship*; מְגוּרִים *state of a stranger*, בְּשָׁרִים (only in Prov. 14, 30) *vitality*; חַיִּים *life* (state of being alive); שְׁבִילִים *childlessness*, סְנִירִים *blindness*; עֲוִיעִים *perversity*. Here belong some cases that are used as poetic (occasionally with sing.) plurals, by which a certain intensiveness of the principal idea is clearly intended; so we find אֱכוּנִים and אֱכוּנָה *authenticity, truthfulness*; מִישָׁרִים *directness*, מְבֻטָּחִים (complete) *certainty*; תַּהֲפֻכוֹת *perversity, falseness*; הוֹלָלוֹת *folly*, חֲשֵׁכִים and מְחֲשָׁכִים (heavy) *darkness*; מְכַתְּרִים (complete) *concealment*; שְׁכָנִים (Isa. 28, 1) *fatness*; צִחְצֻחוֹת (complete) *drought*; מְכַתְּקִים *sweetness*, כִּחְכְּדִים *costliness*, שִׁעֲשֻׁעִים *delight*, עֲדָנִים and תַּעֲנֻגִים *ecstasy*; רַחֲמִים *compassion*, Ps. 23, 2 *rest, recreation*, מְדִינָה Amos 3, 9 *din*; חֲכָמוֹת *wisdom* (Prov. 1, 20 al.) is no doubt to be understood as the "content of wisdom" or "actual wisdom"; cf. *Nowack* on Prov. 1, 20.

The union of the individual acts of one deed occurs in חֲנֻטִים *embalming*, כְּפָרִים *propitiation*, מְלֵאִים (properly *filling* sc. of the hand) *installation into priesthood*, שְׁלָחִים *dismissal*, שְׁלָמִים *recompense*, פְּתָחִים *engraving* (of a seal, etc.); זִנְיָנִים *fornication*, נְעֻפִים *adultery*; נַחֲמִים (properly ardent comfort) *sympathy*; תַּחֲנוּנִים *supplication*, נִרְדִּים (Job 7, 4) *restless tossing about*; עֲלָלוֹת *gleanings*; perhaps שְׁלֹכְנִים (Is. 1, 23) *corruption*, if not a numerical plural.

For (c), *honorary* or *authoritative plurals*, as above mentioned, are deviations from the abstract plural. They are really a coalescence of the distributed individual characteristics¹ of the idea (as in part with

¹ Jewish grammarians designate these plurals as רְבוּי הַכּוֹחַת (*plur. virium* or *virtutum*, latterly as the *plur. excellentiae, magnitudinis*, or *plur. majestaticus*). For the latter designation the thought of the *We* in the mouth of kings (cf. 1 Macc. 10, 19; 11, 31) may no doubt have been due to the false application of the plural in the mouth of God, Gen. 1, 26; 11, 7; Isa. 6, 8; these latter, however, are explained as either *communicative* (the surrounding angels being included; so at

the substantives under letter *b*) containing at the same time an intensive heightening of the main thought; so אֱלֹהִים *Godhead, God* (to be distinguished from the numerical plural "*Gods*" Ex. 12, 12 al.). The presumption that א is to be regarded as the remains of an ancient polytheistic conception (i. e. as originally only a numerical plural) is, to say the least, highly improbable, and would not, moreover, explain the analogous plurals (vid. below). The use of a sing. attributive with this (cf. § 132, 1, Rem. 5, c), like אֱלֹהִים Ps. 7, 10 al., shows clearly that usage had entirely excluded the idea of a numerical plurality of א (provided it be meant as a designation of *one* deity). Hence א could together with the numerical plural be considered entirely as an abstract plural (corresponding to the Lat. *numen*, our *Godhead*), and like other abstracts be applied to the concrete individual God (even of the heathen).

To the same category belong קדושים the *Most Holy One* (used only of Jehovah) Hos. 12, 1; Prov. 9, 10; 30, 3 (cf. אֱלֹהִים קדושים Josh. 24, 19 and the Aramaic עֲלִיוֹן the *Highest One* Dan. 7, 18) and apparently also תרפים (usually in the sense of *penates*) image of god, which were served to secure oracles. At any rate in 1 Sam. 19, 13, 16 only *one* image is meant; in most other cases, just *one* image can be meant; in Zech. 10, 2 it is natural to understand a numerical plural. But גְּבוּהִים *supremus* (of God) Eccl. 5, 7 is doubtful; according to some it is rendered as a numerical plural = *superiors*.

Furthermore, אֲדֹנִים (with the sing. אֲדֹן) (*lordship*), *lord or master*, e. g. אֲדֹן קָשָׁה a *hard master* Isa. 19, 4; אֲדֹן הָאָרֶץ the *lord of the land* Gen. 42, 30, cf. 32, 20; so especially with the suffixes of the 2d and 3d persons² אֲדֹנָיו אֲדֹנֶיהָ etc. So בָּעָלִים (in connection with suffixes) *master, owner* (of slaves, cattle, or inanimate things; but in the sense of *maritus* always in the sing.); e. g. בָּעָלָיו Ex. 21, 29; Isa. 1, 3 et al. There are, however, a number of Participles in the plural that are doubtful, such as indicate the conception of lordship as an attribute of God, so עֹשֵׂי *my Maker* Job 35, 10; עֹשֵׂךְ Isa. 54, 5; עֹשֵׂי Ps. 149, 2; עֹשֵׂהָ Isa. 22, 11; גֹּטִיהֶם *stretching them out* Isa. 42, 5. Still all these forms, according to

any rate Isa. 6, 8, cf. also Gen. 3, 22), or, according to others, only as reference to the "fullness of the power and might" contained in אֱלֹהִים (vid. Dillmann on Gen. 1, 26); most plausibly, however, as plurals of *self-counsel*. The use of the plural as a form of respect in direct address is an idiom entirely foreign to the Hebrew.

¹ Also in Gen. 31, 34 despite the plu. suffixes in וַתִּשְׁקֶם and עֲלֵיהֶם, for the construction of these abstracts as numerical plurals cf. the peculiarities of the so-called E source of the Hexateuch, cf. Gen. 20, 13; 35, 7 and § 145, 3, Rem.

² The suffix of the 1st pers. used with the sing. must be adopted (אֲדֹנִי *my Lord*) to avoid confusion with אֲדֹנִי as the name of the Deity (cf. § 135, 4, Rem. 3); furthermore, in the 1st pers. only 1 Sam. 16, 16 אֲדֹנָי, otherwise always אֲדֹנִי.

§93, 3, Rem. 3 may be explained as singular.³ Furthermore there would also come into consideration נָגְשָׁיו Isa. 3, 12 (unless numerical: *his oppressors*); מְרִימֵי the one lifting it up Isa. 10, 15; שְׁלָחֵי the one sending him Prov. 10, 26; 22, 21; 25, 13 (parallel with אֲרָנָיו). But these latter plurals including מְרִימֵי are much more simply explained as references to the indefinite individuals (cf. Rem. 2). In Ps. 121, 5 (textus rec. שְׁמָרֶיךָ) and Eccl. 12, 1 (textus rec. בְּרִיאֶיךָ) should be read with Baer in the singular.

Rem. 1. a) Connected substances and similar objects are usually considered as a unity, and so are represented by singular nouns, cf. אֶבֶן dust, אֶפֶר ashes, בֵּד linen, בָּרִיל lead, זָהָב gold, כֶּסֶף silver, נְחֹשֶׁת bronze, חֶלֶב milk, יַיִן wine, עֵפֶר soil, עֵץ foliage. Of some of these words denoting substances, plurals are found designating individual pieces from the totality (*plu. of product*) or parts thereof, thus בְּדִים linen garments, כֶּסֶפִּים pieces of silver Gen. 42, 25, 35, נְחֹשֶׁתִים (dual) brazen fetters, יָעִים ligna (for building or as fuel); in a wider sense בְּרִילִים dross of tin Isa. 1, 24; עֲפָרוֹת dust of the earth Prov. 8, 26 (cf. Job 28, 6 זָהָב ע' lumps of gold).

b) To the category of the *plurals of product* belong, moreover, some designations of *natural products* whenever considered as individualized by human agencies; thus חֲטִיִּם wheat in kernels (threshed wheat), as opposed to חֲפֵזָה wheat (as a collective substance); cf. this with כֶּסֶם and כֶּסֶמֶת spelt; עֲרִשִׁים and עֲרִשָּׁה (sing. supported only by the Mishna) lentils; שְׂעִירִים and שְׂעִירָה barley; also פְּשָׁתִים linen, פֶּשֶׁת (from פֶּשֶׁת) lint, flax.

c) Especially noteworthy is the distinction between דָּם blood and דְּמִים. The *sing.* is used wherever blood is considered as an organic unity, and so of the menstrual flow and sacrificial blood (caught in the basin and then sprinkled from it), and also of the blood of wounds, Num. 23, 24. The plural, on the other hand, seems to be a sort of plural of product whenever the copious *shedding of blood* appears in the form of spots (Isa. 1, 15) or as of pools (Isa. 9, 4). Now, since the blood spots or pools generally indicate the *murderous* shedding of blood (although with דְּמִים blood shed in travail or by cutting one's self is also indicated), דְּמִים, in short (chiefly in very old passages) may be used in the sense of bloody deeds or especially of guilt (Ex. 22, 1 sq. al.).

2. In a few instances the plural is used to designate an indefinite unity; most certainly is this true in Judg. 12, 7 בְּעָרֵי גִלְעָד in the cities, i. e. in one of the cities of Gilead; Zech. 9, 9 בֵּין-אֲתָנוֹת; cf. Cant. 2, 9; Gen. 21, 7 (בָּנִים), Ex. 21, 22 (יִלְדֵי), in the last passage one child only is thought of, though of course with the idea that the same thing might be

³ בְּעָלְיֶךָ, which is parallel with עֲשִׂיךָ Isa. 54, 5, must thus be explained as an analogous form.

repeated; cf. also Eccl. 4, 10 (= *if one of them fall*). So perhaps also in Gen. 8, 4; 1 Sam. 17, 43; Neh. 3, 8; 6, 2 (but *not* Gen. 19, 29; for the same original document allows Lot in 13, 12, to dwell *in the cities* of the valley of the Jordan).

2. When a genitive is added to a substantive and the resulting idea should be in the plural, it is expressed:

- a) most naturally by making the *governing noun* plural, e. g. גִּבּוֹרֵי הַיָּל (properly, mighty of strength) *valiant heroes*, 1 Chr. 7, 2, 9; also in compounds, e. g. בְּנֵי יִמִּי 1 Sam. 22, 7, as plur. of בְּנֵי יִמִּי *Benjamite*; also
- b) by making *both* nouns plural, e. g. גִּבּוֹרֵי הַיָּלִים 1 Chr. 7, 5; וּבֵתֵי קְלָאִים *in prison-houses* Isa. 42, 22; cf. Ex. 34, 1; 2 K. 14, 14; 25, 23; Jer. 41, 16; 2 Chr. 26, 14; so too perhaps בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים *sons of God* Ps. 29, 1 (according to others, *sons of gods*), or finally
- c) by making the *nomen rectum* plural; thus בֵּית אָבוֹת Num. 1, 2, 4 sq. al. as plu. of בֵּית אָב *father's house, family*; בֵּית הַקְּמוֹת *houses of high places* 2 K. 17, 29 (with בֵּתֵי הַבַּ' 23, 19); בֵּית עֲצִבְיָהָם *in the houses of the idols* 1 Sam. 31, 9; cf. also Judg. 7, 25 *the head of Oreb and Zeeb = the heads*, etc.

Rem. When a substantive used distributively has a suffix, and refers to a plural, the singular only of the noun is necessary, since plurality is sufficiently indicated by the suffix, e. g. אוֹס פִּימוֹ *os (for ora) eorum* Ps. 17, 10; יְמִינָם *their right* Ps. 144, 8 (hence like the German *ihr Mund, ihre Hand*).

§ 125.

THE DEFINITENESS OF NOUNS.

1. A noun may be made definite either in itself, as a proper noun or as a pronoun, or by the context. This can be effected either by prefixing the article (vid. § 126), or by dependence of the noun (in the *construct* state) on a fol-

Examples: Like the above-mentioned names of individuals, countries and cities, such names of peoples as are identical with that of the tribal father (e. g. **יִשְׂרָאֵל**, **אָדָם**, **מוֹאָב**), are always definite in themselves. Of the *gentilicia* (e. g. **הָעִבְרִי** *the Hebrew*, **הָעִבְרִים** *the Hebrews* Gen. 40, 15, **הַכְּנַעֲנִי** *the Canaanite*) the plural **פְּלִשְׁתִּים** is regularly used in the sense of *the Philistines* without the article. Undoubted appellatives (analogous to modern names like *der Haag*, *le Havre*) are **הַגִּבְעָה** *the hill* (dependent upon **גִּבְעַת שָׁאוּל** i. e. *the one*, to distinguish it from others, called after *Saul Gib'a*); **הָרְקָה** *the height*; **הָעַר** *the mass*; **הַלְכָנוֹן** (properly *the white mount*) *the Lebanon*; **הַיָּאֵר** (properly *the stream*) *the Nile*; cf. Amos 8, 8 **בְּיָאֹר מִצְרַיִם** as *the river of Egypt*; **הַיַּרְדֵּן** *the Jordan* (perhaps originally *the river*). Such an article is usually omitted in poetry.

Rem. 1. In some cases original appellatives have fully acquired the force of actual proper nouns; so **אֱלֹהִים** *God* as a representation of the single being of God; as elsewhere **יְהוָה** (Gen. 1, 1 and so generally in the Mss. of the Pentateuch to Ex. 6) for which elsewhere we also find **הָאֱלֹהִים** *ó theós* (cf. § 126, 2, d); moreover the sing. **אֱלֹהִים** *God*, **עֶלְיוֹן** *the Highest* (after **אֵל**) and **שַׁרְי** *the Almighty* never have the article. Furthermore **אָדָם** *Adam* in Gen. 5, 1 (before this, 2, 7 al. **הָאָדָם** *the first man*); **שָׂטָן** *Satan* 1 Chr. 21, 1 (but Zech. 3, 1; Job 1, 6 al. **הַשָּׂטָן** *the Adversary*).

To this category of original appellatives, which the genius of the language itself considered as proper nouns and hence have no article, belong certain old and chiefly poetic words, like **שָׁאוּל** *nether world*, **תִּבְלָה** *inhabited world*, **תְּהוֹם** *abyss* surrounding the earth (Gen. 1, 2 al.; but cf. Isa. 63, 13; Ps. 106, 9 **בְּתַהוֹמוֹת** *in the floods*, sc. of the Red Sea).¹

2. When, occasionally, such nouns are, by the idiom of the language, considered as actual proper nouns, and seem to be dependent upon a following genitive, it is in reality due to a conciseness of speech which suppresses the governing power of the genitive, sc. the appellative force contained in the proper noun. Thus we find **יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת** as an abbreviation of the original (2 Sam. 5, 10 al.) **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צֵי** *Jehovah, the God of hosts*. This is, moreover true also of geographical names like **אֹר כַּשְׁדִּים** *Ur (the city) of the Chaldees* Gen. 11, 28; **אֲרָם נַחֲרָיִם** *Aram*

¹ That many different words, like **אָנוֹשׁ** *man* (homo), **צִלְמוֹת** *darkness*, **רִיָּן** *prince*, **שָׁרִי** *plain*, **תִּישְׁיָה** *essentiality*, are always without the article, is not due to any special peculiarity, but rather to the fact that they belong entirely to poetic diction, which omits the article; in other words, e. g. **תִּרְדָּמָה** *deep sleep*, there was no need of determination.

² As analogous to **אֲרָם נַ**, clearly a *stat. constr.*, we must consider not only the other above-mentioned examples, but also the different combinations of **אֲבֵל** (vid. Lexicon), like **אֲבֵל מֵיִם** *water-meadow*, etc.; the form **אֲבֵל** must, if this be true, be regarded as in the *construct* state.

(the territory) of the two streams = *Mesopotamia*; בֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה *Bethlehem* (the city) of Judah. The last two examples (cf. Amos 6, 2) approach very closely to an actual dependence (cf. גִּבְעַת שְׂאִיל whenever the suppressed genitive serves to distinguish it from four other Arams (vid. Lex.) or from a second Bethlehem. Aram and Bethlehem are therefore neither names of something present only once, nor actual proper nouns strictly so-called.

3. Of Pronouns, the strictly personal (*pronomina separata* § 32) are in themselves always definite, since they can serve only to indicate definite persons (the 3d pers. also indicates definite things). The demonstrative pronouns (§ 34) are for a similar reason inherently definite when they stand *alone* (as the equivalents of substantives) either as subject (Gen. 5, 29), as predicate (e. g. יוֹהֵ הַיּוֹם *this is the day* Judg. 4, 14, אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים *these are the words* Deut. 1, 1), as object (e. g. 2 Sam. 13, 17 אֶת־זֹאת), as genitive (1 K. 21, 2 מֶהֱיִיר יוֹהֵ or finally in connection with prepositions (Gen. 2, 23 לְזֹאת; 1 Sam. 16, 8 בְּיוֹם; vid. § 102, 2, c.). The personal pronouns הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵנָּה are, moreover, when used as demonstratives (= *is, ea, id, ille*, etc.) always definite, e. g. הַדְּבָר *this is the word* Gen. 41, 28. They also become definite through the article when as adjectives they are joined to a definite substantive; e. g. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*; הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה *these men*; בְּיָמִים הַהֵמָּה וּבְעֵת הַהִיא *in those days and at that time* Joel 4, 1. But in this case we find also that the demonstrative frequently (וְ almost always) is entirely definite *without* the article.

§ 126

DETERMINATION BY THE ARTICLE.

1. The article (הַ, הָ, הִי, § 35) was originally, as in other languages (especially evident in the Romance languages; cf. *ὁ, ἡ, τό* in Homer), a demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative force of the article, however, regardless of its occa-

sional use as a relative pronoun (vid. § 138, 3, *b*), occurs only in a number of invariable connections (vid. letter *a*) as well as in a certain method of expression or exclamation (vid. letter *b*).

a) cf. הַיּוֹם *this day, hodie* (§ 100, 2, *b*); הַלַּיְלָה *this night* (Gen. 19, 34); הַפֶּעַם *this time*; הַשָּׁנָה *this year* (= in this year) Isa. 37, 30; Jer. 28, 16.

b) Here belong cases where the article, usually connected with a Participle, brings a new idea to the preceding noun. In these instances the article has more nearly the force of הוּא (הִיא) *than* of the subject of a nominal clause, e. g. Ps. 19, 10 *the judgments of Jehovah are truth*... v. 11 וְגַ' הַנְּחֻמִּים *properly the more desirable than gold! i. e. they are more desirable or they the more desirable are,*¹ etc.; cf. Gen. 49, 21; Isa. 40, 22 f.; 46, 6; Amos 2, 7; 5, 7; Ps. 49, 7 (הַבְּטָחִים in the parallel half verse continued with a finite verb); 104, 3. Job 6, 10; 30, 3; 41, 25, etc. If a second Participle is coordinated with such a one, the latter is used *without* the article, since according to the above it strictly represents a second predicate, and as such, No. 2, letter *i*, remains indefinite, e. g. Job 5, 10 *he giveth rain* (הַנִּתֵּן) etc., *and sendeth* (וְשִׁלָּה) etc.

The article sometimes with a similar emphasis is found before substantives which serve as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 140, 3); e. g. Deut. 32, 4 הַצֵּיִר תָּמִים פָּעִלָּו i. e. essentially as a new statement (not as opposition to preceding dative), *he is a rock, irreproachable is his behavior* (= whose behavior is irreproachable); cf. Ps. 18, 31.

2. The determination of a substantive by means of the article occurs generally wherever in Greek or English the definite article is required; so:

- a*) in repetitions of already mentioned persons or things, thus more clearly qualifying the statement for the hearer or reader, e. g. Gen. 1, 3 *God said, let there be light* v. 4, *and God saw the light* (אֶת־הָאוֹר); 1 K. 3, 24 *bring me a sword, and they brought the sword*; Eccl. 9, 15.
- b*) in a well-known and understood reference, like הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה *the king Solomon*, Gen. 35, 8 *under the well-known oaks*.
- c*) in appellations to designate persons or things present only

¹ For the analogous use of the article before participles with verbal suffix, like Ps. 18, 33 al., cf. above § 116, 3.

once, e. g. הַגִּדּוֹל הַכֹּהֵן *the high-priest*; הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*; הָאָרֶץ *the earth*.

- d*) in the limiting (brought about entirely by usage) of ideas of species to definite individuals (as *ὁ ποιητής* in Homer) or things, e. g. שָׂטָן *adversary*, 'הַשׁ *the adversary, the Satan*; בַּעַל *lord*, 'הַבַּ' *Baal* as proper name of idols; הָאָדָם *the (first) man, Adam*; הָאֱלֹהִים¹ or הָאֵל, *ὁ θεός the one, true God* (cf. also *ὁ Χριστός* in N. T.); הַנָּהָר *the stream = the Euphrates*; הַכֶּכֶר *the circuit*, sc. of the Jordan, the valley of the Jordan.
- e*) in vocatives (since in the very nature of the case, only individuals are addressed), e. g. 2 Sam. 14, 4 הוֹשָׁעָה הַמֶּלֶךְ *help, O king!* Zech. 3, 8, יְהוֹשֻׁעַ הַכֹּהֵן הַגִּדּוֹל *O Joshua, the high-priest!* 1 Sam. 17, 58; 24, 9; 2 K. 9, 5; in the plur. Isa. 42, 18; Joel 1, 2, 13. *Without* the article the vocative is found in Isa. 22, 2, because it is already made definite by a preceding accusative.

Strictly speaking, in all these cases the substantive with the article forms properly an apposition to the personal pronoun of the 2d pers. actually expressed or (in the Imperative) virtually implied; e. g. 1 Sam. 17, 58, *thou, boy*. Nevertheless, passages like Isa. 42, 18, where the vocative precedes the imperative, clearly show that the original apposition in such cases has finally acquired the value of an independent member of the sentence.

- f*) in generic ideas (vid. the more detailed statement below, No. 3).
- g*) in a peculiar manner to designate persons or things so definitely indicated as naturally to enter into consideration in any general statement, and hence clearly marked (vid. below, No. 4).
- h*) in adjectives (also the ordinals and demonstrative pronouns used as adjectives) which are annexed to any determinate substantive (vid. No. 5).

¹ For the supplementary use of שָׂטָן, אָדָם, אֱלֹהִים in pure proper nouns by the omission of the article, cf. § 125, 2, Rem. 1.

Rem. In *poetry*, the article in all these cases may be omitted; as a rule the article is of much rarer occurrence here than in prose. Cf. e. g. אֶרֶץ for הָאֶרֶץ Ps. 2, 2; מַלְכִּים as vocative vs. 10; מֶלֶךְ for הַמֶּלֶךְ 21, 2; שָׁמֶךְ גָּדוֹל וְנוֹרָא (the opposite of letter *h*) 99, 3. Only in cases where the ה of the article after a prefix is syncopated (§ 35, Rem. 2) is it customary to retain the vowel of the article in poetry after the prefix, e. g. בְּשָׁמִים Ps. 2, 4 et al.

- i) On the other hand, the article is always omitted when a person or thing is represented as undetermined (or indeterminate or unknown (vid. letter *a*); this takes place also before the predicate, since the latter in its nature always makes a universal statement under which the subject is classed, e. g. Gen. 29, 7 עוֹד הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל *it is yet high day*; 33, 13; 40, 18; 41, 26; Isa. 66, 3.

Rem. As exceptions to the foregoing rule it is customary to regard those cases in which a determinative adjective or Participle is used nominally as a predicate, as the equivalent of a relative clause, e. g. Gen. 2, 12 הוּא הַפֹּכֵב *he is the surrounding one* = *he it is who surrounds*; 42, 6; 45, 12; Ex. 9, 27; Deut. 11, 7 (cf. in Greek Matt. 10, 20 where *Winer, Gramm. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 58. 2, Rem., explains of *λαλοῦντες* as an articulated predicate). In reality, however, these supposed predicates are rather the subjects, and the peculiarity in this case lies only in the fact that we do not find the subject classed under a generic idea, but that both subject and predicate are equivalent.

3. The use of the article with a generic idea is more comprehensive in Hebrew than in other languages. The article in this case refers to a well known, limited, and thereby a more definite category of persons or things. More in detail:

a) The use of generic nouns as collective singular to indicate the totality of the individuals in the genus (which can be equally well done by the plural); e. g. *the just, the godless* Eccl. 3, 17; *woman* = *female sex* 7, 26; הָאֵיִב *the enemy* = *the enemies* Ps. 9, 7; הָאֶרֶב *the lurking* = *the ones lying in wait*; הַחֲלוּץ *the armed* = *soldiery*; הַמְּאַפֵּי *rear guard*, הַפְּשָׁחִית *the despoiling party* (1 Sam. 13, 17)¹; this is true also (as in English) of names of animals when any statement applicable to the whole species is made of one, e. g. 2 Sam. 17, 10 *like the courage of the lion*. Particularly so can this be said of the *gentilicia*, e. g. *the Canaanite*

¹ But Ex. 12, 23 should be rendered according to No. 4, *the destroyer* (then appearing).

Gen. 13, 7 (cf. 15, 19 sq.); also in English *the Russian, the Turk*, etc.; in Attic Greek ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Συρακόσιος, etc.

b) Designations of universal materials, the elements and other generic ideas, even though only a part and not the whole thereof be considered (in which case the determination would in other languages, as for instance in German, be omitted; but cf. *ins Wasser, ins Feuer werfen, mit dem Feuer spielen*, etc.); e. g. Gen. 13, 2 *Abraham was very rich in cattle, silver and gold*; Josh. 11, 9 *he burned their wagons* אֶשׁ בָּאֵשׁ with (the) fire; cf. Gen. 6, 14; 41, 42 (unless this mean *the chain* necessary to the official dress); Ex. 2, 3; 31, 4 (35, 32); Isa. 1, 22, etc.

c) Designations of abstract ideas of all kinds, since the latter serve to indicate a whole genus of properties and conditions, physical and moral evils, etc.; e. g. Prov. 25, 5 (בְּצִרְקָה); Gen. 19, 11 (*they struck the men with blindness*); Isa. 60, 2 (*the darkness*); Amos 4, 9, etc.

d) Comparisons, in that the compared objects (otherwise as genitive in German and English) are regarded not as individual nor specific, but as generic, e. g. Isa. 1, 18 (*white, as wool, as snow, red as scarlet*); 34, 4 (*the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll*); cf. Judg. 16, 9 (*as a thread of tow breaks*, etc.); Isa. 10, 18; 24, 20; 27, 10; 29, 8; 53, 6; Nah. 3, 15; Ps. 33, 7; 49, 15 (cf. also examples like Gen. 19, 28; Judg. 14, 6 where the compared object, according to § 127, is determined by a following definite genitive).

Examples of *indeterminate* comparisons, like Ps. 17, 12 (בְּאֵרֶה); Job 16, 14 (בְּגִבּוֹר); 31, 18 (בְּאֵזֶב); 38, 3 (בְּגִבּוֹר) are rare, perhaps due only to the Massora (so at least with singulars, whereas with plurals, like Joel 2, 4, 7, the omission of the article is explicable). The article, however, is regularly wanting when the compared objects have been already made determinate by an attribute, e. g. Isa. 16, 2 קְעוּף נוֹדֵר קֵן מְשֻׁלַּח *like wandering birds, (like) a forsaken nest* (but cf. 10, 14 (בְּקֵן); 14, 19; 29, 5 (בְּמֵץ עֵבֶר); but Ps. 1, 4: (בְּמֵץ); Jer. 2, 30; Prov. 27, 8; Job 30, 14.

4. A peculiarity in Hebrew¹ is the use of the article to designate a single unknown, and so to be determined, person or thing. The indefinite article is generally used in this sense.

Thus Amos 5, 19 *as one flees from the lion* (sc. from the lion in question, the one pursuing him) *and a bear meets him*, etc., cf. 3, 12; 1 K. 20, 36 (John 10, 12); Gen. 8, 7 sq.; 14, 13 הַפְּלִיט = *one escaped*, sc. the one in question who also came; so Ezek. 24, 26; 33, 21; cf. 2 Sam. 15, 13; 15, 1, 11; 18, 7 (*to the servant who is thought to be ever mindful of*

¹ Cf. the analogous examples in Gram. des Bibl. Aram. § 79, f.; e. g. Dan. 2, 14; 3, 2 et al.

his orders; cf. 2 Sam. 17, 17; but in Num. 11, 27 we find הַנֶּעַר like שָׂרֵי הַפָּלִיט above); 28, 11 (בְּמָקוֹם with *Dillmann*: upon the suitable or right place for tarrying all night; nevertheless there could also be a reference to the subsequently so much honored and so universally known pillar of Bethel); Isa. 7, 4 (הַעַלְכָּה i. e. the virgin through whom the statement of the prophets was to be fulfilled). So also to write in the book (or on the page Num. 5, 23; Jer. 32, 10) i. e. not in the already open book but in the book taken for the purpose of writing = in a book, on a page: Ex. 17, 14; 1 Sam. 10, 25; Job 19, 23. For this use of the article יְהִי הַיּוֹם is especially instructive. This is not used merely with reference to the past, but refers equally well to our one day (properly the day in question, whenever it may happen = a certain day), 1 Sam. 1, 4; 14, 1; 2 K. 4, 18; Job 1, 6, 13; also קִהְיוּ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה Gen. 39, 11.

The article is thus found occasionally before collective singulars that do not (as those of No. 3, a) indicate a whole genus, but only some given part thereof; thus Ex. 23, 28 (הַצִּרְעָה); Num. 21, 7 (הַנָּחֶשׁ).

5 When a substantive is qualified by an article, a suffix or a following determinate genitive (vid. examples below), the attribute (adjective, participle, ordinal or demonstrative pronoun) belonging thereto necessarily (but vid. the Rem.) takes the article, e. g. Gen. 10, 12 הָעִיר הַגְּדֹלָה the great city; 28, 19 הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא that place, Gen. 2, 2 בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי on the seventh day; Deut. 3, 24 יָרֵךְ הַחֲזָקָה thy strong hand. A genitive following the substantive may be (according to § 127) determinate either through the article, e. g. 1 Sam. 25, 25 הָאִישׁ הַבְּלִיעַל הַזֶּה this unworthy one (properly man of unworthiness, cf. also examples like 2 Chr. 36, 18, where the article is used with a second following genitive) or as proper noun, e. g. Deut. 11, 7 מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה הַגָּדֹל the great work of Jehovah; or through a suffix, e. g. Isa. 36, 9 עַבְדֵי אֲדֹנִי הַקְּטָנִים the meanest servants of my master. If several attributes (connected by Waw used asyndetically) follow a determinate substantive, each one of these takes the article, e. g. Deut. 10, 17 (הָאֵל הַגָּדֹל הַגִּבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא the great, mighty, and fearful God). Cf. also Ex. 3, 3; Deut. 1, 19 where a demonstrative form with the article follows each adjective.¹

¹ The demonstrative used as an adjective usually follows the actual adjective.

Rem. 1. Occasionally the article is found :

- a) with an attribute only, when the latter is annexed as a supplementary qualification to a substantive still indeterminate; so with the ordinals after יום,² e.g. Gen. 1, 31 (cf. Ex. 20, 7 et al.), יום הששי the sixth day (properly one day, namely, the sixth; but יום שני a second day 1, 8); Ex. 12, 15 כיום הראשון from the first day on (only in Dan. 10, 12; in Neh. 8, 18 מן-היום הראשון is used instead; but the article is always used after ב, so ביום הששי etc.); also פר השני Judg. 6, 25. This occurs especially in certain frequently recurring connections, as in the mentioning of gates (Jer. 38, 14; Ezek. 9, 2 al.; Zech. 14, 10) or outer courts (1 K. 7, 8, 12 al.) and regularly when the attribute is a participle e.g. Jer. 46, 16 חרב היונה the sword that is violent; Zech. 11, 2 Keth.

Of the other examples, Gen. 21, 29 (where, however, the Samaritan Pentateuch reads (ה)כבשות; 41, 26; Num. 11, 25; 1 Sam. 17, 17 and 20, 3 may be explained on the ground that the preceding cardinal number is equivalent to a determinate particle; in Gen. 1, 21; 9, 10 al., נפש is made determinate by כל. In 1 Sam. 12, 23; 2 Sam. 12, 4; Isa. 7, 2 (where בש may be understood as an additional epexegetis of בתיער); in Neh. 9, 35 the omission of the article after the preposition is probably due to the Massora. In Lev. 24, 10; 1 Sam. 16, 23; Zech. 4, 7; Ps. 104, 18 its omission (before א, ר, ה) is due to the fear of a hiatus (vid. letter b, below). But in Deut. 29, 7; 1 Sam. 14, 29; 17, 12 (הנה later addition); 19, 22 (cf. the LXX); Jer. 17, 2; 32, 14; 40, 3 Keth; Mic. 7, 11; Ps. 62, 4 there is either a corrupt text or an error in expression.

- b) not with an attribute, when the substantive is made determinate by the article, a suffix, or a following genitive. The article is thus occasionally wanting with demonstratives whenever the meaning of the latter already contains a certain determination (cf. Moabite Stone line 3: זאת הכמת this height); so with הוּא Gen. 19, 33; with הִיא 38, 21; with זו Ps. 12, 8 (elsewhere זו is a relative pronoun); with אלה 1 Sam. 2, 23; especially is this true when the substantive is determinate only by a suffix: Josh. 2, 20; Judg. 6, 14; 2 K. 1, 2 and 8, 8 sq., where חלי, like Jer. 10, 19 is due to a contraction of חלי or should be read חלי (everywhere

tives; in cases like העם הנה הנדול the adjective forms an entirely new addition to הע' ה'.

² The omission of the article with the substantive is in this case not to be considered as a mark of later usage, also not as a proof of the late origin of the so-called Priest codex (cf. Dillmann or Gen. 1, 31 and especially Driver in the Journal of Philology XI. p. 229 sq. against Giesebrecht in Stade's Zeitschr. 1881, p. 265 sq.); but the regular omission of the article with a substantive before a definite adjective (e.g. פְּנֵת חֲנֻדָּה the great synagogue in the Hebrew of the Mishna) is probably a late usage.

with וְהָ); Gen. 24, 8 (with וְזֹאת); Ex. 10, 1; 1 K. 22, 23; Jer. 31, 21 (with וְאֵלֶּה). Of the other examples Isa. 11, 9 is self-explanatory; the direct union of the attribute with the substantive is here prevented by the insertion of לִי. In Ezek. 34, 12; Hag. 1, 4; Ps. 143, 10; Cant. 6, 12 (?) the substantive (vid. above) is again determinate by a suffix, and the demonstrative in consequence thereof loosely annexed. This is true also of Gen. 37, 2; 42, 19; 43, 14; 1 Sam. 2, 23; Ps. 18, 18, the only difference being that here the omission of the article before ר, א, ע may be due to a dislike of hiatus (as also in Num. 14, 37; Ezek. 39, 27 before ר, Deut. 28, 4; Jer. 22, 26; Ezek. 10, 9 before א, 2 Sam. 6, 3; Ezek. 21, 19 before ח).¹ In 2 K. 25, 16 the attribute again includes the determination as a number (vid. letter a); finally in 2 Chr. 26, 15 we should read בָּחֲצִים and בְּאַכְנִים, as in Jer. 2, 21 בְּנֶפֶן for בְּנֵי. In Dan. 8, 13; 11, 31 the article seems to be wanting without any apparent cause.

2. When in Mic. 7, 12 (יִם הַיּוֹם = *that day*?) the article with the substantive as well as with the demonstrative is wanting, and in Ezra 3, 12 the demonstrative precedes the noun (וְהָ הִזֶּה = (הַב' הִזֶּה), both cases are due to evident corruptions in the text (and not merely to added words). In Josh. 9, 12 לַחֲמֵנוּ is either in apposition to the independent demonstrative וְהָ (= *this here, our bread*, etc.) as in vs. 13 נִאֲרוֹת לְאֵלֶּה, or they are complete sentences: *this is our bread*, etc. Thus in Ex. 32, 1 מֹשֶׁה (= *be there* [iste], *Moses*, etc.), 1 Sam. 17, 55 הַיַּעַר, Ps. 48, 15 אֱלֹהִים should be considered as in apposition to וְהָ. For Ps. 68, 8 and Isa. 23, 13, cf. § 136, Rem. 3.

§ 127.

DETERMINATION BY MEANS OF A FOLLOWING GENITIVE.

When a *determinate genitive* follows a substantive, the *nomen regens* (which, according to § 89, 1 must always be in the *construct* state) thereby also becomes *determinate*. According to § 33, 2, b every pronominal suffix annexed to a substantive is to be regarded as (in itself) a *determinate*

¹ This dislike probably favored the omission of the article before הַיּוֹם and אֵלֶּה as well as in cases like 1 K. 10, 8 (where a second hiatus is caused by the preceding vowel). Also in Isa. 23, 7 (= *is this your joyous . . . ?*) the article is wanting before עֲלִיזָה, probably to avoid hiatus.

genitive. The determination of an independent following genitive may depend : —

- a) upon its character as a *proper noun* (§ 125, 1), e. g. *דְּבַר יְהוָה* *the word of Jehovah*.
- b) upon the article, e. g. *אִישׁ הַמִּלְחָמָה* (properly, the man of war) *the warrior* (but *אִישׁ מ'* Josh. 17, 1, *a warrior*); *אֲנָשֵׁי הַמ'* Num. 31, 49, *the warriors*; *דְּבַר הַנְּבִיא* *the word of the prophet*, Jer. 28, 9 (but e. g. *דְּבַר-שָׁקֶר* *a lying word* Prov. 29, 12.)
- c) upon the addition of a pronominal suffix (vid. above), e. g. *בֵּית-אָבִי* *the house of my father*.
- d) upon the dependence on some other determinate genitive, Gen. 3, 2 *מִפְרֵי עֵץ-הַגֵּן* *of the fruit of the trees of the garden*. Thus in Isa. 10, 12, four, and in 21, 17 even five links in a chain of words are made determinate by a final determinate genitive.

Rem. 1. The different meanings of *כָּל* (properly substantive in the sense of *complete, totality*) are explained from the foregoing, all depending upon a determinate or indeterminate genitive. In the former case *כָּל* means totality = everything, whole, all (like *tous les hommes, toute la ville*) e. g. *כָּל-הָאָרֶץ* *the complete* (sc. totality) *of the earth*, *כָּל-הָאָדָם* *all men*,¹ but before an indeterminate genitive *כָּל* is used in the indefinite sense of *of every kind, anything whatever* (cf. *tout homme, à tout prix*); also distributive: *each, every one*, e. g. *כָּל-עֵץ* *every kind of tree* Gen. 2, 9; cf. 4, 22; 24, 10; 1 Chr. 29, 2; *כָּל-דָּבָר* *anything whatever* Judg. 19, 19; *בְּכָל-יוֹם* *on any day, at any time* Ps. 7, 12.

It is to be noticed, however,

- a) that the article even in this case (vid. § 126, 2, *h.*, Rem.) may in poetic diction be omitted, although the substantive referred to may be regarded as definite, e. g. Isa. 28, 8 *כָּל-שְׁלֻחָנוֹת* *all tables*, and
- b) that the idea *each* sometimes occurs before singulars as collective; the idea *quisque* then blends with that of totality, e. g. *כָּל-חַי* *every living thing* (not *every sort of*); *כָּל-בָּשָׂר* *all flesh* i. e. *all men* or *all living creatures* (only in Gen. 7, 15 before a relative clause and in Isa. 40, 6 with the article); so sometimes *כָּל-עֵץ* *all trees*, *כָּל-עוֹף* *all birds*; finally

¹ *הָאָדָם* as collective, in itself *כָּל-הָאָדָם* could also be *the whole man*.

- c) that כָּל frequently indicates totality before the names of parts of the human body, e. g. Isa. 1, 5 (*the whole head, the whole heart*; so necessarily from the context, not *every head*, etc., whatever it may in itself mean); 9, 11; 2 K. 23, 3; Ezek. 29, 7 (*the whole shoulder . . . the whole hips*); 36, 5. For the (appositional) position of כָּל and the absolute use of the genitive כָּל = *all, every one* (e. g. Gen. 16, 12) ¹ vid. Lexicon.

2. The determination of *gentilicia* (or patronymics) derived from a compound proper noun (as governing noun or genitive) is affected by the insertion of the article before the second part of the compound (provided the original genitive is contained therein) e. g. בֶּן-יְמִינִי (vid. § 86, 5) *a Benjamite*; בֶּן-הַיְמִינִי Judg. 3, 15 al. *the Benjamite*; בֵּית-הַלְחָמִי *the Bethlehemitite* 1 Sam. 16, 1 al. (cf. also 1 Chr. 27, 12 Qerê: לִפְנֵי); בֵּית-הַשְּׁמֹנִי *the Bethshemitite* 1 Sam. 6, 14; אֲבִי הָעֶזְרִי *the Abiezrite* Judg. 6, 11 al.

3. In some examples, in spite of the following determinate genitive, the governing noun seems to be indefinite; but not in Gen. 16, 7 (where a well-known spring is referred to); 21, 28 (where in the original context the *seven lambs* must have been in some way actuated by a motive); 2 Sam. 12, 30 (*the spoil found in the city*), and also — unless the article is regarded as a textual error — in Lev. 14, 34 (*in a house*, etc.); Deut. 22, 19 (*a virgin of Israel*); 1 Sam. 4, 12 (*a man from B.*); also 1 Sam. 20, 20 (*three arrows*); 2 Sam. 23, 11 הַלֶּקֶת הַשָּׂדֶה *a part of the field* (but vid. Gen. 33, 19; Josh. 24, 32); Judg. 13, 6; Jer. 13, 4; 41, 16; Ps. 113, 9, and שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת = *a degree* (or step) in the superscriptions of Psalms of degree (or ascent) (120-134, except 121, 1 where we find שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת, repeated in Cant. (1, 11, 13 sq., 5, 13; 7, 3; 8, 2; 2, 1; 3, 9)).

4. If the deviations mentioned in Rem. 3 from a syntactical principle are suspected on critical grounds, much more so are the examples where the article precedes a noun otherwise made definite; so:

- a) before a noun that appears to be made determinate by a following independent determinate genitive. The examples where the genitive is a proper noun are at least worthy of attention. Here an abbreviation could be used similar to that adopted with the apparent dependence of individual names upon a genitive § 125, 2, Rem. 2, e. g. Num. 21, 14 הַנְּחָלִים אֶרְנוֹן *the valleys, i. e. of the Arnon*; 2 K. 23, 17 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בֵּית-אֵל *the altar, that of Bethel* (with the suppression of the real governing noun without the article, מִזְבֵּחַ; for הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, which the Massora regarded as *construct* state, should be read הַמִּזְבֵּחַ or correct to מִזְבֵּחַ); הָאֵל בֵּית-אֵל *the God of Bethel*² (= הָאֵל אֵל בֵּית-אֵל) Gen. 31, 13; הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשִׁיר *the king of*

¹ Ezra 10, 17 read simply כָּל-הָאֲנָשִׁים for כָּל-הָאֲנָשִׁים.

² According to *Philippi* (*constr. state*, p. 38), there should rather be in

Assyria Isa. 36, 16 (no doubt incorrectly written in reference to vs. 13; not so in the parallel 2 K. 18, 31), cf. 2 K. 25, 11; Jer. 38, 6; in direct address Jer. 48, 32; Lam. 2, 13. (But שָׁרָה אִמּוֹ in Gen. 24, 67 is doubtless only an addition; so also is הַתְּמִיר of Dan. 8, 13. In 2 K. 7, 13 the Massora has removed the article before הַמֶּן).

This same idiom must also be noted in 2 K. 23, 17 (*this grave is the grave of the man of God*); קֶבֶר seems actually to have dropped out after הַקֶּבֶר and Ps. 123, 4 (but cf. LXX and in the parallel passages the expression of the genitive with ל). One editor attaches הַבְּרִית to the original הַאֲרֹן in Josh. 3, 14; cf. the same syntactically impossible supplement vss. 11 and 17 (also 1 Sam. 4, 3 al, where LXX still reads simply 'אֲרֹן'); Judg. 16, 14, where the Massora expressly accepts a *construct* state with the article (!); it depends, however, upon two different readings (הַיָּתֵר and 'יתר הָאֵל); Josh. 8, 11; 1 K. 14, 24; Jer. 25, 26; in Ezek. 45, 16 the article, while usually following כָּל־, is mechanically added, as also in 2 Chr. 8, 16 after עֶרֶב; in 2 K. 9, 4 the second הַנִּיעַר (for נִיעַר) is due to the first; in Ezek. 7, 7 מְהִימָה belongs as nominative to what follows; Ezra 8, 29 perhaps means *in the chambers, in the temple* (or the article is to be omitted). In 1 Chr. 15, 27 the text is evidently corrupt.

Of a different character are the cases where a closer qualification of the material follows a determinate noun as an *apposition* (not in the genitive, cf. § 131), like Zech. 4, 10: הָאֶבֶן הַכֹּהֵל הַזֶּה *the weight the lead* = the plummet; Ex. 39, 17; 2 K. 16, 14 (where for הַקִּיפּוֹחַ, undoubtedly due to a confusion of two readings, we should read the *absolute* state [or the *construct* state without the article]); 16, 17. Also in Jer. 32, 12 הַקִּקְנָה (unless the article is to be dropped) in apposition to הַפֶּפֶר.

- b) before a noun with a suffix (which latter simultaneously represents a definite genitive; vid. beginning of the §). We are not to consider such examples where a *verbal* (*accusative*) suffix is annexed to a participle, as in Isa. 9, 12 הַמִּכְהִי *the one striking him* (also Deut. 8, 15; in 13, 6 הַ is a verbal suffix; I scarcely such in Job 40, 19, in הָעֵשׂוּי for הָעֵשׂוּיָה and Dan. 11, 6 הַיְלִיָּה cf. § 116, 3). In הָעֵרֶבֶתָה Lev. 27, 23 the suffix must, as is clear from vs. 1, 3, 5, 7, 13, be entirely meaningless (cf. § 128, 1, Rem. b). Of the other examples פִּגְבֵּרְתָּהּ Isa. 24, 2 (perhaps intended as in consonance with the eleven other לְמַעַנְהוּ Prov. 16, 4 and בְּעֵרֵינוּ (so Baer according to the best authorities) Ezra 10, 14 are to be

הַדֶּרֶךְ חֶתְלוֹן a supposition in the accusative, as in Ezek. 47, 15 in הַדֶּרֶךְ חֶתְלוֹן (for which הַדֶּרֶךְ 48, 1 is the correct form), *the road to Chethlon*, Ezek. 47, 15 is very easily thus explained (like Ex. 39, 27 שֵׁשׁ as the acc. of material).

charged to the Massora, and not to the writer. In הָאֱלֹהִי Josh. 7, 21; הַחֲצִי Josh. 8, 33 (with preceding הַחֲצִי), הָהָרִיתִּיהָ 2 K. 15, 16 (dittograph of הָהָרִיתִּיהָ), הַדְּבָרִי Mic. 2, 12 (belongs as copula to the following word) the article, moreover, is to be omitted as a syntactical impossibility.

§ 128.

FURTHER USE OF THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

1. According to § 89 the genitive relation is regularly indicated by the close dependence of the *nomens regens* (in the *construct* state) upon the *nomen rectum* (the genitive). Now, since only one governing noun can be united directly to one *nomen rectum*, it follows that two or more *co-ordinated* nouns cannot be dependent on the same genitive, but rather a second (or a third) governing noun must be subsequently used with a suffix referring to the *nomen rectum*, e. g. בְּנֵי דָוִד וּבָנֹתָיו *the sons of David and his daughters* (not 'בְּנֵי וּבָנֹת דָּ'); cf. 1 K. 8, 28¹. The use of several co-ordinated² genitives with one and the same governing noun (as in Gen. 14, 19; Num. 20, 5; Isa. 22, 5) is generally avoided, the noun being repeated instead, e. g. Gen. 24, 3 אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ *the God of the heavens and the God of the earth* (in Jer. 8, 1 it is so repeated five times). A longer chain of genitives can arise, however, when a *nomen rectum* at the same time serves as a *governing* noun to one of the dependent genitives (cf. § 127, *d*); e. g. Gen. 47, 9 יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיֵּי אֲבֹתַי *the days of the years of my fathers' life*, cf. Job 12, 24 with three; Isa. 10, 12 with four; 21, 17 with five genitives. Regularly, however, so

¹ Very rare, and comprehensible only in the ready flow of language, are exceptions, like Ezek. 31, 16 (סִבְחָר וְשִׁיב-לִבְנוֹן) ; in Isa. 11, 2 (*the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Jehovah*) רֵעַת may be understood as an independent genitive, as also סִפְּר Dan. 1, 4.

² In Ps. 114, 1 a second genitive is asyndetically annexed, especially in a parallelism of the members, which renders ambiguity impossible.

awkward a construction of genitives is avoided by paraphrasing one of them (Vid. § 130).

Rem. The more the foregoing principles are regarded as due not only to mere *logical* but above all to *rhythmical* reasons (vid. § 89, 1), the more doubtful become all those cases in which genitives are found in loose connection with other word-formations than the *construct* state. Some of these examples (the nominal genitives after a governing noun made definite by the article) have been already (§ 125, 2, Rem. 2 and § 127, 4) mentioned. Cf. furthermore the use:

a) of genitives after the *absolute* state, Isa. 28, 1 גַּיא־שִׁכְנִים הָלוֹכִים יַיִן *the fat valley of those overcome by wine*. The usual explanation, according to which גַּיא־שִׁכְנִים forms *one* connected idea (as if it were *fatness-valley*) upon which the genitive ה' depends, explains in reality nothing; the text is scarcely genuine. In Isa. 32, 13 (מְשֻׁשׁ) and Ps. 68, 22 (שִׁעָר) the *absolute* state for the *construct* is to be ascribed to the Massora. In Judg. 6, 25 sq. the text is certainly corrupt; in Judg. 8, 32 בְּעַפְרָה belongs after וַיִּקְבֹּר or at the end of the verse; in Isa. 63, 11 מִשָּׁה is most probably a gloss on ע' which by mistake has been inserted in the text. 1 Sam. 4, 2 is according to LXX omitted before בֶּן; in Ezek. 6, 11 רָעוֹת if originally only genitive (= *all abominations of wickedness*), could not be an adjective; in Prov. 21, 6 the text is entirely unreliable (LXX reads מִיִּקְשִׁי for מִבְּקָשִׁי); in 1 Chr. 9, 13 the preposition ל (after ל) is omitted before מִלְּאֵכָה (cf. 12, 25). Elsewhere (Deut. 3, 5; 1 K. 4, 13; 2 Chr. 8, 5) the nominal genitives are rather regarded as appositional qualifications (= *with higher wall, gates, and bars*); in Jer. 8, 5 יְרוּשָׁלַם is either in apposition to הָעִם הַזֶּה, or an accusative of place.

b) after a noun with a suffix (which prevents the direct dependence of the governing noun). So we find Lev. 27, 3, 5, 7 (where הַזֶּכֶּךָ after יִזְרַכְךָ in spite of the accents can be understood as the subject of the following sentence; from vss. 13 and 23 [vid. § 127, 4, b] it may follow that the suffix in this word was entirely meaningless); Lev. 6, 3 מִדּוֹ בֵר *his garment, that of linen* (unless simply in apposition, cf. § 131, 2, c); 26, 42 where בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב at the most could be merely an abbreviation for בְּרִית ה' (cf. § 125, 2, Rem. 2); also Jer. 33, 20 בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם etc. But Num. 12, 6 אִם יִהְיֶה נְבִיאָכֶם יְהוֹה *if your prophet will be a prophet of Jehovah*; the text is evidently corrupt. In Jer. 52, 20 two readings (לְנִחֻשְׁתָּם) without an additional clause, and (לְנִחֻשֶׁת כָּל-הֵן) have coalesced.

c) For an interpolation of a word between כָּל- (totality; cf. § 127, d, Rem. 1) and the genitive governed by it, cf. 2 Sam. 1, 9 and Job 27, 3 (עוֹר), also Hos. 14, 3 (תַּעֲא). Actually, however, in these three passages, the genitive connection is dispensed with by the change of position of the words (for עוֹר כָּל- etc.) and כָּל- is understood rather

as adverbial (= *in totality*) e. g. 2 Sam. 1, 9 *for my life is yet whole* (*in totality*) *within me*; (cf. on this point *Philippi*, Stat. constr. p. 10). For the examples where the original *construct* state אֵין *non esse* is used without a following genitive, cf. negative clauses § 152, 1, c, 4.

2. The dependence of a *nomen regens* upon a *nomen rectum* in nowise serves merely to represent actual genitive relations (vid. examples under *a* to *c*). The *nomen rectum* rather expresses a *closer modification* of the governing noun, either by the addition of a name, genus, species, measure, material, or finally by an attributive (*genet. epexegeticus*, vid. examples under *d* — *i*).

Examples. The *nomen rectum* represents:

a) a so-called *subjective genitive* (in statements of ownership or the originator, etc.), e. g. בֵּית-הַמֶּלֶךְ the house of the king; דְּבַר יְהוָה the word of Jehovah.

b) an *objective genitive*, e. g. Obad. 10 מַחֲמַס אָחִיךָ for thy violence against thy brother¹ (but in Ezek. 12, 19 מַחֲמַס is followed by the *subjective genitive*). Prov. 20, 2 אֵיכָת מֶלֶךְ the fear of the king; Gen. 18, 20 זַעַקַת כְּדָם the cry of Sodom; Isa. 23, 5 שְׁמַע צָר the report of Tyre, cf. 2 Sam. 4, 4; Amos 8, 10 אֵכָל יָחִיד the mourning for an only son; Deut. 20, 14 שְׁלַל אֹיְבֶיךָ *praeda hostibus tuis erepta*; cf. Isa. 3, 14. In a broader sense belong here examples, like עֵץ הַחַיִּים the way of the tree of life Gen. 3, 24, cf. Prov. 7, 27; Job 38, 20; הַיָּם הַיָּרֵךְ the way of the sea Isa. 8, 23; זִבְחֵי אֱלֹהִים God-pleasing sacrifice Ps. 51, 19; שְׁבַעַת יְהוָה the oath sworn by Jehovah 1 K. 2, 43.

c) a *partitive genitive*; here belong especially the cases of dependence of an adjective upon a generic idea such as חֲכָמוֹת שְׂרוּתֶיהָ the wisest of her ladies Judg. 5, 29; for this indication of the superlative, cf. § 133, 3, Rem. 1; cf. also letter *i*, Rem. 1. As an improper genitive (*genit. explicativus* or *epexegeticus*) are to be considered the more definite modifications in the *construct* state:

d) of names,² e. g. נָהָר פָּרַת the river Euphrates; אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן the land of Canaan; בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל the virgin of Israel Amos 5, 2; בַּת-צִיּוֹן the daughter of Zion, etc.

¹ Cf. similar genitives in Latin with *injuria* (Caes. B. g. 1, 30), *metus* (*hostium*, *Pompeii*, etc.), *spes*, etc.; in Greek, e. g. εὐνοια τῶν φίλων, πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ 1 Cor. 1, 18.

² That in this case the dependence of the *nomen rectum* upon the *nomen regens* is not logical but purely grammatical is seen from the fact that the name may be equally well used as in apposition (after the absolute state), e. g. הַמֶּלֶךְ הַדָּר.

e) of *genus*, e. g. Prov. 15, 20 (21, 20) בְּסִיל אָדָם *a fool of a man*; cf. Gen. 16, 12; Isa. 29, 19; Mic. 5, 4, etc.

f) of *species*, e. g. הַתָּרִים אֲנָשִׁי *the merchantmen* 1 K. 10, 15; אֲחֻזַּת קֶבֶר *possession of a grave = burying-place* Gen. 23, 4 al.

g) of *measure, weight, compass, number*, e. g. מִתִּי מִסְפָּר *men of (small) number* Gen. 34, 30; Deut. 26, 5; cf. also Ezek. 47, 3-5 (*waters of the ankles, hips, of swimming*, i. e. which came to the ankles, hips, and obliged one to swim; on the other hand, vid. vs. 4 apposition מִמֵּם בְּרַפִּים).

h) of *material*¹ of which anything consists, e. g. כֶּלִי חָרָשׁ *an earthen vessel* Num. 5, 17; כֶּסֶף כֶּלִי כֶסֶף *silver vessels* (cf. French *des vases d'or*); עֵץ אֲרוֹן *a wooden chest*, בְּרִזָּה שֶׁבֶט *iron scepter* Ps. 2, 9; cf. Gen. 3, 21; 6, 14; Judg. 7, 13, etc.

i) of an *attribute* of the person or thing; so Gen. 17, 8 אֲחֻזַּת עוֹלָם *everlasting possession*; Prov. 17, 8 אֶבֶן יָקָר *a precious stone*; cf. Num. 28, 6; Isa. 13, 8; 28, 4; Ps. 23, 2; 31, 3; Prov. 5, 19; 14, 5; Job 41, 19 and the examples of genitives with suffixes mentioned in § 135, 5. Such an expression of an attributive idea sometimes occurs even when the corresponding adjective is present. So קֹדֶשׁ *holiness* very often (e. g. בְּגָדֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ *the holy garments* Ex. 29, 29) serves as a substitute for the adjective קָדוֹשׁ, since the latter exclusively refers to persons (hence also to עָם and גוֹי *people*, and שֵׁם *name* of a person); cf. furthermore מְקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ *holy ground* Ex. 29, 31 al.; מַיִם קְדָשִׁים *holy water* Num. 5, 17; קָדוֹשׁ as predicate of יוֹם *day* Neh. 8, 10 sq. and of מַחֲנֶה *camp* Deut. 23, 15. The use of צַדִּיק *righteous* is likewise, except in Deut. 4, 8, limited to persons; elsewhere we always find a periphrasis with צִדְקָה or צִדְקָתוֹ, e. g. מִזְנֵי צִדְקָה *just balances*, Lev. 19, 36. In a broader sense belong here also statements of purpose or object for which something is determined, e. g. צֹאן מִבְחָה *sheep for slaughter* Ps. 44, 23 שְׁלֹמֹנוֹ *the chastisement of our peace* Isa. 53, 5; cf. 51, 17 (the dregs of the cup of staggering); Ps. 116, 3; also in the mention of the material with which anything is burdened or filled, e. g. 1 Sam. 16, 20 חֲמֹר לֶחֶם וְנָאֵר *an ass laden with bread and a bottle of wine*; cf. Gen. 21, 14; Prov. 7, 20, etc.

Rem. 1. Certain substantives are used to express an attributive idea, so that they appear as governing nouns before a partitive genitive; so מִבְחָר מִבְחָרֵינוּ *the choice of our sepulchres*, i. e. our best sepulchres; Ex. 15, 4; Isa. 22, 7; 37, 24; Isa. 1, 16 (the iniquity of your deeds, emphatic for your wicked deeds); 17, 4; 37, 24 (= its tall cedars); Ps. 139, 22. This position with the substantive לָל

¹ Owing to the almost entire lack of corresponding adjectives (we find only אֲרוֹן *cedar*, denom. of אֶרֶץ, and נְרוֹשׁ *brazen*; cf. for the form qatûl as expressing inherent properties § 50, 3, Rem. 2; also as proper noun גִּרְזָל *ferreus*) the idiom must resort to the foregoing paraphrase.

totality for *every, whole, all* (vid. § 127, *d*, Rem. 1) is very prominent; it is frequently found with *מַעַט* *scarcity* for *few* 1 Sam. 17, 28 al.

2. To the category of periphrasis mentioned in letter *i*, of attributive ideas, expressed by means of a connection with the genitive, belong also the numerous compounds of the construct state, *אִישׁ* *man*, *בַּעַל* *lord*, *possessor*, *בֶּן* *son*, and their feminines and plurals (and the *pluraletantum* *מְתֵי* *men*) with some appellative noun to designate a person (poetically also *thing*) as the possessor of a thing, condition or property. This is usually rendered by simple substantives, sometimes also by periphrasis.

Examples :

a) of *אִישׁ* etc. *אִישׁ דְּבָרִים* *an eloquent man* Ex. 4, 10 (but *שְׁפָתַיִם* *אִישׁ* Job 11, 2 *the man of lips* i. e. *talker*); *אִישׁ לְשׁוֹן* *the slanderer* Ps. 140, 12; *אִישׁ חָכָה* *a wise man* Prov. 24, 5; *אִישׁ חֶמֶה* *a wrathful man* Prov. 15, 18; *the bloody man* 2 Sam. 16, 7; Ps. 5, 7; cf. also 1 Sam. 16, 18; 1 K. 2, 26; Isa. 53, 3; Prov. 19, 6; 26, 21; 29, 1; Ezra 8, 18; furthermore *אִשְׁת׃ מְרִינִים* *a contentious woman* Prov. 27, 15; in the plu. Gen. 6, 4 *הַנָּשִׁים הַשֵּׁם* *the famous, honored*; cf. 47, 6; Isa. 41, 11; Job 34, 8, 10 (*אִישׁ לֵבָב* *wise*); with *מְתֵי* e. g. Isa. 5, 13 (*מִ' רָעָב* *starveling*); Job 11, 11.

b) of *בַּעַל* etc. *בַּעַל שֵׁעָר* *hairly* 2 K. 1, 8; *בַּעַל הַחֲלֻמוֹת* *the dreamer* Gen. 37, 19, cf. Nah. 1, 7; Prov. 1, 17; 18, 9 (= *destructive minded*); 22, 24; 23, 2 (= *fond of eating*); 24, 8; fem. *בַּעַל־אֹיֵב* *a witch* 1 Sam. 28, 7; cf. Nah. 3, 4; in the pl. *בָּעֵלֵי הַחֲצִים* *arrow-shooting*.

c) of *בֶּן* etc. *בֶּן־חַיִל* *a brave, valiant man*; *בֶּן־מֶשֶׁק* *inheritance* Gen. 15, 2; *בֶּן־שָׁנָה* *one year old* Ex. 12, 5 al.; *בֶּן־מָוֶת* *worthy of death* 1 Sam. 20, 31 (*Luther* 2 Sam. 12, 5 *a child of death*); cf. Deut. 25, 2 *בֶּן־הַכּוֹת* *one worthy to be beaten*; fem. *בַּת־בְּלִיעַל* *an unworthy one* 1 Sam. 1, 16 (often also *בַּת־אִישׁ* *בַּת־בְּנֵי*, and even *בַּת־בְּלִיעַל* with no apposition, like the Latin *scelus* for *scelestissimus* 2 Sam. 23, 6; Job 34, 18); plu. masc. e. g. *בְּנֵי־קְרָדִים* *sons of the east* = *orientalists*. Of inanimate things we find *בֶּן־* used poetically in Isa. 5, 1 *בֶּן־שֶׁכֶן* *a fat one*, i. e. *a fruitful hill*; *בֶּן־לַיְלָה* *grown up in a night* Jon. 4, 10; Cant. 41, 20 (*son of the bow*); also *בְּנֵי* Job 5, 7 (= *the embers*); Lam. 3, 13; *בָּנוֹת* Eccl. 12, 8 *the daughters of song*).

3. Especially noteworthy is the idiom after which adjectives (sometimes also the ordinals (vid. § 134, 4) are annexed to their proper substantives as genitives, rather than as attributes in the same state, gender and number. So Isa. 28, 4 *צִיָּת נֹבֵל* *the flower of the fading* (for which vs. 1 *צִיָּת נֹבֵל* *the fading flower*); *עֹלַת הַתְּמִיד* *the invariable (daily) burnt offering* Deut. 28, 10, al.; cf. Isa. 22, 24; Jer. 22, 17 (?); 52, 13; Ps. 73, 10; 74, 15, and the use of *רַע* as substantive; e. g. Prov. 2, 14 b; 6, 24 (*אִשְׁת׃ רַע*) al., analogous to the N. T. *ὁ οὐκὸνόμος τῆς ἀδικίας* Luke 16, 8 and the French *un homme de bien*.¹ A (substantive) adverb may equal-

¹ But in passages like Isa. 36, 2 (2 K. 18, 17), Zech. 14, 4; Eccl. 8, 10 et al.; there is no reason why the Massora should require the const. state for the abs.

ly well be used as an *epexeget. genitive*; cf. 1 K. 2, 31 דְּמֵי חַנּוּם *blood shed to no purpose*; Prov. 24, 28; 26, 2; Ezek. 30, 16 (אֵין מִן).

3. To the epexegetical genitive belong finally the numerous qualifications which follow the *construct* state of adjectives (like the Participles active and passive, or adverbial adjectives, cf. § 116, 3, 4) as a mention either of the means (e. g. חָלַל־חֶרֶב *killed by the sword* Isa. 22, 2) or cause (Isa. 1, 4. cf. Cant. 2, 5 *for I am sick of love*) or of the sphere within which a property is manifested,¹ e. g. Gen. 39, 6 יְפֵה־תֶּאֱר *beautiful in form*; 41, 2, 6; Ex. 34, 6; Jer. 32, 19; Nah. 1, 3; Ps. 119, 1. Frequently such a genitive names the part of a personality of which a physical or psychical property is predicated, Ps. 24, 4 נְקֵי כַפַּיִם *pure hands*, etc.; 2 Sam. 9, 3; Isa. 6, 5; Job 17, 9; Isa. 19, 10 אֲנִי־נֶפֶשׁ *sorrowful of soul*; 1 Sam. 1, 10; Job 3, 20. In examples like Amos 2, 16; Prov. 19, 1, where a suffix is attached to the substantive by analogy of Prov. 14, 2 (vid. § 116, 4) a genitive construction should be understood.

§ 129.

EXPRESSION OF THE GENITIVE BY CIRCUMLOCUTION.

The genitive relation, besides by means of the dependence of a *nomen regens* in the construct state (§§ 89 and 128) on the *nomen rectum*, may also be indicated by several kinds of *circumlocution*: (1) either by the simple annexing of the genitive by means of the prepositions, which, according to § 119, 3, *c*, may also express *ownership*,² or (2), by the addition of a relative clause (לְ אִשְׁרָא vid. below, No. 2).

st. (for then חַיִּל Isa. 36 and אֵלִי Zech. 14 must be understood as shortened forms of the *abs. st.* in consequence of the close connection).

¹ Cf. the latin *integer vitæ scelerisque purus*; *tristes animi*, etc.

² Cf. the so-called σχῆμα κολοφώνιον in Greek, e. g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Bernhardy Syntax p. 88). The Arabs distinguish a double genitive,

The introduction of a genitive by ל is also found when the governing noun in the construct state could equally well follow, e. g. 1 Sam. 14, 6 הצפים לשאול *the scouts of Saul*; Ps. 7, 16; 2 Chr. 23, 18 (where the circumlocution is used more for the sake of clearness); regularly, however, its use is limited to cases:

a) when the determination of the governing noun by the following definite genitive is to be avoided. e. g. 1 Sam. 16, 18 בן לישׁי *a son of Isaiah* (בן-ישׁי would be from § 127, a, *the son of Isaiah*); cf. Gen. 14, 18; 41, 12; Num. 16, 22 (27, 16), 1 Sam. 17, 8; 2 Sam. 19, 21; 1 K. 2, 39 (*two slaves of Shimei*); Ps. 122, 5. Hence we regularly find מזמור לדוד (Ps. 3, 1, etc.) *a psalm of David* (lit. belonging to David as the author), as an ellipsis we find merely לדוד of David (Ps. 11, 1; 14, 1 al.). Cases like לדוד מזמור (Ps. 24, 1 al.), are not to be regarded as a case of metathesis, but כ' is an epexegetis to the generic idea omitted before ל' (hence as: a composition of David, and indeed a psalm). It is moreover customary in the other Semitic dialects (especially in Arabic) to introduce the author, etc. by this so-called *Lamedh auctoris*.

b) when a genitive should be made dependent upon a governing word, in itself compounded of a *nomen regens* and a *nomen rectum*, and still in this combination express one unified idea, e. g. Ruth 2, 3 ח' שדה בעז *the field of Boaz* (ה' שדה would be, *the piece of the field of Boaz*); 2 K. 5, 9 (at the door of the house of Elisha). Here especially belong the cases where the compound governing word indicates a frequent representation whose form remains constant, e. g. 1 K. 14, 19 על-ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל *in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel*; 15, 23 al.; cf. also Josh. 19, 51.

c) when the dependence of the governing noun in the construct state is for some reason excluded; cf. Lev. 18, 20 (where שְׁכַבְתָּהּ because of the suffix cannot be dependent; but cf. 15, 16 sq. al. (שְׁכַבְתָּהּ); Judg. 3, 28 (*the Jordan-fords of Moab*; יַרְדֵּן cannot as proper noun be in the construct state); Ex. 20, 5 (*on the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of my haters*; וְעַל-רַבֵּעִים must in conformity with וְעַל-שְׁלֹשִׁים be in the absolute state as also וְעַל-רִבְעִים).

d) after numerical statements in cases like Gen. 8, 14 כִּשְׁבָּעָה יָמִים וְעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם *on the 27th day of the month*; cf. 7, 11; 16, 3 al., or also like Hag. 1, 1 בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם לְדַרְיוֹשׁ *in the second year of Darius*; the number forms always with the numbered substantive a unity, which (as in the examples under letter b) cannot be dependent upon a genitive. This of course is true also of examples like 1 K. 3, 18 בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִּי *on the third day of my birth* (=after my birth). Cf. the constant form (Gen. 8, 5 al.) בְּאַחַד יְחִדֵּי הַחֹדֶשׁ *on the first (day) of the month*.

one explained by ל, the other by בן. The use of *de* in the romance languages is analogous to this latter use, but in Gascony *la fille à Mr. N.* corresponds to *la fille de . . .* of the written language to indicate possession, not descent or origin.

Rem. In cases like 2 Sam. 3, 2 (*and it was his first-born Amnon* לְאֶחָיוֹנָם of *Ahinoam*) the circumlocutory genitive with לְ, is in reality dependent upon an omitted governing word (לֶאֱלֹהִים a son of A.); cf. 2 Sam. 3, 3, 5; 1 K. 14, 13; Amos 5, 3 and the remarks on לְדֹר מְנוֹמֹר in letter *a*, above.

2. The periphrasis of the genitive by means of לְ אֲשֶׁר seems chiefly to indicate possession, e. g. Gen. 29, 9 הַצֹּאֵן אֲשֶׁר לְאִמְיָהּ the small cattle of her father (lit. which belonged to her father); 47, 4 al.; also (from § 128, 1) when a genitive depends upon several substantives (e. g. Gen. 40, 5 the butler and the baker that belonged to the king of Egypt; 'מ' אִפֶּה מ' מ' would refer only to the baker's belonging to the king of E.), or when the genitive (as in the examples above, 1, b) is employed with a compound which forms one unified idea (Ruth 4, 3) or when it appears in the same form as a constant designation (e. g. of title); e. g. Cant. 1, 1 שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לְשִׁלְמָה the Song of Songs of Solomon; 1 Sam. 21, 8; 2 Sam. 2, 8; 1 Chr. 11, 10; cf. also Gen. 41, 43.¹

§ 130.

FURTHER USE OF THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

Since the *construct state*, according to § 89, 1, represents only the direct dependence of a substantive upon the following word (or combination), it frequently, in the flow of speech, is used as a constructive form without the genitive-relation; this is so:—

- 1) before prepositions, particularly in elevated (prophetic or poetic) style, especially when the governing word is a Participle. So we find *before* בְּ: שְׂמֵחָה בְּקִצִּיר the joy in the harvest, Isa. 9, 2; 2 Sam. 1, 21; Ps. 136, 8 sq.; with Participles, Isa. 5, 11; 9, 1; 19, 8; Ps. 84, 7, and especially frequent when בְּ with a suffix follows the Participle, e. g. Ps. 2, 12 (בְּלִיְהוֹי בּוֹ); cf. Nah. 1, 7; Jer. 8, 16 (Ps. 24, 1); Ps. 64, 9 (unless we read רִאָּה);² *before*

¹ In the Rabbinical writings שֶׁל (from שֶׁל = לְ אֲשֶׁר vid. § 36 and cf. Cant. 1, 6; 3, 7, where we find שֶׁלְשִׁלְמָה, שֶׁלִּי) as in Aramaic the pure relative דִּי, serves as an independent genitive designation.

² In Judg. 8, 11 the article stands before the construct state with a following בְּ to determine as one word the whole connection 'בֵּית שֶׁבֶט tent-dwellers; cf. what is said in § 127, 4 on similar grammatical phenomena.

לְ: Hos. 9, 6; Ps. 58, 5 (before לְמִן); Prov. 24, 7; Lam. 2, 18 (before לְךָ); 1 Chr. 6, 55; 23, 28; with *Participles*: Ezek. 38, 11; Job 18, 2; 24, 5; before לְ with the *Infinitive*: Isa. 56, 10 and again before לְ with suffix: Gen. 24, 21; Isa. 30, 18; 64, 3;¹ before אֶל־: Isa. 14, 19; Ezek. 21, 17; before אֶת־ (with): Isa. 8, 6; before מִן: Gen. 3, 22; Isa. 28, 9 (*Participle*); Jer. 23, 23; Ezek. 13, 2; Hos. 7, 5; before עַל־: Judg. 5, 10; before בְּלִתִּי: Isa. 14, 6; before the *nota accusativi* אֶת Jer. 33, 22; before a locative (serving in such a case also as a genitive) Ex. 27, 13; Jer. 1, 15.

2) before *Waw copulative*, e. g. Ezek. 26, 10; cf. however in Isa. 33, 6 (הַכְּמֵת), 35, 2 (וְגִלְתָּ); 51, 21 (שִׁכְרֶת), a deliberate return to the old fem. ending *at* seemingly to avoid hiatus (וְ) הָהָה.

3) dependent upon entire relative clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, especially in union with מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר *the place where* . . . Gen. 39, 20; 40, 3; or 'בְּמְקוֹם א' *at the place where* . . . Lev. 4, 24, 33; 2 Sam. 15, 21; 1 K. 21, 19; Jer. 22, 12; Ezek. 21, 35; Hos. 2, 1; cf. also דָּבַר אֲשֶׁר מֵה־יֵּרָאֵנִי *the thing which he will show me*, Num. 23, 32.

4) dependent upon independent clauses (or relative clauses without אֲשֶׁר) standing virtually in some genitive relation in the *construct state* (when the latter serves as *nomen regens*), e. g. Ex. 4, 13 בְּיַד־הָאֱשֵׁלָה literally *by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*; Isa. 29, 1 קְרִיתִי הִנֵּה לְךָ *O city, where David encamped!* Jer. 48, 36; Ps.

¹ Of another character are the cases where לְ follows a construct state which in union with כִּן (and the following לְ) seems apparently to have become attached to a preposition, or an adverb of place, so מִבֵּית־לְ (Ex. 26, 33, for which only לְ בֵּית is found in Ezek. 1, 27) means simply *within*; מִיְמִין לְ (2 K. 23, 13; Ezek. 10, 3) *at the right (south) of*, מִצְפּוֹן לְ Josh. 8, 11, 13; Judg. 9, 2) *north of*; cf. also Josh. 15, 21 and לְפָנֵי מִן Neh. 13, 4.

² In Deut. 23, 5 the construct state is dependent upon a clause introduced by the conjunction אֲשֶׁר (עַל־דִּבְרֵי א' *by reason of the circumstance that*).

16, 3; 65, 5 (Prov. 8, 32); Ps. 81, 6; Job 18, 21 (*the place of him that knoweth not God*); 29, 16; Lam. 1, 14 (*into the hands of such against whom I am not able to stand*).¹ Very frequently *time-relations* depend upon the following clauses; so בְּיוֹם Ex. 6, 28; Num. 3, 1; Ps. 18, 1; 59, 17; 138, 3 (throughout before a following *Perfect*); 56, 10 (following *Imperfect*); יָמַי 1 Sam. 25, 15; Job 29, 2 (*as in the days when . . .*; cf. בְּיָמֶיךָ following *Perfect* Ps. 90, 15); בְּעַתָּה following *Imperfect* Job 6, 17 וְהָחֵלָה following *Perfect* Hos. 1, 2; and so apparently also Gen. 1, 1 בְּרֵאשִׁית = *in the beginning when God created . . .* (consequent in vs. 3: *he said*, etc.).

- 5) dependent upon a following apposition; so doubtless in cases like בְּתוּלָה בַת־צִיּוֹן *the virgin, the daughter of Zion* Isa. 37, 22; cf. 23, 12; Jer. 14, 17; also 1 Sam. 28, 7 אִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר בָּעָלְתָּ אֹיֵב *a woman, possessor of a familiar spirit*; cf. Deut. 21, 11; Gen. 14, 10; Judg. 19, 22; 2 K. 10, 6; 17, 13; Qerê; Jer. 20, 15; 46, 9; Ps. 35, 16 (?); 78, 9; Dan. 11, 14.

Rem. The foregoing passages may also be partly explained by stating that there is an actual dependence of the preceding construct state, provided, however, (in consequence of the insertion of a permutative) that it be regarded as only provisional *in suspensio* (so Isa. 37, 22, etc.; Job 20, 17 a). Elsewhere (Deut. 33, 19; Ps. 68, 34; Job 20, 17 b) we find apparently a direct dependence on the following construct state.²

- 6) the number אֶחָד *one* for אֶחָד is used in close connection and also with the small distinctive accents Gen. 48, 22; 2 Sam. 17, 22; Isa. 27, 12; Zech. 11, 7.

From the nature of the passages in question, it can readily be seen that no construct state is referred to, but merely a rhythmical shortening

¹ Here apparently belong (contrary to the accent) Gen. 22, 14 and undoubtedly (against the completely contorted verse division) 2 Chr. 30, 18 (connect בְּעַד כָּל־לֵה' *for every one who has turned his heart to it*).

² So Isa. 28, 16 *a corner-stone of value* (יְקָרָה substantive not adjective,) *a sure foundation*, i. e. a precious corner-stone of a firm foundation. In 2 Sam. 20, 19 the text is entirely corrupt; in Ps. 119, 128 read בְּלִפְקוּדֶיךָ.

of the usual form (lengthened by the tone). The apparent construct state שְׁנִי, שְׁתִּי, שְׁלִשׁ etc. in the compound numbers 11-19, § 97, 2, are analogous to this.

§ 131.

APPPOSITION.

1. Apposition strictly so-called is the placing together of two substantives in the same case, so that one of them (usually the second) serves to limit or qualify the other. In Hebrew (as in the other Semitic dialects¹) apposition is in no wise limited to those cases where it is used in modern and classic languages. It is rather used where one should naturally expect either one substantive subordinated to the other or some circumstantial method of annexing the epexegetis.

2. The principal uses of the noun in apposition in Hebrew are :

- a) when *genus* and *species* are placed together, e. g. אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה *a woman (who is) a widow* 1 K. 7, 14 ; נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה *a damsel (who is) a virgin* Deut. 22, 28 ; 1 K. 1, 2 ; cf. Gen. 13, 8 ; 21, 20 (where קִשָּׁה is doubtless an explanatory gloss) ; Ex. 22, 30 ; 1 K. 5, 29 (but סֶבֶל should be the reading for סָבֵל) ; Isa. 3, 24 ; 1 Sam. 2, 13 may be included here.
- b) when it denotes *person* or *thing* and *property*, e. g. Job 20, 29 (27, 13) הָלֵךְ-אָדָם רָשָׁע *this is the lot of man (who is) wicked* ; cf. Prov. 6, 12 ; Prov. 20, 21 אֲמָרִים אֱמֶת *words (that are) true* ; cf. Mic. 1, 11 ; Zech. 1, 13 (= *consoling words*) ; Ps. 45, 5 (?) ; 68, 17 (cf. vs. 16). In a broader sense belong here also cases like Ps. 60, 5 יַיִן תַּרְעִילָהּ *wine which*

¹ For certain uses of the appositive relation peculiar to the Semitic languages cf. the masterly discussion of Fleischer "über einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab." (Berichte über die Verhandl. der Kgl. sächs. Ges. der Wiss. zu Leipzig 1856, p. 1 sq. ; 1862, p. 10 sq.).

is *intoxicating*, causes intoxication;¹ 1 K. 22, 27 (Isa. 30, 20) מַיִם לֶחֶץ *water* which is *affliction*, water drunk in tribulation (in exile). Still bolder is 1 K. 5, 3 בָּקָר רָעִי *cattle* brought from the *meadows* and 6, 7 (unhewn stone from the *quarry*; perhaps corrupted from מַמְסָע). A person and his condition are in apposition in Ezek. 18, 6.

- c) When it denotes *thing* (form) and *material*,² or *space* or *measure* and *contents*, e. g. 1. Chr. 15, 19 בְּמַצְלִיתִים נְהַשֵּׁת *with cymbals* which are *brass*; Ezek. 22, 18; cf. Ex. 26, 25; 1 Chr. 28, 15, 18; Ex. 28, 17 (*four rows of stones*; in 39, 10 we find מַטְרֵי אֲבֵן); cf. 2 Chr. 4, 13; Lev. 6, 3 (but vid. § 128, 1, Rem. b); 2 K. 7, 1 סָאֵה כֹּלֶת *a seah of fine flour*; cf. vs. 16, 18; Gen. 18, 6; Ruth 2, 17; 2 K. 5, 23 כֶּבֶדִּים כֶּסֶף *two talents of silver*; cf. 5, 17. A *period of time* and its contents are in apposition in חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים *a month of days* i. e. a month of time = a month long Gen. 29, 14; Num. 11, 20, 21; cf. Deut. 21, 13; 2 K. 15, 13 and יָמִים שְׁנָתַיִם *two years' time* Gen. 41, 1; 2 Sam. 13, 23; 14, 28; 24, 13; Jer. 28, 3, 11; Dan. 10, 2 sq.

Finally here belong also the cases where the related object follows in apposition to a number (considered as a substantive), e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *trias* sc. *fili*i, § 97, 1; 134, 1 b.

- d) When it denotes *thing* and *measure* or *compass*, *number*, etc., e. g. Num. 9, 20 יָמִים מְסָפֵר *days* (few in) *number*, i. e.

¹ Unless this should be rendered: *for wine thou gavest us intoxication to drink*; cf. Ps. 80, 6 and the analogous cases for apposition in the form of a second accusative § 117, 5, c, Rem. Furthermore in reference to הַיֵּין הַקָּחָה *spiced wine* Cant. 8, 2 and עֵיר פָּרָא *colt of a wild ass* Job 11, 12 (in which passages יֵין and עֵיר must certainly be construct states) the question arises whether or not the Massora wished to consider יֵין Ps. 60, 5 as construct state (for which elsewhere we find יֵין).

² Cf. the above-mentioned examples § 127, 4, a, last part.

³ According to *Kimchi* the abnormal forms בָּקָר (for בָּקָר' as immediately before) would be a sign of the construct state; it is possible that the Massora by means of this punctuation wishes to recommend the reading בָּקָר' (as an actual construct state).

only a few days ; **כֶּסֶף מְשֻׁנָּה** *double money*, i. e. the same amount once more repeated ; Gen. 43, 12 **מִים בְּרַפְּיִים** *water* whose measure is the *knee*, i. e. which reaches to the knees Ezek. 47, 4 (with **מִי מִתְּחִינִים** *water of the hips* in the same verse). Here belong also the cases where a number (originally conceived of as a substantive vid. § 134, 1) or an adverb in apposition follows a noun ; e. g. Neh. 2, 12 **אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט** *men, a few* = few men ; 1 K. 5, 9 **חִבּוּנָה הַרְבֵּה** *a much-doing wisdom* = much wisdom ; cf. 2 Sam. 8, 8 al.

- e) When it denotes *thing* and *name*, e. g. **בְּהַרְרָם שְׁעִיר** *on their mount, Seir* (perhaps only a supplementary gloss) Gen. 14, 6 ; **הָאָרֶץ כְּנָעַן** the land of *Canaan* Num. 34, 2 ; cf. Ezra 9, 1 ; 1 Chr. 5, 9 (vid. below, Rem. 1). For examples of nouns in *construct* state before a following apposition, vid. above, § 130, 5.

Rem. 1. The noun serving as a qualifier of the other is the preceding one, in certain connections only, as in **הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד** *the king, David, the king, Solomon* (rarely as in 2 Sam. 13, 39 **דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ**).

2. If a *nota accus.* (**אֶת**-, **אֵת**-) or a preposition precedes the first substantive, it *may* be repeated before the apposition, e. g. Gen. 4, 2 ; 22, 2 ; 24, 4 ; 47, 29 (and so generally when the qualification precedes the proper noun). Regularly, however, this repetition is omitted. The apposition even after a substantive with a suffix is determined in the usual manner, e. g. 2 Chr. 12, 13 **בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם הָעִיר** *in Jerusalem, the city which*, etc.¹

3. Occasionally a second adjective is used in apposition with a first to modify somewhat its meaning, e. g. Lev. 13, 39 **בְּהָרוֹת כְּהוֹת** *dull-white spots* ; cf. vs. 19 *a white-red* (bright red) *spot*.

4. The so-called *permutative* is to be regarded as a deviation from apposition. It does not, like real apposition, indicate a supplement (vid. above, No. 1), but rather an *explanation* of the foregoing substantive (or pronoun, vid. below) to exclude some possible ambiguity. Here belong

¹ In 1 K. 11, 8 as in 2 K. 10, 6 ; 19, 2 we find Participles after **לְכִי-נָשִׂיךְ** after a determ. accus. *without* the article ; they are, however, not appositions, but are to be explained by § 118, 5, b.

passages like Gen. 9, 4 *with his soul*, i. e. *his blood*; 2 K. 3, 4 *100,000 rams with wool*, i. e. *the wool thereof*; Jer. 25, 15 (*this goblet of wine, of anger*); Isa. 42, 25 (*he poured out upon him the fury*, sc. *his anger*),¹ but especially the examples where such a permutative is used with a foregoing pronoun; so note the following:—

a) with a separate pronoun, e. g. Ex. 7, 11, cf. in regard to the vocative § 126. 2, e, Rem.

b) with an accusative suffix, e. g. Ex. 2, 6 *she saw him, the boy*; Ex. 35, 5; 1 K. 19, 21 (where הַבֶּשֶׁר seems to be a later gloss); Jer. 9, 14; Prov. 13, 24 (cf. however, *Delitzsch* on this passage); Eccl. 2, 21 (with *Delitzsch*, a double accusative).²

c) with a nominal suffix, e. g. Ex. 10, 3 כָּבֹאוֹ הָאֵשׁ *as he entered, the man*; cf. Prov. 13, 4 (?). Ezra 3, 12; also after preposition with suffix, e. g. Eccl. 4, 10 הָאֶחָד וְאֵלּוֹ *woe to him, the one!* with repetition of the preposition Josh. 1, 2 לָהֶם לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *to them, the sons of Israel*; 2 Chr. 26, 14,³ cf. finally Cant. 3, 7 where the suffix precedes⁴ the periphrasis of the genitive by שֶׁל (as in Ezra 9, 1 by ל).

Of another nature are the examples where the permutative with its own suffix corrects somewhat the preceding suffix, e. g. Isa. 29, 23 *when he sees his children*, etc.; cf. Ps. 83, 12; perhaps also Job 29, 3.

5. As apposition in a *broader sense* we designate cases where the qualification of a noun could be regarded as originally in *accus. adverbialis* (for the latter, cf. *The Verb*, and for the relative right to speak of an *accusative* § 118, 1 and 5). Naturally, owing to the lack of case endings, it often happens that only by analogy (especially from the Arabic) and frequently only with great uncertainty can it be said that apposition is used in a wide or narrow sense. Here belong apparently:—

a) cases like מִשְׁנֵה כֶּסֶף *double money* Gen. 43, 15; cf. 2 Sam. 21, 20; Jer. 17, 18; 1 Sam. 17, 5 (5000 *shekels of brass*); certainly also cases like Job 15, 10 (*older in days than thy father*) and the strengthening of an adjective by the original substantive טוֹב כָּאֵד *very good*

¹ But מִים Gen. 6, 17 (cf. 7, 6) is to be considered as a later gloss on the earlier מַבּוּל.

² For וַיִּשְׁנֶה 1 Sam. 21, 14 וַיִּשְׁנֶה should be the reading or *Kethibh* explained according to § 75, *Introd.* Note 1. וַיִּלְכְּדֵנוּ Prov. 5, 22 is scarcely correct.

³ But in Isa. 17, 6 בְּסַעְפֵּי הַפְּרִיָּה (*with a different word-division*), and אַחֲרֵית הַשְּׂמֵחָה Prov. 14, 13 should be the readings; Gen. 2, 19 נָפֶשׁ חַיָּה is a late gloss on לוֹ.

⁴ Some of the foregoing examples are doubted by textual (or exegetical) criticism; in some others, especially those of later books, the question arises whether or not such a prolepsis of the genitive by reason of this suffix (as in Ezek. 10, 3) is due to the influence of the Aramaic, provided it was then customary (cf. *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.* § 81, e and 88).

Gen. 1, 31 (cf. also Eccl. 7, 16 צַדִּיק הֶרְבָּה *righteous overmuch* and the frequent הֶרְבָּה מְאֹד lit. *exceedingly great* Gen. 15, 1 al., and Prov. 23, 29 פְּצָעִים הֵנָּם *wounds without cause*.¹

b) some examples where a substantive epexegetis is used with a substantive and suffix: Ezek. 16, 27 מִדְּרַבֵּן זָמָה *on account of thy wandering in iniquity* (but from No. 2, b, this could also be rendered *on account of thy wandering which is iniquity*); 2 Sam. 22, 23 מְעוֹנֵי חַיִּל *my refuge in strength* = my strong refuge (cf. however, Ps. 18, 33); Hab. 3, 8; Ps. 71, 7. If in these instances a deviation from common usage (cf. on this point § 135, 5) is unusual, so it is also in חֲבִלְתּוֹ חוּב Ezek. 18, 7, i. e. according to the context *his pledge for a debt*; Ezek. 2, 62 כְּתָבָם הַמְּתִיחִשִׁים = *their register of genealogy* (properly *their genealogy that could be inscribed*) and the rare connection of בְּרִיתִי with a *proper noun* (Lev. 46, 42) as mentioned in § 128, Rem. b, and also Jer. 33, 20 with הַיִּם.²

6. When, as in Deut. 33, 4 (מִוְרָשָׁה); 33, 27 (מִיֵּנָה); Judg. 7, 8 (צָרָה); Job 31, 11 (עֵז), the *absolute state* seems to be used for the *construct* as governing a following logical genitive, it cannot be explained as any particular kind of apposition or (with *Hitzig*) as any peculiarity of the northern dialects, but must be regarded as a textual corruption. On the contrary, the strange union of אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת Ps. 80, 8, 15 depends upon the fact that in Ps. 42-83 the word אֱלֹהִים was almost invariably substituted by a later redactor for the name יְהוָה, on יְהוָה צ' cf. § 125, 2, Rem. 2. Furthermore, in Ps. 59, 6; 80, 5, 20; 84, 9 יְהוָה is again inserted in the text for אֱל' צ'.³

¹ In Ps. 69, 5 we find חֵנָם (as in 35, 19; 38, 20 שָׁקֵר *deceitfully*) as an *accus. adverb with a participle*; cf. § 118, 5, c.

² Otherwise in Num. 25, 12 where שְׁלֹום according to No. 2, b, could be explained as an actual apposition. On this question cf. *Delitzsch Psalmen*, 4th ed., p. 203, Note 1.

³ Without these suppositions it would be impossible to understand why אֱלֹהֵי צ' was not written; to think that the author of these Psalms held צְבָאוֹת to be an independent name of God (as *Gesenius, Olshausen*) is hardly possible.

§ 132.

CONSTRUCTION OF SUBSTANTIVE WITH ADJECTIVE.¹

1) *An adjective* (as participles used as adjectives) serving a substantive attributively *follows* it and agrees with it in *gender* and *number*; e. g. אִישׁ גָּדוֹל *a large man*, אִשָּׁה יָפָה *a handsome woman*. If the substantive stands in immediate connection with a genitive, the attribute follows the latter, since the *construct* state with its absolute forms, according to §§ 89 and 128, 1, are an inseparable unity, e. g. Esth. 8, 15 עֲטָרַת זָהָב גְּדוּלָּה *a great crown of gold*. For the union of the attribute with a *determinate* substantive, cf. § 126, 5.

Rem. 1. The cases where an adjective attribute (as usually explained, for the sake of special emphasis) appears to stand *before* its substantive are due rather to an appositional relation; so in Isa. 10, 30 עֲנִיָּה עֲנִתוֹת *Oh! the wretch, Anathoth!* cf. 23, 12; 53, 11 (*a just one, my servant*; but וְרַ and נִכְרִיָּה 28, 21 are *predicates* placed first); Ps. 18, 4 *upon the Praised One do I call, Jehovah*; 92, 12 (apposition after a participle). Only רַבִּים *many*, sometimes as a number, precedes its substantive (Ps. 32, 10; 89, 51; Neh. 9, 28; in Ps. 145, 7 רַב is *substantive regens*); in these examples an appositional relation can hardly be thought of.

2. In some usages (generally poetic) the adjective, rather than as attribute *after* the substantive, seems to govern the latter (in the *construct* state), e. g. 1 Sam. 17, 40 חֲלָקִי אֲבָנִים *smooth from (among the)*

¹ For the representation of ideas of properties by means of substantives, cf. §§ 127, 4, *a* and 128, 2, *h*, with Rem. 2; § 135, 5 and § 141, 2, Rem. 1 (substantives for adjectives as predicates of nominal clauses) and § 152, 1, *h* Rem. (periphrasis of negative ideas of properties); for the use of the fem. of adjectives (and Participles) to represent abstract ideas, § 122, 4, *b*. Here is to be mentioned the (gen. poet.) use of certain epithets in place of substantives to which the properties belong, e. g. אֲבִיר *the strong*, i. e. God; אֲבִיר *the strong*, i. e. *the bull* (Jer. 8, 16 *al. the horse*); קָלִי *quick* = *racer* (of the horse Isa. 30, 16); לְבָנָה *alba* = *luna*; פְּרִיָּה (*fructifera*) *fruit-tree* Isa. 17, 6 (also פֶּרֶת Gen. 49, 22); רֹבֵץ *a lurking wild beast* Gen. 4, 7; cf. also רֶגֶז (*gravis, augustus*) and נָשִׂיא (*elatus*) = *the prince*. This method of using adjectives and participles as substantives is much more common in Arabic; in Greek and Latin poetry, cf. examples like *ὕψη the sea*; *merum* for *vinum*, etc.

stones = smooth stones; Isa. 35, 9; Ezek. 7, 24; Ps. 46, 5 and with a following collective in place of the plural, e. g. Isa. 29, 19 אֲבִינֵי אָדָם *poor among men* = *poor men*; Jer. 49, 20; Zech. 11, 7 (cf. Latin *canum degeneres*). But in all these cases the adjective so used is emphatic; being rather a superlative (vid. § 133, 3).

3. If two adjectives follow a feminine, sometimes the first only is inflected as feminine; e. g. 1 K. 19, 11 רֵיחַ גִּדְלָהּ וְחֶזֶק וּג'; 1 Sam. 15, 9. (cf. on this passage § 75, Rem. 8); Jer. 20, 9. A similar economy in the use of feminine forms is found with verbal predicates of feminine subjects, cf. § 145, 7, a, Rem. 1 and b, Rem. 2.

If three attributes follow a substantive the first two may be asyndetically connected and the last annexed by *Waw copulative*, cf. Zech. 1, 8.

4. After feminine plurals ending in ים — the adjective attribute — in accordance with the principal rule above, No. 1 — follows with the ending וֹת (§ 87, 4), e. g. Isa. 10, 14 עֲזוּבוֹת בְּיָצִים *forsaken eggs*; Gen. 32, 16. For a strange exception see Jer. 29, 17 (cf. 24, 2).

5. In reference to number it is to be noticed that:

a) dual substantives are followed by plural adjectives (or Participles), e. g. Ps. 18, 28 (Prov. 6, 17) עֵינַיִם רְמוּת *high (haughty) eyes*; Isa. 35, 3; Job 4, 3 sq., cf. § 88, 1.

b) collective ideas are often used with the plural of an adjective or Participle (so-called *constructio ad sensum*); e. g. עַם = *people* 1 Sam. 13, 15; Isa. 9, 1; גָּלוּת *exiles* Jer. 28, 4; cf. also נַפְשֵׁי שְׁנַיִם *two souls* Gen. 46, 27.¹

c) plurals of *honor* or *authority* are regularly used with singular attributes, e. g. Ps. 7, 10 אֱלֹהִים צָדִיק; Isa. 19, 4; but cf. also אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים² Deut. 5, 23; 1 Sam. 17, 26, 36; Jer. 10, 10; 23, 36, perhaps also Ex. 20, 3 אֱחָדִים אֱלֹהִים *another God* and Josh. 24, 19 קִרְשֵׁי אֵל (cf. above, § 124, 1, c). 1 Sam. 4, 8, however, is explained as the speech of the Philistines who had several gods).

2. For the dependence of adjectives (in the construct state) upon a following genitive, cf. § 128, 3; of Participles, cf. § 116, 3, 4.

¹ But תְּחִימָם Ezek. 46, 6 cannot possibly be understood as the attribute of בָּקָר, but a harmonizing correction may be discovered by referring to Num. 28, 11 where *two* bullocks are required.

² Cf. on this point, 1 Sam. 28, 13 where עֲלִים as the second accus. is used with אֵל (in sense of a *spirit*); vice versa, however, in 1 Sam. 19, 13, 16 where a single suffix refers back to תֵּרָפִים *house-god* (otherwise in Gen. 31, 34), as in Ps. 46, 4 to the amplified plural יָמִים *sea*. It is very doubtful whether or not in Ps. 78, 15 רַבָּה is to be regarded as an attribute (rather than as adverb = *abundantly*) to תַּהֲמוֹת.

§ 133.

COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES.

1. The Hebrew has no special form for the comparative and the superlative.¹ The comparative is expressed by the adjective followed by the preposition מִן (מִ) *from*, prefixed to the word with which comparison is made; e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 2 גִּבְיָהּ מִכָּל-הָעָם *taller than all the people*. The real idea here is *tall* in distinction *from all the people*; cf. Judg. 14, 18 מֶה-מֶתוֹק מִדְּבַשׁ וּמָה עוֹ מֵאָרִי *what is sweeter than honey and what is stronger than a lion?* Ezek. 28, 3; Amos 6, 2. Frequently an Infinitive seems to be the object of comparison, e. g. Gen. 29, 19 (better I give her to thee, than that I should give her to another man); Ps. 118, 8 sq.²

Rem. 1. The same use of מִן occurs also where the attributive idea is represented by means of a finite verb; e. g. 1 Sam. 10, 23 וַיִּגְבֶּה מִכָּל-הָעָם *and he was taller than all the people*; Nah. 3, 8; Job 7, 6. Elsewhere, especially after transitive verbs, (cf. for its different meanings, § 119, 3, d) the idea of a separation *from* or a marking *out* of a person or thing from others is represented through מִן.³ So clearly in cases like בָּחַר מִן-כֵּן *choose (prefer) something before another*, e. g. Job 7, 15, cf. Deut. 14, 2 (also יִתְרוֹן מִן-כֵּן *pre-eminence over* . . . Eccl. 2, 13); also in examples like Gen. 37, 3 וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל אָהַב אֶת-יוֹסֵף מִכָּל-בְּנָיו *and Israel loved Joseph more than all his (other) sons*; 29, 30; 1 Sam. 2, 29; Hos. 6, 6.⁴

¹ There exists in Arabic a special form of the adjective for the comparative and the superlative, like أَكْثَل *deceptive* (of a drying-up brook) and its opposite أَثْبَت (contracted from 'aithan) *constant, perennial*. However, these forms are also used without any perceptible emphasis, and might, at most, pass for isolated remainders of an earlier comparative and superlative formation; in the same manner the Latin comparative disappears in the Italian, and still more in French, and its place is supplied by circumlocution (with *più, plus*).

² In Judg. 11, 25 the adjective is compared by repetition *art thou so much better than Balak?* (possibly also *art thou really better* . . . ?).

³ Cf. on this point the Latin ablative with the comparative, also the etymology of words like *eximius, egregius*, and in Homer ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα Iliad IV. 96, ἐκ πᾶσέων XVIII. 431.

⁴ But by the use of צָרָה מִן-כֵּן no comparison, but rather a relation of one person to another, is expressed; so Gen. 38, 26 צָרָה מִמֶּנִּי *she is equal to me*

2. The use of *כֵּן* after adjectives or intransitive verbs containing an attributive idea depends upon another conception, when it is desired thereby to express an *insufficiency* or *overfullness* of the attribute in question to attain a certain object, e. g. Isa. 7, 13 *הִקְעַט מְכָם* *is it too little for you . . . ?* Job 15, 11; after an intransitive verb Gen. 32, 11 *I am too unworthy of all thy mercies* (am not worthy of all) etc.; cf. also the uses of *כֵּן* *בְּבָר* *be too hard for one* Ex. 18, 18; Ps. 38, 5; *כֵּן* *בְּבָר* *be too strong for one* Ps. 65, 4; *כֵּן* *עָצָם* *too powerful for one* Gen. 26, 16; *כֵּן* *רוֹם* *too high for one* Ps. 61, 3; *כֵּן* *צָר* *too narrow* Isa. 49, 19; *כֵּן* *קָצָר* *too short* Isa. 50, 2.

Especially frequent is the use of *כֵּן* *נִפְלָא* *too wonderful* (incomprehensible) *for one* Gen. 18, 14; Deut. 17, 8; 30, 11; Jer. 37, 17; Prov. 30, 18. Here particularly belong numerous cases where *כֵּן* with an Infinitive follows the attributive idea, e. g. 1 K. 8, 64 *the brazen altar was too small to receive* (to be able to receive), cf. Gen. 4, 13; 36, 7 (*too large for them to dwell together*); after verbs, e. g. Isa. 28, 20; Psa. 40, 6.¹

In all these cases *כֵּן* expresses the *removal* of a thing from a person or the *separation* of a person from an object or goal; cf. the usage *לֹא-יִבָּצֵר מֵהֶם כֹּל וְנֹה* *nothing will be unattainable to them* (lit. nothing will be separated from them, etc.) Gen. 11, 6; Job 42, 3.

3. The adjective upon which *כֵּן* logically depends, must sometimes by virtue of a pregnant use of *כֵּן* (vid. analogous examples, § 119, 4) be supplied from the connection, e. g. Isa. 10, 10 *יִפְקִלֵּיהֶם* *their idols are more numerous than* (those of) *Jerusalem, etc.*²; Mic. 7, 4 (*worse than a thorn-hedge*); Job 11, 17 (*brighter than midday*); Eccl. 4, 17 (*better than, etc.*).

2. The correlative comparatives such as *greater* — *less* (*older* — *younger*) are expressed by the simple adjective with the article (*the great* = *the greater*, etc.), Gen. 1, 16; 19, 31, 34; 27, 15; 29, 16, 18, 26.

3. The definite form of the adjective is used to express the *superlative* (v. above No. 2) by means either of the article, or of a following partitive genitive (or a suffix); the determination, in such a case, designates one or more individuals prefer-

in her right; cf. Job. 4, 17 32, 2. In Prov. 17, 12 the use is *rather* (experience this and that) *than* by means of *אֶל-* expressed before the second clause.

¹ Cf. 2 K. 4, 3 where the idea *do something too little* is expressed by the Hiph. *הִקְעִיט* = *do not do too little*, sc. *לְשָׂאֵל* *in asking* (empty vessels).

² Cf. on the *comparatio decurtata* the still bolder pregnant usage in Ps. 4, 8 (*מִעַתָּה* = *greater joy than in the time, etc.*).

ably as the possessors of the quality expressed¹; e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 21 (הַצָּעִירָה = *the smallest*); 16, 11 (הַקָּטָן *the small* = *the youngest* of eight sons); 17, 14 *David was the youngest and the three great*, i. e. *the oldest ones*, etc.; Gen. 42, 13; 44, 2; Cant. 1, 8. So too when the adjective serves also as an attribute, Gen. 9, 24 בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן *his youngest son*; cf. Josh. 14, 15; with a following genitive 2 Chr. 21, 17 קָטַן בְּנָיו *the youngest of his sons*; Prov. 30, 24 (*the smallest on earth*); with suffix Mic. 7, 4 טוֹבָם *their good ones*, i. e. *the best of them*; Jon. 3, 5 מִגְדֹּלָם וְעַד־קִטְמָנָם *from the greatest among them even unto the least of them*; cf. the opposite Jer. 6, 13; 31, 34.

Rem. 1. In all the foregoing examples only the most common *relative* adjectives (*great, small, good*) have been treated, also such uses as can easily be regarded as a periphrasis of the superlative. Occasionally, however, an adjective, by virtue of its connection with a partitive genitive, contains a superlative idea; this is seen from the context, e. g. Deut. 33, 19 (*the hidden treasures of the sand*); Judg. 5, 29 (*the wisest of the ladies*); Isa. 19, 11; 23, 8 sq.; 29, 19; Ezek. 28, 7; Ps. 45, 13; Job 30, 6 (= *in the gloomiest valleys*); 41, 22, apparently also Ps. 35, 16; cf. for this dependence of the adjective § 132, 1, Rem. 2. The connection of the substantive with an adjective used as a substantive as mentioned in § 128, 2, Rem. 3 serves sometimes as a periphrasis for the superlative, e. g. Isa. 22, 24 כָּל כְּלֵי הַקֶּטָן *all the smallest vessels*; Cant. 7, 10 כַּיֵּין הַטוֹב *like the best wine* (where כַּיֵּין הַטֵּב could also have been originally intended).

2. To the periphrasis of the superlative belongs also the connecting of a noun with the plural of the same word (which of course is to be understood as a partitive genitive, cf. our *book of books*), e. g. Ex. 26, 33 קֹדֶשׁ הַקֹּדָשִׁים *the holiest of all*; שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים (Cant. 1, 1) *the choicest song*; cf. Gen. 9, 25 (*servus servorum, the meanest servant*); Num. 3, 32; Deut. 10, 17² (Ps. 136, 3); 1 K. 8, 27; Isa. 34, 10 (cf. Gal. 1, 5; Rev. 22, 5); Ezek. 16, 7; 26, 7 (*king of kings* of Nebuchadrezzar; cf. 1 Tim. 6, 15; Rev. 17, 14; 19, 16 and another kind of periphrasis Ps. 95, 3); Eccl. 1, 12. In Jer. 6, 28 two Participles are connected; and in Hos. 10, 15 two substantives in the singular.

3. Comparison of adjectives by repetition belongs rather to the province of rhetoric than of syntax, e. g. Eccl. 7, 24 עֲמֹק עֲמֹק *extremely*

¹ Cf. עֲלִיּוֹן *the above* simply = *the highest*.

² *God of gods and lord of lords*, as the highest god of the Babylonians is designated as *bēl, bēli* (Tiele, *Compend. der Rel. Gesch.* p. 87).

deep; 1 Sam. 2, 3; Prov. 20, 14; the adjective is repeated three times in Isa. 6, 3. Cf. the repetition of the adverb for the same reason in Gen. 7, 19; Num. 14, 7 (מְאֹד מְאֹד *exceedingly*, also כִּי כִּי Ex. 1, 7 al.); Ezek. 42, 15. But Deut. 28, 43 expresses a continual progression (= *ever higher . . . ever deeper*); cf. Ex. 23, 30 כֵּן כֵּן *little by little* (peu à peu).¹

Even the repetition of substantives serves as a periphrasis of the superlative in cases like לָרֵר רֵר (Ex. 3, 15) = *to the most remote generations*; cf. 17, 16; Jer. 6, 14; 8, 11 (*deepest peace!*); Ezek. 21, 32 (רָעָה repeated three times)²; 35, 7; Nah. 1, 2. Sometimes the totality of an action or state is indicated by the union of two allied nouns with a like pronunciation, cf. Ezek. 6, 14 (33, 28 sq.; 35, 3); 32, 15; Nah. 2, 11; Zeph. 1, 15 (Job 30, 3; 38, 27).

§ 134.

SYNTAX OF THE NUMERALS.

1. The numerals from 2 to 10, as originally abstract substantives, may be connected with their substantives in three different ways. They may stand either:—

- a) in the *construct state* before the substantive (the object numbered being accordingly in the genitive), e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים *triad of days* = *three days*; שְׁנֵי הָאָנָשִׁים *the two men*; or
- b) in the *absolute state* before it (the object numbered being then considered as in apposition § 131, 2, c), e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *triad sons* = *three sons*; שְׁנֵי אָנָשִׁים *two men*; or
- c) in the *absolute state* after it, as in apposition with the object numbered, e. g. בָּנוֹת שְׁלוֹשׁ 1 Chr. 25, 5; 2 Chr. 29, 21. This position is especially common in the later books,

¹ Related adverbs are thus connected in Num. 6, 9; Isa. 29, 5; 30, 13; unrelated in Isa. 5, 26; Joel 4, 4; in Num. 12, 2 the particles אֵן אֵן are connected for the same reason (as if *single and alone*).

² Of another nature is the exclamatory use of the same word three times in Jer. 7, 4 and 22, 29, and twice in Jer. 4, 19; Lam. 1, 16 (?).

because the substantive conception of the numeral yielded more and more to the adjective.¹

Rem. In Lev. 24, 22 אָחֵר follows the *construct* state מִשְׁפָּט as a genitive; but, as in Num. 15, 16, מִשְׁפָּט could equally well be the reading. In Gen. 42, 19 אָחֵר stands in apposition to a substantive with a suffix (= *one of your brothers*; but in vs. 33 it reads: *the one of you brothers*). Equally often we find מֵאָה-שָׁנָה (Gen. 7, 17) and מֵאֵת ש' (25, 7, 17) *hundred years*. For the union of abstract numerals with suffixes, like שְׁנֵיהֶם *their duality* = *they two* Gen. 2, 25 al. (also in strengthening separate pronouns like שְׁנֵינוּ אֲנַחְנוּ 1 Sam. 20, 42) cf. § 97, 3, Rem. 2.

2. The numerals from 2 to 10 are joined, with very few exceptions (e. g. 2 K. 22, 1; Ezek. 45, 1; cf. 2 K. 8, 17 and 25, 17 Keth.) with the plural.² The numerals from 11 to 19 take generally the plural; certain nouns numbered, however, are usually in the singular (vid. details in Rem. 1). The tens (from 20 to 90), when they precede the substantive, are generally joined with the singular (in the accusative, cf. § 131, 2, Rem. 5) and when they follow it, in apposition, they take the plural; e. g. Judg. 11, 33 עֶשְׂרִים עִיר *twenty cities*, but אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים *twenty cubits* 2 Chr. 3, 3 sq. The plural *may* be used in the first case (Gen. 18, 24; Ex. 21, 32; 36, 24 sq.), but the singular never occurs in the second and rarer case. The substantive numbered may after מֵאָה and אֶלֶף be either singular or plural (vid. Rem. 2).

Rem. 1. After the numerals from 11 to 19 we regularly find in the sing. the words יוֹם *day*, שָׁנָה *year*, אִישׁ *man*, נֶפֶשׁ *soul* (person), שִׁבְט *tribe*, מִצְבֵּה *pillar, column* (Ex. 24, 4) and בָּקָר collective *cattle* (cf. the German: *hundert Mann, sechzig Pfund*), e. g. Deut. 1, 2 אַחֲרֵי עֶשְׂרִי יוֹם (but cf. exceptions like Deut. 1, 23; Josh. 4, 2 al.). Other substantives stand in the *plural* with these numerals; the latter may in this case follow the substantives (especially in later passages Num. 7, 87 sq.; 1 Chr. 4, 27; 25, 5).

¹ In Ex. 28, 10 the Massora allows the numeral as a genitive to follow the *construct state* of the object numbered; nevertheless וְאֵת-שְׁמוֹת הַשָּׁשׁ could be used in its place (cf. for the absence of the article before ש' § 126, Rem. 1, a).

² For examples like Gen. 46, 27 נֶפֶשׁ שְׁנַיִם *two souls* cf. § 132, 1, Rem. 5, b (union of collectives with the plural of the adjective).

2. After *מֵאָה* (*מֵאֹת*, *מֵאֹתִים*) and *אֶלֶף* (*אֶלְפִים*, *אֶלְפִי*, *אֶלְפִים*) we regularly find in the *singular* the substantives *אִישׁ*, *אֶחָד*, *אֶחָדָה* (except Ezek. 40, 27), *יֹם*, *רִגְלִי*, *צֶדֶד*, usually also *שָׁנָה*, *כֶּכֶר*, *כֶּרֶם*, *שָׁקָל* (except Josh. 7, 21; 2 Sam. 14, 26 al.); cf. also Gen. 33, 19; Esth. 1, 1; Judg. 21, 12; Deut. 7, 9; 1 K. 5, 12; 2 Chr. 9, 15. Examples for the *plural* after *מֵאָה* are Gen. 26, 12; 1 Sam. 18, 25; 2 Sam. 16, 1; 1 K. 18, 4; after *מֵאֹת* Ex. 38, 27; after *מֵאֹתִים* Judg. 15, 4; 2 Sam. 8, 4; 1 K. 10, 17; Ezek. 42, 17; after *אֶלְפִים* 1 Sam. 25, 18; 1 K. 7, 20; after *אֶלֶף* 1 Sam. 25, 2; 1 K. 3, 4; 5, 6; 2 K. 3, 4; Ps. 90, 4; after *אֶלְפִים* 1 Sam. 17, 5; Job 42, 12; after *אֶלֶף* Mic. 6, 7; after *אֶלְפִים* Isa. 36, 8. In Dan. 12, 11 the plural *יָמִים* precedes the numeral 1200.

3. With the numerals compounded of tens and units, like 21, 62, the object numbered either follows the number in the singular (accusative), e. g. Gen. 5, 20 *שָׁנָה וְשִׁשִּׁים וְשָׁלֹשׁ* 62 years (*שָׁנָה* according to No. 2 is in the sing., since it refers to the immediately preceding ten; also in *שָׁנָה וְשִׁמְנָה וְשָׁלֹשׁ* Deut. 2, 14) or precedes it in the plural (especially in later books, Dan. 9, 26 al.); or is (a few times) repeated so that (according to No. 1) it is plural with the units, but singular with the tens (vid. No. 2) and hundreds, e. g. Gen. 12, 4 *מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים וְשָׁנָה* 75 years; 23, 1 *שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים וְשָׁנָה* 127 years, cf. Gen. 5, 6 sq.

Rem. 1. Apropos the position of the numerals, it is to be noted that the *thousands* regularly *precede* the hundreds, etc., and the hundreds the smaller numbers, while the *units*, on the contrary (according to § 97, 3, Note 2, especially in later texts) regularly *precede* the *tens*. The smaller numerals frequently follow the hundreds *asyndetically* (without !).

On the syntax of the cardinal numbers:

2. The determination of the cardinals by the article is effected whenever they (excluding their connection with a numbered object, cf. Josh. 4, 4) refer back to an immediately preceding enumeration, e. g. Gen. 14, 9 *four kings* (fought) *with the five* (mentioned in vs. 2), cf. 1 Chr. 11, 20 sq. for the definite tens, Gen. 18, 29, 31 sq. A demonstrative with the article may be readily used with such a definite numeral, e. g. Deut. 19, 9 (but cf. Gen. 9, 19; 22, 23, where numeral and demonstrative appear as if they were in themselves definite). With the numerals 11–19 the article may precede either the unit (1 Chr. 25, 19; 27, 15) or *גָּשָׁר* (Josh. 4, 4); in Num. 3, 46 it precedes both members of the compound numeral (73). In (appositional) connection with any definite

substantives we find the cardinal number *without* the article not only when preceding the substantive as in Josh. 15, 14 אֶת-שְׁלוֹשָׁה בְּנֵי הַיַּעֲקֹב (where שְׁלוֹשָׁה seems to be in itself definite, cf. on this point Gen. 18, 28; 1 Sam. 17, 14 and the cases noted above § 126, 5, Rem. 1, a, Gen. 21, 29 etc.) but also when following it, e. g. 1 K. 7, 27, 43 sq. (עֶשְׂרֹת and עֶשְׂרֵה; the omission of the article, as in the instances mentioned in § 126, Rem. 1, b, could be due to a dislike of a hiatus. In Num. 28, 4; 1 Sam. 17, 3 sq.; Jer. 24, 2; Ezek. 10, 9 אַחֶר for the otherwise usual הָאֶחָד could thus be easily explained).

Cases like שְׁבַע הַיָּמִים Judg. 14, 17 (determination by means of a following definite genitive) may be explained by § 127, 5 (but in 1 Sam. 9, 20 and 25, 38 the article should with *Wellhausen* be omitted).

3. Certain *measure, weight or time* indications are usually omitted after the numerals, e. g. Gen. 20, 16 אֶלֶף כֶּכֶף thousand (shekels) silver; also before יָהֵב 1 K. 10, 16; cf. Ps. 119, 72. Furthermore Ruth 3, 15 שֵׁשׁ עֶשְׂרִים six (ephahs) barley; 1 Sam. 17, 17 עֶשְׂרֵה לָחֶם ten (sc. according to 10, 3 loaves) of bread; cf. 2 Sam. 16, 1 where before קֵץ there is to be supplied a measure or perhaps an idea, like *cake*.—Statements of cubits in the Priest-codex (Ex. 26, 2 al.) and in 1 K. 6 and 7 (besides, only in Ezek. 40, 5, 21; 47, 3; Zech. 5, 2; 1 Chr. 11, 23; 2 Chr. 4, 2 sq.) are usually given by the addition of בָּאַמָּה (lit. *by the cubit*).

4. There are no special forms for the *ordinals* above 10, those being indicated by the corresponding cardinals (preceding or following the object numbered), e. g. Gen. 7, 11 בְּשִׁבְעָה בָּיּוֹם עָשָׂר on the seventeenth day; Deut. 1, 3 בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה in the fortieth year, cf. Gen. 14, 5; 2 K. 25, 27, and with repeated שָׁנָה in compound numerals, 1 K. 6, 1; such a cardinal is found without בָּ (in *accus. temporis*, § 118, 3) in Gen. 14, 4 (but the Samaritan has ושבֵּלשׁ); with the article (but without the object numbered, vid. above, No. 3, Rem. 2) in 1 K. 19, 19.¹ For the position of the numeral after the noun (as genitive) cf. e. g. 1 K. 16, 10 בְּשָׁנַת עֶשְׂרִים וְשִׁבְעָה in the 27th year, and with a definite numeral Ex. 12, 18; Num. 33, 38. Frequently in this case, however, שָׁנָה follows, e. g. Gen. 7, 11; 2 K. 13, 10, after a definite numeral in Lev. 25, 10.²

¹ Of a different character is Ex. 19, 15 *be ready* לְשִׁלֹּשֶׁת יָמִים lit. *upon three days* = *on the 3d day* (in vss. 11 and 16 we find the ordinal) and 1 Sam. 30, 13 *he left me* שְׁלֹשָׁה הַיּוֹם *to-day three (days)* = *to-day it is the 3d day since*.

² This whole idiom can be so explained that Lev. 25, 10, for example, could

Rem. In enumerations of the days of the month or year, even for the numerals 1-10 the cardinals in place of the ordinals are very often used, e. g. בְּשֵׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם 1 K. 15, 25; בִּשְׁלֹשׁ 2 K. 18, 1, etc.; cf. Deut. 15, 9. The months themselves are always given as ordinals (בְּרֵאשִׁי, בְּרֵאשִׁיטוֹן etc. to בְּעָשְׂרִי), on the contrary, however, the days of the month בְּאַחַד לַחֹדֶשׁ Gen. 8, 5 al.; בְּאַרְבַּעָה לַח' Zeck. 7, 1; בְּחִמְשָׁה לַח' Ezek. 1, 1 al.; בְּשִׁבְעָה לַח' 2 K. 25, 8; בְּהִשָּׁעָה לַח' Lev. 23, 32 (always, however, בְּעָשְׂרִי *on the tenth day of the month*). For the omission of יוֹם in these cases, see No. 3, Rem. 3; only in later passages is יוֹם annexed, e. g. 2 Chr. 29, 17 בְּיוֹם שְׁמוֹנָה לַח'; Ezra 3, 6 מִיּוֹם אַחֶד לַח'. When, finally, statements of years even in connection with בְּשֵׁנַת follow definite ordinals, e. g. 2 K. 17, 6 בְּשֵׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית *in the ninth year* (cf. Jer. 51, 59; Ezra 7, 8), בְּשֵׁנַת (vid. the 2d foot-note to No. 4) is to be explained by § 128, 2, d. This too makes it clear why the Massora requires in Jer. 28, 1; 32, 1 בְּשֵׁנָה for בְּשֵׁנַת in *Qeré*.

5. *Distributives* are expressed either by the repetition of the cardinals, e. g. Gen. 7, 9, 15 שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם *two by two*; 2 Sam. 21, 20 שֵׁשׁ וְשֵׁשׁ *six by six* (also with the mentioned object, Josh. 3, 12 לְשִׁבְטֵי אִישׁ אֶחָד אִישׁ *one man from each tribe*; Num. 13, 2; 34, 18 [אֶחָד מִן] like Neh. 11, 1 *one of every ten*]; cf. on this point § 123, d, 2) or by an emphatic periphrasis לְאֶחָד, Num. 17, 18; Deut. 1, 23; cf. Isa. 6, 2 (לְאֶחָד after a twice repeated *six wings*); the simple *distributive* לְ as in לְמֵאוֹת וְלָאֲלָפִים *after hundreds and thousands* is sometimes sufficient (as in לְבָקָרִים § 123, d, 1).

6. The *multiplicatives* are expressed (like the ordinals above 10, vid. No. 4) either by the cardinals (שְׁתַּיִם *two times* Job 40, 5; שִׁבְעֵי *seven times* Lev. 26, 21, 24; Prov. 24, 16; cf. also אֶחָת *once* 2 K. 6, 10; Job 40, 5 whence Job 33, 14 בְּאַחַת¹ with בְּשְׁתַּיִם; also 1 Sam. 18, 21) or by the *dual* of the numeral (so שִׁבְעָתַיִם Gen. 4, 15, vs. 24 with the cardinal 77 = 77 times); Isa. 30, 26; Ps. 12, 7; 79, 12; אַרְבַּעָתַיִם 2 Sam. 12, 6;² or by the periphrasis פַּעַם *times* (lit. *step*, with the

literally mean, *the year of the* thereby completed 50 years = the 50th year; it would be more correct, however, to consider בְּשֵׁנַת and שְׁנַת in all these cases as not actual governing nouns, but merely as connecting forms, to be explained by analogy with the cases mentioned in § 128, 2, d.

¹ But בְּאַחַת Num. 10, 4 means *on one* (trumpet).

² בְּכִפְלֵים in Job 11, 6 (*doubling* of כִּפְלֵים) doubtless means *multiplicity* rather than *the doubled*.

article *הפעם* *this time*; cf. also *הואַת בפעם* with *בְּ*, as *בְּאַחַת* above) *פעם אחת* *once* (Neh. 13, 20 *פעם וּשְׁתַּיִם* *once and twice*), *פעמים* *twice*, *שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים* (whence Ex. 23, 14; Num. 22, 28, 32 *שְׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים* 'ש' *thrice*; cf. Ezek. 41, 6 (33 times); 2 Sam. 24, 3 (100 times); Deut. 1, 11 (1000 times); 1 K. 22, 16 *עַד-כַּמָּה פַּעַם* *to so many times*, i. e. *so and so often*. In Gen. 43, 34 *fivefold* is expressed by *חֲמֵשׁ יָדוֹת* (lit. *five hands*);¹ in Ex. 16, 5 the double is indicated by *מְשֻׁנָּה עָלַי* (lit. *repetition of that, which*, etc.). Of the ordinals, we find a numerical adverb in *שְׁנִית* *for the second time* Gen. 22, 15; Jer. 13, 3 (cf. Latin, *tertium consul*).

Rem. Within the province of Rhetoric must be classed the combination of any number with the next higher — whether in the same or in a different clause — in so-called proverbial numbers, to express a desirable and not very definite number. The context must show whether or not reference is had in this form to only a few (e. g. Isa. 17, 6, *two, at most three*) or to a greater number (e. g. Mic. 5, 4). Sometimes the combination serves merely to express an indefinite number, without any idea of the advance from the lower to the higher number. So we find connected by ! 1 and 2 in Deut. 32, 30, Jer. 3, 14, Job 33, 14, 40, 5 (asynd. Ps. 62, 12); 2 and 3 in Isa. 17, 6, Sir. 23, 16, 26, 28 (asynd. 2 K. 9, 32, Hos. 6, 2, Amos 4, 8); 3 and 4 in Jer. 36, 23, Amos 1, 3–11, Prov. 30, 18, 21, 29, Sir. 26, 5 (asynd. Prov. 30, 15); 4 and 5 asynd. in Isa. 17, 6; 6 and 7 in Job 5, 19, Prov. 6, 16; 7 and 8 in Mic. 5, 4, Eccl. 11, 2; 9 and 10 in Sir. 25, 7.

III. SYNTAX OF THE PRONOUN.

§ 135.

THE PERSONAL PRONOUN.

1. The so-called *pronomina separata* regularly serve, irrespective of their use as the subject of a nominal sentence (cf. § 142) and of the idiom mentioned in No. 2, according to § 32, 2, expressly to emphasize the subject in question; e. g. Gen. 16, 5 (*אֲנִי* = *I myself*, also *אֲנִי* Ezek. 34, 15; Ps. 2,

¹ But *הַיָּדוֹת אַרְבַּע* Gen. 47, 24 means (*the other*) *four-fifths*; cf. 2 K. 11, 7; Neh. 11, 1.

6;¹ but Isa. 45, 12 אֲנִי *I* and no one else!); אָתָּה Gen. 15, 15; Judg. 15, 18; 1 K. 21, 7; אָתָּם Gen. 9, 7 (after the verb in Judg. 15, 12; *fem.* in Gen. 31, 6; cf. also אֲנִי אֲנִי *I, I*, Hos. 5, 14 al. Occasionally the separate pronoun seems to precede the verb more for the sake of rhythm (i. e. in order to give a more resonant tone in place of the naked verbal form). So we find Gen. 14, 23; Ps. 139, 2 and especially in cases like Gen. 21, 24; 47, 30 (in solemn promises). At the beginning of clauses אֲנִי may be similarly explained, Gen. 24, 45; Hos. 5, 3; 10, 11; 12, 11; Ps. 39, 11; 82, 6.²

Rem. 1. Of another nature is (according to *Delitzsch* on Cant. 5, 5 colloquially arisen) the pleonastic addition of the pronoun immediately after the verb, e. g. Cant. 5, 5 and (analogous to other indications of a very late origin of the book) very frequently in Eccl. (1, 16; 2, 1, 11, 15; 3, 17 sq., etc., cf. *Delitzsch*, Cant. and *Koheleth* p. 207; in Aramaic Dan. 5, 16).

2. Quite frequently substantive subjects are repeated by the corresponding pronouns of the 3d person before the addition of the predicate, e. g. Gen. 3, 12 *the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she* (הִיא) *gave me*, etc.; 14, 24 (הֵם); 15, 4; 24, 7, etc. (but Isa. 7, 14 הוּא after predicate and subject = *he himself*).³

2. Occasionally the pronoun serves strongly to emphasize a preceding suffix of the same person (sometimes also a succeeding one), whether the latter be annexed (as accusative) to a verb or (as a genitive) to a noun or a preposition. Such an emphasis is usually rendered by greater stress of voice or by repetition of words (cf. the French *mon livre à moi*). The pronoun, moreover, is in such a case not to be considered perhaps as in an *oblique case* (accusative or genitive), but as

¹ Also הוּא, הִיא *he himself, she herself* (of persons and things), e. g. Isa. 7, 14 (אֲרֵנִי הוּא) *the Lord himself*; Esth. 9, 1 הַיְּהוּדִים הֵמָּה *the Jews themselves*. In the sense of *the same* (ὁ αὐτός) or *one and the same* we find הוּא in Isa. 41, 4; 43, 10, 13; 46, 4; 48, 12 (throughout אֲנִי הוּא), Ps. 102, 28 (אָתָּה הוּא) and also Job 3, 19,

² Even on the Moabite Inscription we frequently find (as in line 21) אֲנִי at the beginning of new periods after marks of separation.

³ Analogous to this is the continuation of a noun dependent upon a preposition by means of a pronominal suffix in union with the same preposition (e. g. Gen. 2, 17; 2 Sam. 6, 22; 2 K. 22, 18) or of an object by means of the *nota accus.* אֶת with a suffix, e. g. 1 Sam. 15, 9; 8, 13.

the subject of an independent sentence whose predicate must be supplied from the context.

Examples of this emphasis:

a) of a verbal suffix by אָנִי (אֲנִי) Gen. 27, 34 בְּרַכְנִי גַם-אָנִי *bless me now also* (lit. *bless me, even I wish to be blessed*); Zech. 7, 5; cf. also Ezek. 34, 11, 20 (הִנְנִי אָנִי); by אַתָּה (אַתָּה) Prov. 22, 19. The pronoun *precedes* in Gen. 49, 8 (אַתָּה not: *Judah, thou art, but thee, thee, etc.!*) and Eccl. 2, 15 (גַּם אָנִי).¹

b) of a pronominal suffix with a substantive by אָנִי 2 Sam. 19, 1; Prov. 23, 15, perhaps also Lam. 1, 16 (against the accents); by אַתָּה 1 K. 21, 19 אַתָּה גַם-אֶת-דָּמְךָ *also thy blood!* 2 Sam. 17, 5; Jer. 27, 7, Mic. 7, 3; אֲנִיחֵנִי 1 Sam. 20, 42 (after שְׁנִינִי, otherwise without special emphasis); Neh. 5, 2 (?); אַתָּם Num. 14, 32; הֵם Ps. 38, 11 (without special emphasis); הִמָּה Ps. 9, 7. The pronoun *precedes* in Isa. 45, 12; 1 Chr. 28, 2 (אָנִי); Ezek. 33, 17 (הִמָּה).

c) of a suffix connected with a preposition 1 Sam. 25, 24 (בִּי אָנִי *upon me, me!*), 2 Chr. 35, 21 (לֹא-עָלֶיךָ אַתָּה *not against thee*); 1 Sam. 19, 23 (בִּי אֲתָנִי אֲנִיחֵנִי *but with us*); Hag. 1, 4 (לָכֶם אַתָּם *you, you!*), Jer. 25, 19 (בָּכֶם גַּם-הִמָּה). In Mic. 5, 1 (אֲתָה...קִפְךָ) and 2 Chr. 28, 10 (אַתָּם עִמָּכֶם) the pronoun *precedes*.

In accordance with the same rule we may also explain Gen. 4, 26 לְשֵׁת גַּם-הוּא *to Seth even to him* (not גַּם-לוֹ); cf. 10, 21 and Ex. 35, 24.

3. The *oblique cases* of the personal pronouns expressed by a preposition (or the *nota accus.* אֶת) with suffix may be used in a demonstrative as well as a reflexive sense;² so לוֹ *to him*, also *himself* (*sibi*), e. g. Judg. 3, 16 Ehud made לוֹ *him a sword*, cf. Gen. 33, 17; also לָהּ *sibi* Isa. 3, 9; אִתּוֹ *with him* and (Gen. 22, 3) *with himself*; עִמָּה *with her* and (1 Sam. 1, 24) *with herself*; אֵלָיו *to him* and (Gen. 8, 9) *to himself*; apparently pleonastic, as the so-called *ethical dative* (vid. § 119, 3, c, 2) in Job 12, 11; 13, 1. Rarely (because regularly expressed by the reflexive conjugations *Niphāl* and *Hithpāēl*,³) and then only when express emphasis is desired, is the *accusative* of the

¹ In Gen. 24, 27 אֲנִי does not serve to emphasize the following suffix; it is rather to be considered analogous to the cases mentioned above in Rem. 2, Note.

² As in Luther's Bible, *jm, jr* for *sich*; in the English Bible, *him, her* for *himself, herself*.

³ According to § 51, 2, c, *Niph.* (as also *Hithpa.*, § 54, 3, c) may include the dative of the reflexive pronoun.

reflexive pronoun indicated by the *nota accus.* אֶת with a suffix ; so אָתּוֹ (*himself* and his dwelling) 2 Sam. 15, 25 ; אָתָם *se ipsos* Ex. 5, 19 ; Jer. 7, 19 (in sharp contrast to הָאֲתִי) ; Ezek. 34, 2, 8, 10 (cf. on this point § 57 with Note 2).

Rem. With a similar emphasis we find in Isa. 49, 26 בָּשָׂרָם and דָּמָם in the sense of *their own flesh, their own blood*. For the occasional demonstrative and occasional reflexive meaning of the pronominal suffixes of the 3d pers. sing. and plu. cf. § 91, 4 ; for other expressions of the idea of *self*, vid. § 139, 2.

4. The *possessive pronouns* are, according to § 33, 2, *b*, indicated¹ by the (genitive) *suffixa nominum* ; the latter may represent either a *subjective genitive* or (analogous to the genitive proper, § 128, 2, *b*) an *objective genitive*, e. g. הַמָּסִי *the wrong against me* Gen. 16, 5 ; Jer. 51, 35 ; cf. Gen. 9, 2 ; 18, 21 ; 27, 13 (2 Sam. 16, 12 Keth) ; Gen. 30, 23 ; 39, 21 (cf. Ex. 3, 21 al.) 50, 4 ; Ex. 20, 20 ; 21, 35 ; Judg. 13, 12 (מַעֲשָׂאוֹ *what is to be his work ?*) ; Isa. 56, 7 ; Nah. 3, 19 ; Job 20, 29 ; 23, 14 ; 34, 6 ; cf. also the pregnant use in Ps. 20, 3 יִשְׁלַח עֲזָרְךָ *he will send thy help (help for thee) = he will send thee help*.²

5. When the genitive following a *construct state* (§ 128, 2, *h* and *i*), is used in the description of a material or quality, the pronominal suffix, which properly belongs to the whole idea (indicated by the governing noun and the genitive), is used (analogous to the position of the article, § 127), with the second substantive (the genitive) e. g. הַר-קְדָּשִׁי (lit. the mount of my holiness) = *my holy mount* Ps. 2, 6 al. ; עִיר קְדֹשָׁךְ *thy holy city* Dan. 9, 24 ; אֱלִילֵי כֶסֶף *his silver idols* Isa. 2, 20 ; 30,

¹ Like the substantive genitives (§ 129 2), the *possessive pronouns* may also be paraphrased by relative sentences, e. g. Ruth 2, 21 הַנְּעָרִים אֲשֶׁר לִי *the servants who are to me = my servants* ; so especially, when the substantive which should be connected with the genitive suffix, already has a genitive, e. g. 1 Sam. 17, 40 But in such a case the suffix is sometimes pleonastic, e. g. Cant. 1, 6 כְּרָמִי שְׁלִי *my vineyard, which (belongs) to me* ; cf. 3, 7 and the analogous pleonasms 2 Sam. 22, 2 (but vid. Ps. 18, 2) and Ps. 27, 2.

² Cf. the similar pregnant use in Isa. 1, 26 וְאֲשִׁיבָה שִׁפְטֶיךָ = *and I will restore to thee judges, etc.*

22; 31, 7;¹ cf. Deut. 1, 41; Isa. 9, 3; 28, 4; 41, 11; Ezek. 9, 1 sq.; Ps. 41, 10; 150, 1; Job 18, 7 (צַעְרֵי אֹנִן *his mighty steps*); 38, 6; after a *nomen regens* used adjectively Isa. 13, 3 (Zeph. 3, 11) נִצְחָתוֹ עָלָיו *rejoicing in his highness*. According to the same analogy in Isa. 56, 7 (though the genitive does not describe a peculiarity) בֵּית הַפֻּלְחִי = *my house of prayer*.

Rem. 1. Because of an error presumably transferred from the colloquial to the written language *masculine suffixes* (especially in the plural) occasionally refer to feminine substantives; so pronominal suffixes in sing. Judg. 11, 34;² in the plu. Gen. 31, 9; 32, 16; 41, 23; Ex. 1, 21; 2, 17; Num. 36, 6; Judg. 19, 24; 21, 22; 1 Sam. 6, 10 (בְּנֵיהֶם); Isa. 3, 16, Amos 4, 1 sq. (finally fem. suffix); Job 1, 14; 39, 3 (חֲכָלֵיהֶם parallel with יִלְדֵיהֶן); Cant. 4, 2; 6, 6; Ruth 1, 8 sq. (mixed with fem. suffixes); verbal suffixes in sing., Ex. 22, 25; in pl., Judg. 16, 3; Prov. 6, 21; Job 1, 15. (But Gen. 26, 15, 18; 33, 13; Ex. 2, 17; 1 Sam. 6, 10 are to be explained according to § 60, Rem. 6). For הִפָּה as *fem.* vid. § 32, Rem. 7; for the *masc.* as *genus potius* vid. § 122, 2, Rem. 2.

2. The suffix of the 3d sing. *fem.* refers back sometimes to complete sentences (corresponding to the German *es*); so in the verbal suffix in Gen. 15, 6; Isa. 30, 8; Amos 8, 10; cf. Gen. 24, 14 (בָּה *therefore*); 47, 26; Ex. 10, 11 (אֲתָה *es*). Elsewhere the plural of things (2 K. 3, 3; Jer. 36, 23; Job 6, 20; 39, 15 although preceded by תַּחֲסִים) or of the names of animals (Isa. 35, 7) is indicated by the suffix of the 3d sing. *fem.* *Vice versa* we find in Gen. 15, 23; Num. 16, 3; 1 Sam. 2, 8 pl. suffixes referring back to collective singulars.³ But in Deut. 21, 10 the suffix in נִתְּנוֹ acquires the collective force in אִיְיָ; Jon. 1, 3 עֲמָהֶם refers to the sailors contained in sense in אֲנִיָּה; in Josh. 2, 4 read וַתִּצְפְּנֶם.

3. In some instances the meaning of the pronominal suffix or possessive pronoun is so weakened, that all knowledge of it seems almost to have disappeared from the language. So in אֲדֹנִי *my Lord* from the plu. of authority אֲדֹנִים (§ 124, 1, c) with the suffix of the 1st sing. (always with Qāmēts, thus distinguished from אֲדֹנִי *my lords*; Gen. 19, 2) is used exclusively in reference to God, but not in direct address (Gen. 15, 2; 18, 3; Ps. 35, 23), and finally (but vid. note below) without any reference to the pronoun = *the Lord*⁴ (on אֲדֹנִי as the so-

¹ But in prose, Gen. 44, 2 אֶת-קִבְעִי נִבֵּיעַ הַכֶּסֶף *my goblet, the silver goblet*.

² The Massora gives six מִפְּנֵי for which מִפְּנֶה would be expected except Judg. 11, 34 (where the text is hardly reliable); Ex. 25, 15 (?); Lev. 6, 8; 7, 18; 27, 9; Josh. 1, 7; but all these cases can be otherwise explained.

³ In 2 K. 7, 10 for שָׁעַר (LXX reads שַׁעַר) read שַׁעֲרִי.

⁴ Cf. the same weakening of meaning of the possessive pronoun in רַבִּי *my master*; since the second century A.D., also *the master*; so also in Syriac מֵרִי *my*

called *Qerê perpetuum* of the Massorites for יהוה, vid. §§ 17 and 102, 2, Rem.).

A similar weakening of the suffix idea occurs in יְחִדִּי (lit. *in his connections* = *he*, etc., *together with*, e. g. כָּל-הָעָם יְחִדִּי Ex. 19, 8, then without reference even to the suffix of the 1st pers. 'אֲנִי 1 K. 3, 18 (relative to two women); Isa. 41, 1; Job 9, 32; Neh. 6, 2, 7; after the 2d pers. Isa. 45, 20 al. Furthermore we find כָּלָם lit. *their totality*; also after the 2d pers. = *all together*, in 1 K. 22, 28; Mic. 1, 2 (*hear, ye people, all of you*), also before the 2d pers. in Job 17, 10. For the meaningless suffix in הָעֶרְכָּךְ Lev. 27, 23 al., cf. § 127, 4, b.

§ 136.

THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN.

The *demonstrative pronoun* זֶה (fem. זוֹה, pl. אֵלֶּה § 34), *hic, haec (hoc), hi*, etc., and the *personal pronoun* הוּא (fem. הִיא, pl. הֵמָּה, fem. הֵנָּה, § 32, 2) = *is, ea (id)* or *ille*, etc., *ii, eae* or *illi*, etc., used as a demonstrative are distinguished from each other in that זֶה (like *hic, ὃς*) almost invariably relates to a person or thing present, whereas הוּא (like *is, ille, αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος*) relates to a person or thing already mentioned (vid. examples).¹

Rem. 1. For the preceding, cf. the instructive examples in Gen. 32, 3; Judg. 7, 4 *of whom I will tell thee: this one (זֶה) shall go with thee,*

lord, and as title, *the lord*; in the Italian *madonna*, Fr. *madame, Notre Dame, monsieur, monseigneur*, etc. It is very doubtful, however, whether or not the constant distinction between אֱלֹהֵינוּ as a sacred name and אֱלֹהֵינוּ as a profane appellation is due to an arbitrary agreement on the part of the later rabbis. G. H. Dalman, *der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Geschichte* (Berl., 1889), in a profound investigation, clearly shows that, with the exception of the Book of Daniel and the eight critically suspected passages where אֱלֹהֵינוּ appears to be used by God, there is never any necessity of regarding the suffix as *entirely* devoid of meaning; since אֱ is always used either in direct address or (like אֱלֹהֵינוּ, which is neither a phrase nor a title) in reverential discourse about God, as the lord of the speaker, analogous to the Assyrian *beli-ia, my lord*. Against the supposition that this distinction between אֱלֹהֵינוּ and אֱלֹהֵינוּ was originally observed, it is especially to be noticed that, excepting the connection of suffixes of God, the sing. אֱלֹהֵינוּ is always used (not the plural of authority, which would simply beg the question for אֱלֹהֵינוּ).

¹ For זֶה, הוּא used alone as if in themselves definite, cf. § 125, 3; for the determination of the adjectives used as demonstratives, cf. § 126, 5.

that one (הוא) goes with thee (so also when negative); furthermore הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה = *this day* = to-day, the very day in which one speaks or writes (Gen. 26, 33 al.), but הַיּוֹם הַהוּא means the day or the time of which the narrator speaks (Gen. 15, 18; 26, 32) or the prophet has prophesied (Isa. 5, 30; 7, 18, 20 sq.), and thus continues to speak or to prophesy. But we find, to be sure, in certain usual combinations יָהּ אֵלֶּה where we should naturally expect הוּא הַיּוֹם and *vice versâ*; so almost invariably הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, plu. הַיּוֹמִים הָאֵלֶּה, but הַיּוֹמִים הַהֵם (or הֵם הַיּוֹמִים); in Zech. 8, 9, 15 הָאֵלֶּה (Esth. 1, 5; 9, 28 הָאֵלֶּה).

2. Both וְהָ and הוּא are occasionally used almost as enclitics somewhat as adverbs, to strengthen interrogative words (analogous to the Latin *nam* in *quisnam*; cf. also *quis tandem*), e. g. Job 38, 2 מִי וְהָ *who then* (darkens, etc.) . . . ? Isa. 63, 1; Ps. 24, 8; 25, 12 al.; מַה-וְהָ *what then* (1 Sam. 10, 11), *how then* (Gen. 27, 30) *why then?* (Judg. 18, 24); before the verb עָשָׂה, usually מַה-וְהָ Gen. 3, 13; 12, 18; Ex. 14, 5; Judg. 15, 11; לָמָּה-וְהָ *why then?* or *for what?* Gen. 18, 13; 25, 22; 1 Sam. 17, 28 al. So also מִי-הוּא Isa. 50, 9; Job 4, 7; but in the more pertinent question מִי הוּא-וְהָ Ps. 24, 10; Jer. 30, 21, וְהָ only should be regarded as an enclitical adverb (as above), but הוּא as a reference pronoun (and substitute for the copula).

3. וְהָ, at once adverbial and enclitic (vid. Rem. 2, above) is used a) as a local reference in cases like Gen. 27, 21 וְהָ וְגַ' הָאֵתָה *whether thou art my son Esau*, etc.; וְהָ הִנֵּה *behold there* 1 K. 19, 5; Isa. 21, 9¹; b) as a temporal reference in וְהָ עַתָּה *now* 1 K. 17, 24 (2 K. 5, 22 *even now*), and in the frequent use of numerical ideas; e. g. Gen. 27, 36 וְהָ פַעַמִּים *now these two times*; cf. 31, 38; Job 1, 12; 7, 3; 19, 3; separated from the number in Gen. 31, 41 וְהָ-לִי (abbreviated form for *this*, i. e. the present period of time *I have*, i. e. 20 years are ended, etc.; the other examples are due to a similar abbreviation).

§ 137.

THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN.

The *interrogative pronoun* מִי *who?* refers equally to masculine or feminine persons (Cant. 3, 6), or to a plural,

¹ It is very doubtful whether or not וְהָ in Ps. 104, 25 (וְהָ הַיָּם), Isa. 23, 13 (וְהָ הַיָּם), Ps. 68, 9 (וְהָ הַיָּם) may without further discussion be regarded according to the customary explanation as a preceding particle used for the sake of perspicuity (*the sea there . . .*, etc.). In Ps. 104, 25 הַיָּם (unless in apposition with וְהָ; cf. § 126, 5, Rem. 2, also Zech. 7, 5 where אֲשֶׁה א' is in apposition with וְהָ dependent upon הַיָּם) is considered as subject = *this is the sea* (which then becomes *there is the sea*). So we would explain Isa. 23, 13 and Ps. 68, 9; but in both passages the text is scarcely reliable.

e. g. *מי אתם* *who are ye?* Josh. 9, 8; *מי-אלה* Gen. 33, 15; Num. 22, 9 (more directly Ex. 10, 8 *מי וְמי*, i. e. *who in particular?*); it also refers to neuter nouns when the underlying idea is, nevertheless, personal, e. g. *מי-שכם* *who are the Shechemites?* Judg. 9, 28; 13, 17; Gen. 33, 8; Mic. 1, 5 (more boldly with repetition of a *מי* used personally 1 Sam. 18, 18; 2 Sam. 7, 18). Furthermore, *מי* is used in the logical genitive, e. g. *בת-מי אתה* *whose daughter art thou?* Gen. 24, 23; 1 Sam. 17, 55, 56, 58; *דבר מי* *whose word?* Jer. 44, 28; 1 Sam. 12, 3; in the accusative *אח-מי* *quemnam?* 1 Sam. 28, 11; Isa. 6, 8; with prepositions, e. g. *במי* 1 K. 20, 14 (in an abrupt question = *through whom?*); *למי* Gen. 32, 18; *אחרי מי* 1 Sam. 24, 15. The pronoun *מה, מה, מה* *what?* is used as a nominative, as an accusative (vid. examples, § 37), as a genitive (Jer. 8, 9), and with a preposition, e. g. *על-מה* *whereupon* (Job 38, 6)? *why?* *על-מה* *quousque* Ps. 74, 9.

Rem. Both *מי* and *מה* are used in indirect questions (cf. for the merely relative justification of the distinction between direct and indirect questions, *Interrogative Sentences*, § 150), e. g. Gen. 43, 22; Ex. 32, 1. The use of *מי* and *מה* as *indefinite pronouns* depends upon their rendering as interrogative words (= *quisquis, quodcunque* or *quicquam*), e. g. Judg. 7, 3; 1 Sam. 20, 4; even *שֶׁכִּרְוֹ-מי* *beware, whoever it be. . .!* 2 Sam. 18, 12; also *מה* (= *anything else*) Job 13, 13; 2 Sam. 18, 22, 23; cf. Num. 23, 3 *יִרְאֵנִי מה-וְדָבָר* *and whatever he wishes to show me*. A still greater weakening of the *indefinite* use of *מה* is the compound *שֶׁ-מה* = *that which* Eccl. 1, 9; 3, 15 (like the Syriac *ܡܐ ܕ*). On *מאומה* *quidquam, anything* (usually with the negative) or adverbially, *any way* (1 Sam. 21, 3) vid. Lexicon.

§ 138.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN.

1. The indeclinable *אשר* (cf. § 36) is frequently used only as a sign of relation¹ in order to give to the following

¹ The question whether the use of *אשר* as mere *nota relationis* or as an actual relative pronoun (*he that, who*) be the original one, depends upon its doubtful

adverbs and pronouns a relative meaning; e. g. *שָׁם* there, *אֲשֶׁר-שָׁם* where; *שָׁמָּה* thither, *ש-א' ש' whither*; *מִשָּׁם* from there, thence; *מִמָּשָׁם* from where, whence. The oblique cases of the relative pronoun particularly are represented by *אֲשֶׁר* with the following pronominal suffix as its complement:—

Dative *לָּו* to him — *לָּו 'א* to whom; *לָּהֶם*, *לָּהֶן* to them — *לָּהֶם 'א*, *לָּהֶן 'א* to whom.

Accusative *אֹתוֹ*, *אֹתָהּ* him, her — *אֹתוֹ 'א*, *אֹתָהּ 'א* quem, quam.¹ With a preposition *בּוֹ* in him, therein — *בּוֹ 'א* in which, wherein — *מִמֶּנּוּ* from him — *מִמֶּנּוּ 'א* from whom.²

Genitive *אֲשֶׁר לְשֹׁנוֹ* whose language Deut. 28, 49.

The accusative *quem*, *quam* (*quod*) may also be expressed merely by *אֲשֶׁר* (often preceded by the *nota accus.* *אֵת* 1 Sam. 16, 3; Jer. 45, 4; Mic. 6, 1; Zech. 12, 10), e. g. Gen. 2, 2 (means: his work, which he had made); *אֲשֶׁר*, moreover, is occasionally used absolutely, where a preposition with a suffix would be expected as the complement: Gen. 3, 11 ('א = *in*

etymology. Nöldeke ZDMG, 1886, p. 738, opposes the identification of 'א (as an original substantive) with the Arab. 'atar, mark, Aram. אֶתֶר place, mark, holding that the expression *mark of* . . . cannot well have become a relative conjunction; and that the meaning *place* has been developed only in the Aramaic, which did not at all know this relative. According to others, 'א is properly a demonstrative or a compound of several pronominal roots (cf. Sperling, *die nota relationis im Hebr.* Leipz. 1876). According to F. Hommel (ZDMG, Bd. 32, p. 708 sq.) 'א as an original substantive should be separated from *אֶשׁ* and *אֶשׁ* as an original pronominal stem), but should, however, at present, serve as *nota relationis* or (as sometimes also וְהוּא, וְהִיא, vid. below, No. 3) even as relative pronoun.

¹ The complement of *אֲשֶׁר* may, of course, in this case also stand in a verbal suffix, e. g. Isa. 37, 4 שְׁלַח 'א quem miserat. The repetition of the substantive in question (but in Gen. 13, 16 'א is interpreted rather as a final conjunction, vid. final clauses § 165, 2) in place of the pronominal complement in Gen. 49, 3; 50, 13; Jer. 31, 32 (throughout by a further separation of 'א from the governing substantive) is rather unusual.

אֲשֶׁר is very rarely (as an independent relative pronoun, corresponding to the German idiom) joined immediately to a preposition as in *עִם אֲשֶׁר* with whom Gen. 31, 32 for *עִם 'א* (cf. 44, 9 sq. אֶתֶּן 'א in a similar sense); *כָּאֲשֶׁר* Isa. 47, 12 and 56, 4 for *כָּהֵם 'א*. Of an entirely different nature are the cases mentioned in No. 2, when 'א after a preposition includes also a demonstrative pronoun.

reference to whom); 43, 27; 45, 6. The demonstrative complement is readily added, especially in negative clauses, to the nominative אֲשֶׁר. So הוּא Gen. 17, 12; הִיא 7, 2; הַמָּה 1 K. 9, 20; הֵנָּה Ex. 20, 15 (but cf. also Gen. 9, 3 הִיא; 2 K. 22, 13 הִיא) and § 141, 3, *a*, Rem. 1.

Rem. 1. Like the *oblique cases* of the 3d pers. of personal pronouns (vid. above, לוֹ אֲשֶׁר etc.) those also of the 1st and 2d persons may be transposed¹ by placing אֲשֶׁר in relative pronouns first, e. g. Gen. 45, 4 אֲשֶׁר-מָכַרְתָּם אֹתִי (*I am Joseph*) whom ye have sold; Num. 22, 30; Isa. 49, 23; Isa. 41, 8 אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּיךָ (thou) whom I have chosen; Jer. 32, 19 (thou whose . . .); Eccl. 10, 16 sq.

2. אֲשֶׁר is generally separated by several words from the pronoun or adverb which serves as its complement; e. g. הָיָה שָׁם א'-הָיָה שָׁם where was Gen. 13, 3. More rarely both stand together, like א'-בֹּו Gen. 1, 29; 6, 17; א' לָהֶם Deut. 19, 17; א'-שָׁם Gen. 2, 11.

2. Frequently אֲשֶׁר (from our point of view) contains in it also a demonstrative preceding the relative = *he (the one) who* (as in Latin *qui* for *is qui*). The demonstrative, as well as the relative, may then according to the context be considered as well in the nominative as in the accusative (the former governed by a preposition or a noun in the genitive); e. g. Num. 22, 6 וְאֲשֶׁר הָאָרַךְ and (he) whom thou cursest (is cursed); Isa. 52, 15 אֲשֶׁר לֹא-שָׁמְעוּ (that, accusative) which they have not heard; Ps. 69, 5. This is especially true when governed by a preposition, e. g. לְאֲשֶׁר (Gen. 44, 4; 2 K. 10, 22) = *ei, qui, quae* or *ei, quem*, etc., also *iis qui, quae*, etc.; מֵאֲשֶׁר (e. g. Ruth 2, 9) *ab eo qui, quem*, etc., or *ab iis qui, quos*, etc.; כַּאֲשֶׁר lit. (e. g. Gen. 44, 1) according to that which, also according to the circumstances that, hence how, as (as conjunction at the beginning of comparative clauses, vid. the same); אֶת-אֲשֶׁר (e. g. Gen. 44, 1) *eum qui* or *eos qui* or also *id quod*. Governed by a noun we find א' in e. g. Ezek. 23, 28 בִּיר-אֲשֶׁר into the hand of the one whom (thou hatest).

¹ In German only the nominative of the 1. and 2. persons can be thus made relative: *der ich, der du, die ihr*, etc., where *der* = *which* and like אֲשֶׁר, receives its actual signification only from the succeeding pronoun.

Rem. The idea of *place* is occasionally attached to the demonstrative idea in אָשֶׁר; e. g. בְּאֶשֶׁר = *at the (place) where* Gen. 21, 17; Judg. 17, 8; cf. Ruth 1, 16 (אֶל-אָ = *whither*, also אֶל-אָ 1 K. 18, 12), 2 Sam. 7, 7 (בְּכָל-אָ = *everywhere*).

3. In poetic diction we frequently find the demonstrative pronouns used as relatives (like the German *der*, etc., for *welcher*, etc., *damit* for *womit*) וְ, וּ, וַ (the latter quite common)¹; this is sometimes true also of the article (for the original demonstrative force of the same, cf. § 126, 1).

Examples:

a) וְ as relative pronoun e. g. Prov. 23, 22: *obey thy father* וְיִלְדְּךָ *who has begotten thee* (cf. the German archaism: *so dich gezeugt hat*); Ps. 104, 8: *at the place* וְהָיָה יְסֻדָּתָהּ *that thou hast founded*, vs. 26; 78, 54. Sometimes וְ (as also אָשֶׁר) is used in the sense of *is, qui; id, quod*, etc.; e. g. Ex. 13, 8; Job 15, 17 (*and what I have beheld*, etc.); so also for the plural Job 19, 19 (*and they whom I love*, etc.). Finally the relative וְ, like אָשֶׁר, may be supplied by a following pronominal suffix, e. g. Ps. 74, 2 *mount Zion* בּוֹ יֵשְׁכֶנָּה וְ *upon which thou dwellest* (cf. Luther's *du auf wohnest*); Isa. 25, 9.

וּ as relative pronoun in the accusative Ex. 15, 13 *נָאֻלַת וּ* *the people that thou hast freed*; cf. vs. 16 and Isa. 43, 21; Ps. 9, 16 (31, 5); 32, 8; 142, 4; 143, 8; as plural in the nominative Ps. 17, 9; in the accusative 10, 2, in the sense of *id, quod* 68, 29; in Isa. 42, 24 it is supplied by a pronominal suffix.

וַ is used as a relative pronoun in the accusative Ps. 132, 12.

b) undoubted examples of the use of the article as a relative pronoun are: 1 Chr. 26, 28 (כָּל הַהִקְדִּישׁ שְׁמוּאֵל) *all, that Samuel had dedicated*, etc.); 2 Chr. 29, 36; Ezra 10, 14. With a plural, it is used in Josh. 10, 24: *the warriors* וְהָלַכְנוּ אִתּוֹ *who went with him*; Ezra 8, 25; 10, 17; 1 Chr. 29, 17; finally in the sense of *id quod* Jer. 5, 13 (where, however, we should read הַדָּבָר with the LXX); furthermore, cf. 1 Sam. 9, 24: *the shoulder* וְהָעֵלְיָהּ *and what was upon it* (vid. below); 2 Chr. 1, 4 *בַּהֲכִין* = *בְּאֶשֶׁר ה'* *at the place which he had prepared*.

In all the preceding examples except 1 Sam. 9, 24 (where the text seems to be corrupt, since וְהָעֵלְיָהּ expresses something absolutely) undoubted Perfects follow the article וְ; here, moreover, belong almost all examples from the later books (Ezra and Chr.). But a number of

¹ Also the closely corresponding Aramaic וְ, וּ is always relative.

² The connection by means of *Māqqēph* shows apparently the rendering *the people there* (hence וּ as demonstrative in Isa. 42, 24; for the same purpose Athnach is used before וּ); cf. *Delitzsch* on Isa. 43, 21.

examples (even in earlier texts) are very doubtful, examples where the Massora demands Perfects, whether on account of the accent on the penult (Gen. 18, 21; 46, 27; Job 2, 11 הָשָׁמָה; Isa. 51, 10 הִשְׁמָה; Ezek. 26, 17 הִהָלֵלָה; Ruth 1, 22 and 4, 3 הִשָּׁבָה) or of the punctuation (Gen. 21, 3 הַנּוֹלֵד; 1 K. 11, 9; Dan. 8, 1 הַנִּרְאָה; Isa. 56, 3 הַנִּלְוָה). Throughout, the writers undoubtedly use Participles (and Perfect Participles, cf. § 116, 2) with the article, so הַנִּבְאָה etc.; Ezek. 26, 17 הַהִלָּלָה for הַמָּה according to § 52, 6, Rem. 6 — in other examples הַנּוֹלֵד, הַנִּרְאָה, הַנִּלְוָה — are intended.

§ 139.

EXPRESSION OF PRONOMINAL IDEAS BY MEANS OF SUBSTANTIVES.

Analogous to the expression of material and attributive ideas by means of substantives, as mentioned in § 128, 2, *h* and *i*, is the representation of a number of pronominal ideas, for which no particular expressions exist, by means of substantives. Thus:

1. אִשָּׁה (אִשָּׁה) *man, woman*, expresses

a) the idea of *each, every* (= each and every one) in reference to persons¹ and even to animals (Gen. 15, 10), e. g. Gen. 10, 5; *fem.* Ex. 3, 22; as object we thus find אִישׁ, e. g. Jer. 12, 15; for אִשָּׁה — אִישׁ cf. § 123, d, 1.

In some passages אִישׁ in the foregoing sense seems to precede its governing word for the sake of emphasis (always a substantive with a suffix); hence according to the usual interpretation we should find in Gen. 9, 5 מִן אִישׁ אָחִיו for מִן אָחִי א' *at the hand of every man's brother*. Although such an interpretation is strongly favored by Gen. 42, 25 and Num. 17, 17, such an inversion of the *nomen regens* and *rectum* is impossible. The second substantive is rather in apposition to אִישׁ (so Gen. 9, 5 *at the hand of every one, his brother*, i. e. whoever is his brother; so Gen. 15, 10 *and he laid each piece*; lit. *the one piece from him*, etc., and Num. 17, 17 *every one*, sc. *his name*) or אִישׁ is placed first as a sort of *casus pendens* and receives only from the following substantive with suffix its more explicit application; so Gen. 41, 12; 42, 25 (according to the context = *to every man into his sack*); 42, 35 (where בָּשָׁק אִישׁ is the virtual predicate of אִישׁ); Ex. 28, 21.²

b) the idea of *any one, every one*, e. g. Gen. 13, 16; Cant. 8, 7, in

¹ Regularly אִישׁ in the sense of *every one* is used with the plural of the verb, e. g. Gen. 44, 11; sometimes, however, it is found as subject with the singular, Gen. 44, 13.

² On this whole question, cf. the profound discussion of *Budde*, *die bibl.*

connection with a negative *no one*¹; so after **אֵל** Ex. 16, 29, before **לֹא** Gen. 23, 6 et al. We sometimes find **אָדָם** *man* (*homo*) used for **אִישׁ** with a similar meaning, e. g. Lev. 1, 2 (cf. **כָּאֲחֵר הָאָדָם** *as another man* Judg. 16, 7, 11) and in a neuter sense **דָּבָר** (lit. *word, thing*) = *anything* Gen. 18, 14 or **כֵּל-דָּבָר** Lev. 5, 2; Num. 31, 23. In connection with a negative **דָּבָר** means *nothing*; so after **אֵל** Gen. 19, 8, and **לֹא** Eccl. 8, 5.

c) In connection **אָחִיו** *his brother* or **רֵעֵהוּ** *his companion*, **אִישׁ** *one* (like **אִשָּׁה** *one* [fem.] in connection with **אָחוֹתָהּ** *her sister* or with **רֵעֵיתָהּ** *her companion* [fem.]) is used to represent the idea *alter — alter, the one — the other*² (in reference to persons, animals or inanimate objects; vid. Lexicon) or the idea *one another*, e. g. Gen. 13, 11: *and they separated themselves* **אִישׁ מֵעַל אָחִיו** *the one from the other* = *from one another*; Ex. 26, 3 *the five curtains* (**יְרִיעֹת** fem.) *shall be bound together* **אֶחָתָהּ אֶל-אֶחָתָהּ** *the one to the other*.

2. **נַפֶּשׁ** *soul, person* expresses the idea of *self*,³ both in singular Prov. 19, 8, 16, 19; 29, 24; Job 18, 4 (everywhere **נַפְשׁוֹ** — *himself*) and in plural (Jer. 37, 9 al.). Similarly we find in Gen. 18, 12 **בְּקִרְבָּהּ** (lit. *in her innermost*) in the sense of *within herself*.⁴

3. **עֵצָם** *bone* (figurative for *being*) expresses the idea of *self* or *this very one, the very same* in reference to things (like **נַפֶּשׁ** to persons), e. g. **בְּעֵצָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה** *on the very same day* Gen. 7, 13; cf. Josh. 10, 27; Ezek. 24, 2; **כְּעֵצָם הַשָּׁמַיִם** (as clear) *as the very heavens* Ex. 24, 10; **בְּעֵצָם תִּמְנֶה** *in his very prosperity* (= in the midst of his prosperity) Job 21, 23.

4. The naked plural of time relations includes the idea *several*⁵; (so **יָמִים** *several days* Gen. 24, 55; 40, 4 (here used of a longer respite); Isa. 65, 20; Dan. 8, 27 (on the other hand, cf. Gen. 27, 44; 29, 20 **שָׁנִים** *several years* Dan. 11, 6, 8.

Urgesch. p. 283 sq.; according to him Gen. 9, 5 is analogous to Zech. 7, 10: *from men, from one another* (from men in turn) *will I, etc.*

¹ Cf. also **אִישׁ-אֶחָד** Gen. 39, 11. For the expression of the idea *no one* by means of **אִישׁ** with a following Participle vid. Negative Sentences, § 152.

² Elsewhere we find in a similar sense **יָהּ-יָהּ** Ex. 14, 20; Isa. 6, 3 or **הָאֶחָד-הָאֶחָד** 2 Sam. 14, 6, or the substantive is repeated, e. g. Gen. 47, 21 (= *from one end . . . to the other*).

³ For the representation of this idea by means of pronouns (separate and suffixes) vid. above, § 135, 1 and 3.

⁴ In like manner the idea *self* is expressed in Arabic and in Sanskrit (*âtman*) by means of *soul, spirit*; in Arabic also by means of *eye*; in the Rabbin. by **גּוֹי** *body*, **זָרָם** or **עֵצָם** *bone*, in Ethiopic and Amharic by *head*; in Egyptian by *mouth, hand, etc.*; cf. also Middle high German *min lip, din lip*, for *I, thou*. Furthermore **נַפְשָׁם** *in such a case* is never (as also is not **נַפְשָׁם** *they themselves* Isa. 46, 2) a mere paraphrase of the personal pronoun, but always contains a reference to a living personality (through sensations, desires, etc.).

⁵ *Several* referring to persons is expressed in Neh. 5, 2-4 by means of **יֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר** *sunt qui* sq. Participle.

CHAPTER II.

THE SENTENCE.

I. IN GENERAL.

§ 140.

NOMINAL, VERBAL AND COMPOUND SENTENCES.

1. Every sentence of which the subject and predicate is each a noun or its equivalent is called a *nominal sentence*.
 יְהוָה מֶלֶכֵּנוּ *Jehovah is our King* Isa. 33, 22; וְאֲנָשֵׁי סְדֹם רָעִים וְחַטָּאִים *and the men from Sodom were wicked and sinful* Gen. 13, 13; פֶּה לָהֶם *a mouth have they* Ps. 115, 5 (vid. § 141).

2. Every sentence whose subject is a noun and whose predicate is a finite verb is called a *verbal sentence*, e. g. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים *then God said* Gen. 1, 3 (vid. § 142).

Rem. According to § 44, 1, the 1st and 2d pers. sing. and plu. of the Perfect are derived from a coalescence of the separate pronoun with the predicate idea contained in the verbal stem which was originally regarded as a noun (e. g. קַטַּלְתָּ lit. *killer* or *killing* (art) *thou*). It hence follows that the above-mentioned forms of the finite verb may represent an independent nominal sentence. This is true also of the corresponding forms of the Imperfect, except that here the subject is throughout indicated by preformatives, and (as in the Imperative), partly also by affirmatives. The 3d pers. sing. and plu. of the Perfect was originally a pure noun, and should therefore form a sentence only when used in connection with some subject. It was, however, an easy transition to refer back to some already stated subject, or supply one from the context in the form of a pronoun of the 3d pers. (*he, she, etc.*) and thus raise the 3d pers. of the finite verb to an independent sentence.

3. Every sentence of which the subject or predicate is an independent sentence is called a *compound sentence*; e. g. Ps. 18, 31 הָאֵל תָּמִים דְּרָכּוֹ *God, his way is perfect* = God's way is

perfect; Gen. 34, 8 שָׁחַם בְּנִי הַשָּׂקָה נַפְשׁוֹ לְבָתְּלָהּ *my son Shechem — his soul longeth for your daughter* (vid. § 143).

4. This distinction between the different kinds of sentences — nominal and verbal — is necessary to the better understanding of the Hebrew (as in general of the Semitic) syntax, but it does not at all refer to a merely external (formal) difference in signification, but rather to a more profound and comprehensive one. The nominal sentence always represents something *immovable, a situation, a being*; the verbal sentence something *movable, flowing, an event or action*.

Rem. Every sentence beginning with an independent subject is to the Arabic grammarians a nominal sentence, and every one beginning with a finite verb a verbal sentence; if a finite verb follows the subject, there arises (since the former contains the subject in itself, hence forms an independent verbal sentence) the compound sentence, as well as when the predicate is an independent nominal sentence. If the earlier definition of kinds of sentences (vid. § 144, a, No. 1–3 of the last edition, 1884, of this Grammar) is given up, it is incumbent upon us to indicate upon what the at least relative justification of this complicated Arabic view depends. This is the essential (in Hebrew also very important) characteristic of the verbal sentence, all depending upon whether the subject precedes or follows the verb; vid. § 142, 1.

§ 141.

THE NOMINAL SENTENCE.

1. The subject of a nominal sentence (vid. § 140, 1) may be contained: —

- a) in a substantive, e. g. וְנָהָר יֵצֵא מֵעֵדֶן *and a river went (was going) out of Eden* Gen. 2, 10.
- b) in a pronoun, e. g. Gen. 7, 4 אֲנֹכִי מְמַטֵּיר *I will cause it to rain*; 14, 18 וְהוּא כֹהֵן *and he was a priest*; 2, 23 (וְזֶה) מִי חָכָם *who is wise?* Hos. 14, 10.

2. The predicate of a nominal sentence may be contained: —

- a) in a substantive, e. g. Deut. 14, 1, 'בָּנִים אַתֶּם וְי' *ye are sons of Jehovah, your God* (vid. Rem. 1); Gen. 42, 13.
- b) in an adjective or participle, e. g. Gen. 2, 12 יָהֵב הָאָרֶץ טוֹב *and the gold of that land is good*; וְעֶפְרוֹן יָשָׁב *and Ephron dwelt there*, etc.; Gen. 23, 10.¹ Such nominal sentences — joined with Waw to a verbal sentence — frequently serve to represent a state *co-existing* with the main action; cf. Rem. 2.
- c) in a numeral, e. g. Gen. 42, 13 עֲשָׂרָה עֲבָדֶיךָ *twelve are thy servants*.
- d) in a pronoun, e. g. Gen. 10, 12 (הִיא); Ex. 9, 27 (אֲנִי); Gen. 24, 65 (מִי); 1 K. 9, 13 (מָה).²
- e) in an adverb or (especially with the aid of a preposition) any closer qualification of time, place, quality or possession, etc., considered as the equivalent of a nominal idea; e. g. וְשָׁם הָבְדֵּלָהּ *and there is bdellium*, Gen. 2, 12; אֵי הָרֵבֶל *where is Abel?* 4, 9; לְעוֹלָם חֶסֶדוֹ *his mercy endureth forever*, Ps. 136, 1 sq.; עֲשָׂרָה בְּבֵיתוֹ *wealth is in his house*, Ps. 112, 3; לֹא אֲנֵהְנוּ *to him we (belong)*, 100, 3 *Q^{er}ê*.

Rem. 1. The use of a substantive as predicate of a nominal sentence is especially frequent either when a corresponding adjective is wanting (as usually with ideas of material, cf. § 128, 2, *h*) or when an attributive idea is to be given a certain emphasis. For in all these cases a much greater stress³ lies upon the substantive predicate, so far as it represents something *in common* with the subject, than upon the adjective or verbal predicate; cf. Ezek. 41, 22 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֵץ *the altar (was) wood* = wooden; Cant. 1, 10; Ps. 25, 10 *all the paths of Jehovah are חֶסֶד וְאֵמֶת* *mercy and truth* (or, *pure mercy*; cf. Jer. 10, 10); Ps. 10, 5; 19, 10; 23, 5; 88, 19; Prov. 3, 17⁴; Job 22, 12; 23, 2; 26, 13; Ruth

¹ Cf. on this point the numerous examples above, § 116, 5, *a-c*.

² Why in these examples the pronouns, in spite of their impossible appearance as predicate, are not to be considered as subj. is clear from § 126, 2, *i*, Rem.

³ This is generally true also in cases where there are no pure nominal sentences, the substantive predicate being united through הִיהַ with the subject (e. g. Gen. 1, 2 *and the earth was without form and void*; cf. Ps. 35, 6; Prov. 8, 30; Job 3, 4) or where a preposition precedes the predicate substantive, as in Ps. 29, 4 *the thunder of Jehovah (is) with power* = *powerful*.

⁴ שְׁלֹמֹם is here, as in Job 21, 9, clearly substantive after a pl. subject; it is

3, 2. Sometimes the emphasis of the predicate idea is expressed by the plural form of the same (according to § 124, 1, *b*); e. g. Ps. 110, 3 *thy people are נִרְכָּת* entirely willing; Cant. 5, 16; Dan. 9, 23.

Occasionally the boldness of such connections is toned down by the repetition of the subject as governing the predicate (e. g. Job 6, 12 *אִם-כֹּחַ אֲבָנִים כֹּחִי* or is the strength of stones my strength? Prov. 3, 17); that the language, however — especially poetic — does not avoid even the boldest connectives to emphasize sufficiently the unconditional relation of the subject and the predicate ideas is clearly seen from examples like Ps. 45, 9: *myrrh and aloes and cassia are all thy garments* (i. e. they are so redolent of myrrh, etc., as to seem to consist thereof); Cant. 1, 15; *thy eyes are doves* = dove's eyes¹; Ps. 109, 4; Job 8, 9; 12, 12; in prose e. g. Ezra 10, 13 *הַזֶּמַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם* the time is rain-showers = time of rain; with bolder enallage of number Gen. 34, 30 *וְאֶנִּי מְתֵי מְסָפֶר* while I (with my) men few in number. For similar bold sentences with *הָיָה*, cf. Gen. 11, 1; 12, 2; Ex. 17, 12; Isa. 5, 12; Jer. 2, 28 and again with bolder enallage of number Job 29, 15 *I was eyes to the blind and feet to the lame* (but in prose, Num. 10, 31 *and thou mayest be to us לְעֵינִים*).

2. Nominal sentences joined with *Waw copulative* to a verbal sentence (or its equivalent) always describe a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action, or (when the predicate is a transitive Participle) an action in continued duration (cf. § 107, 1, *a*, R.m. 2, and § 116, 5, *a* and *b*), e. g. Gen. 19, 1: *and there came two angels to Sodom* וַיָּבוֹאוּ יְשָׁע *while Lot sat*, etc.; 18, 1, 8, 16, 22; 25, 26; Judg. 13, 9; 2 Sam. 4, 7 (throughout with a Participle); with an adjective-predicate Gen. 18, 12; with a substantive-predicate 18, 27; with an adverbial-predicate 9, 23. Occasionally such statements of condition refer also to an existing object (thus *! in that, since, while, although*, e. g. Gen. 15, 2; 18, 27; 20, 3; 48, 14 (*although he was the youngest*); Judg. 16, 15: *how canst thou say, I love thee, וְלִבִּי אֵין* while thy heart is not with me; Ps. 28, 3 (*while mischief is in thy mind*). Finally these sentences form only a part of the more comprehensive category of circumstantial statements; vid. § 156.

3. As seen from the examples in Nos. 1 and 2, the syntactical relation existing between the subject and the predicate of a nominal sentence is regularly expressed simply by placing them together (without any so-called copula).

doubtful whether, in places like Gen. 43, 27; 2 Sam. 20, 9; Ps. 120, 7 al. *שֶׁ* is not rather to be considered as an adjective.

¹ Regularly in such comparisons we find *כֵּן* (then regarded as *nominative*) before the predicate, e. g. Isa. 63, 2 *why are thy garments כְּנֶתֶן כְּרֶתֶן* like those of a wine-press treader? (lit. kind of a treader of the wine-press); Jer. 50, 9.

Within what point of time an assertion falls must be learned from the context, e. g. 1 K. 18, 21 יהוה האלהים *Jehovah* (is) *the true God*; 1 Sam. 9, 19; Isa. 31, 2 גם־הוא חכם *even he* (is) *wise*; Gen. 42, 11; on the other hand Gen. 19, 1 ולוט *and* (while) *Lot sat*; Ezek. 28, 15; Gen. 7, 4 אנכי ממטיר *I am raining* = *I will cause it to rain*. Sometimes a jussive or optative must be supplied as predicate, e. g. Gen. 27, 13 upon me be thy curse (cf. § 116, 5, Rem. 2, Note). Occasionally an express relation between subject and predicate is restored (*a*) by the addition of a separate pronoun of the 3d person sing. or pl., or, (*b*) by the aid of the verb הָיָה (especially for the sake of a closer qualification of the time).

Examples of *a*) are: Gen. 41, 26 the seven good kine שבע שנים הנה *(are) seven years*; Deut. 1, 17; 4, 24; Eccl. 5, 18 זה מתת אלהים היא *this — a gift of God it* (is). Originally such sentences could be regarded as compound (vid. § 140, 3), as the predicate was represented by means of an independent nominal sentence. Very early, however, the separate pronoun was used as a connecting word in a nominal sentence, where no special emphasis was laid upon either subject or predicate, there being hence no reason to presuppose a compound sentence; the pronoun of the 3d pers. took the place of the copula.¹ In support of this position we quite frequently find הוּא annexed to a subject of the 1st or 2d pers., e. g. Deut. 32, 39: see now הוּא אני הוּא אני *that I, even I, am he* (cf. the French: *c'est moi, c'est vous*),² also after the double אנכי Isa. 43, 25; 51, 12; 1 Chr. 21, 17 (אני־הוא) with a following relative clause); אתה הוּא 2 Sam. 7, 28; Isa. 37, 16; Ps. 44, 5; Neh. 9, 6, 7; in a question Jer. 14, 22.³

of *b*) we must of course exclude all examples where הָיָה in the sense of *becoming* or *being*, *existing* has a full verbal force, provided that the sentence be not nominal but verbal; this is especially so when the predicate precedes the subject. But examples like Gen. 1, 2: *and the*

¹ Cf. *Albrecht in Stade's Zeitschr.* 1888, p. 250 sq., who includes here passages like Num. 3, 27; Deut. 24, 12, and considers הוּא in examples like Gen. 7, 2; 17, 12 not as complement of אֲשֶׁר (vid. § 138, 1) but merely as copula. This supposition is strengthened by the examples where the pronoun immediately follows אֲשֶׁר Lev. 11, 26; Deut. 20, 20; 1 Sam. 10, 19; 2 K. 25, 19; Eccl. 7, 26.

² For the use of הוּא after a pronoun in the sense (derived from the context) of *ὁ αὐτός* vid. § 135, 1, Note 1. Cases like Jer. 49, 12 where הוּא in a verbal sentence strengthens אֶתֵּן are not to be considered here.

³ For a similar use of the separate pronoun of the 3d person in Aramaic (Dan. 2, 38; Ezra 5, 11 al.) vid. *Gramm. des Bibl. — Aram.*, § 87, 3.

earth was (הַיִּתְּהָ) a desert and waste can scarcely be a real verbal sentence; הַיִּתְּהָ actually serves here to refer to the past the statement that would appear as a description of a conditional in the form of a pure nominal sentence; cf. 3, 1; 42, 11 (clearly as complement of the negative אֵל, which otherwise could not be used). Here particularly belong the numerous cases where הַיִּתְּהָ appears as the connecting word between the subject and the participial predicate; Gen. 37, 2; Judg. 1, 7; Job 1, 14 (a pure nominal sentence immediately following); with the Imperfect of הַיִּתְּהָ to indicate a future occurrence Num. 14, 33 al.; cf. § 116, 5, Rem. 2. Actually — chiefly in the latter case — הַיִּתְּהָ is not entirely without a verbal force; it greatly resembles, however, a real copula. This use is more frequent¹ in the later than in the earlier books.

Rem. For the use of the original substantives שׁ there is and its negative אֵשׁ there is not (cf. the remarks on the verbal use of these = *est* and *non est* § 100, 5, and Negative Sentences § 152) as the connecting link between the pronominal subject and the participial predicate (especially in questions and conditional sentences, Gen. 24, 42, 49; 43, 4 al.) vid. § 116, 5, Rem. 1, and the different kinds of sentences in §§ 150 and 159.

4. The natural *position of words* in a nominal sentence describing a state is, first the subject and then the predicate; special emphasis is laid on the former as the object of description. Frequently, however (not only in poetry, where of course greater latitude is allowed), we find this form inverted: predicate — subject. This *must* be the position when emphasis is laid upon² the predicate, or when it is used in a question; so with substantive predicates, e. g. Gen. 3, 19 אַתָּה עֹפָר *dust thou art*; 4, 9; 12, 13 (*my sister*, not *my wife*); 20, 2, 12; 29, 14; Job 5, 24; 6, 12; with adjective-predicate, e. g. Isa. 6, 3; 28, 21; Jer. 10, 6; with participial-predicate, Gen. 30, 1; 32, 12; with interrogative pronoun as predicate, e. g. Gen. 24, 65³; with adverbial interrogative word as predicate, e. g. Gen. 4, 9.

¹ According to *Albrecht* in *Stade's Zeitschr.* 1888, p. 252, especially in Deut. and in the Priest-codex.

² For the same reason local (Gen. 4, 7) or other adverbial references could begin the sentence.

³ Exceptions, according to *Albrecht* (vid. Rem. above), are found only in Ex. 16, 7, 8.

Rem. For the above, cf. the thorough investigations of *C. Albrecht*, *die Wortstellung im hebr. Nominalsatze* (*Stade's Zeitschr.* 1888, p. 219 sq. and 249 sq.; with a complete list of exceptions to the following order of words: subject—predicate, p. 254 sq.). For the above-mentioned reasons, the predicate *must* precede (in this case the adjective predicate has a special emphasis) when used in the sense of a comparative, e. g. Gen. 4, 13; the predicate expression formed by the aid of a preposition very frequently precedes when serving as a periphrasis of the idea *have, possess*, e. g. Gen. 18, 14; 29, 16 al.; cf. also 26, 20; 31, 16, 43. The predicate may precede:

a) when the subject is a pronoun for “the person generally known does not excite so much interest as that which he says”;

b) “when not to call particular attention to a subject derived from several words,” e. g. 2 K. 20, 19;

c) in questions (with substantive or adjective predicates, or those compounded with a preposition), e. g. 1 Sam. 16, 4; finally,

d) adverbial predicates or those compounded with a preposition in relative clauses, usually in close connection (by *Māqqēph*) with אֲשֶׁר e. g. Gen. 2, 11 (אֲשֶׁר-שָׁם); 1, 29 sq. (אֲנִי-בִּי).

§ 142.

THE VERBAL SENTENCE.

1. According to § 140, 4, Rem., there is a rather important distinction between a verbal sentence with a subject preceding and one following. In a real *verbal sentence*, the main stress is laid upon the action proceeding from (or experienced by) the subject; hence the verb precedes (necessarily so when it appears as a Perfect or an Imperfect). This does not exclude the fact, however, that sometimes in a real *verbal sentence*, as in the continuation of the narrative (e. g. Gen. 4, 1; 7, 19; 2 Sam. 19, 12), the subject may come first, especially when a particular emphasis is given it, e. g. Gen. 3, 13 (not: I take the blame, but) *the serpent hath beguiled me*. cf. 2, 5 al.¹ Generally, however, a subject preceding in a *verbal sentence* may be explained as not referring to a new

¹ Here belong the cases where the subject is an emphatic personal pronoun, as in Gen. 32, 13 (אֲנִי *thou thyself*); 33, 7 (הִנֵּנִי *he himself*).

event in the continuation of the narrative, but rather as describing a certain *condition* or *state*. Such *verbal sentences* approach closely in character the nominal sentences; it is frequently doubtful (sc. when the verbal form could equally well be read as a Participle) whether or not the writer did actually intend to construct a nominal sentence.

The *state* represented by the verb may consist:

a) in a completely finished event, to which only reference is made, because it is necessary to the understanding of the continued main action. If the predicate (as usually in such a case) be a Perfect, it is generally rendered by a Pluperfect; cf. the examples discussed in § 106, 1, c (1 Sam. 28, 3, etc.) and Gen. 6, 8 (not: *he found grace*); 16, 1; 18, 17; 20, 4; 24, 1; 39, 1 (*Joseph was meanwhile brought to Egypt*); 41, 10; Judg. 1, 16; 1 Sam. 9, 15; 14, 27; 1 K. 1, 1, etc. In a broader sense belong here also verbal sentences like Gen. 2, 6 (vid. § 112, 3, a), provided they represent an event or state continuing in the past.

b) in an event contemporaneous with or as a result of the main action. To the former belong all cases where the predicate is compounded with הָיָה (unless הָיָה, as in Gen. 1, 2; 3, 1 al., is weakened to a mere copula, in which case the position of the subject may be explained as entirely due to the nominal character of the sentence, cf. § 141, 3, b and the examples of הָיָה etc. with a Participle, § 116, 5, Rem. 2); for the second, cf. Gen. 13, 12 וַיֵּשֶׁב אַבְרָם בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וְלוֹט אָבְרָם אֶבְרָם Abram dwelt in the land of Canaan, but Lot, etc.

Rem. 1. The close relation between the verbal sentence beginning with a subject and the actual nominal sentence is seen in the fact that the former is frequently annexed to a foregoing sentence by means of וְ (or subordinated) to emphasize some attendant circumstance (cf. for *circumstantial* clauses within the province of nominal sentences, § 141, 2, Rem. 2). So also when the following circumstances contain an antithesis; cf. Gen. 18, 18 (while Abraham . . . shall become); 24, 56; 26, 27; Isa. 29, 13; Jer. 14, 15; Ps. 50, 17; Job 21, 22 and examples like Gen. 4, 2, 4; 29, 17 where by means of וְ a new subject is introduced in direct contrast to another one, already mentioned. Furthermore, in the examples referred to above in letter *a* and *b* (1 Sam. 28, 3 etc.) the subject is often introduced by וְ; the latter then corresponds to δὲ in Greek syntax used for the sake of perspicuity (vid. Winer, Gramm. des neutest. Sprachidioms, § 53, 7, b).

2. The connecting of *verbal sentences* by וְ (with the subject) to participial clauses is rather unusual, e. g. Gen. 38, 25 וְהָיָה מִנְצָאתָ וְהָיָה שְׁלֹחָהּ when she was brought forth, she sent, etc.; 44, 3, 4; Judg. 18, 3; 19, 11; 2 Sam. 20, 8; for other examples vid. § 116, 5, Rem. 4 (as men-

tioned in Note 2, the consequent often appears as a *nominal sentence*; a second indication of the close relationship of the verbal sentence beginning with a subject and the actual nominal sentence). Doubtless there lies in all these passages a sort of inversion of the principal clause and the dependent temporal clauses; the latter, for the sake of strong emphasis, has been raised to the position of an independent nominal sentence, while the real main action is annexed as if it were an attendant circumstance (and so in the form of a mere circumstantial clause).

2. The *order of words: verb — subject*, as noted in No. 1, above, is eventually to be considered in the succession *verb — subject — object* as the natural *position of words* in a verbal sentence. As in the nominal sentence, (§ 141, 4), so here this form is not strictly adhered to; for when any particular member of the sentence is to be emphasized it is put first.¹ Hence we find:—

- a) *object — verb — subject*: Gen. 30, 40; 1 Sam. 2, 9; 2 K. 23, 19 et al.; more numerous are the examples where the object precedes a verbal form containing the subject; Gen. 3, 10, 14, 18; 6, 16; 8, 17; 9, 13; Ex. 18, 23; 2 K. 22, 8; Prov. 13, 5 al.
- b) *verb — object — subject*: Gen. 21, 7; Num. 5, 23; 1 Sam. 15, 33; Isa. 19, 13; Ps. 34, 22; Job 11, 19 al.
- c) *subject — object — verb*: Isa. 3, 17; 11, 8; 13, 18; Hos. 12, 11; Ps. 6, 10; 11, 5; Job 29, 25.²
- d) *object — subject — verb* (very seldom): 2 K. 5, 13; Isa. 5, 17; 28, 17; Ps. 51, 3.³

¹ Occasionally, however, the tendency toward a *chiasm* in the order of words, as stated in § 114, 3, Rem. 1, Note, has led to deviations.

² This order is also found in prose (Gen. 17, 9; 23, 6 al.); it is, however, here still more questionable than in the above-mentioned prophetic or poetic passages whether or not the preceding subject should not rather be considered as the subject of the compound sentence (§ 143) whose predicate is in an independent verbal sentence; the latter is usually separated from the subject by the greater disjunctive accents. But the subject—object—verb is quite frequent in Aramaic (e. g. Dan. 2, 7, 10); cf. *Gesenius* Commentary on Isa. 42, 24, and *Kautzsch*, Gram. des Bibl.-Aram. § 84, 1, b. In Hebrew we find the truly Aramaic position of the object before the Infinitive, in Isa. 49, 6; 2 Chr. 28, 10; 31, 7; 36, 19 (?).

³ This succession of words is more frequently found in nominal sentences

- e) a substantive complement of the verb **היה** precedes: Isa. 18, 5 (*if the flower becomes a ripening grape*).

Rem. Of closer qualifications formed by a preposition, those *local* usually follow the verb, except when they have a special emphasis (as in Gen. 19, 2; 30, 16; 32, 5; Mic. 5, 1; in Gen. 29, 25 we thus find **בְּרַחֵל** with **בְּ** *pretii* emphatic); but cf. examples like Gen. 35, 11 where the emphatic *subject* is followed by the local reference and then the verb (but cf. 35, 13: verb — local ref. — subject). The remote object precedes for emphasis in Gen. 13, 15 (26, 3); 15, 3; in Gen. 27, 37 it precedes the interrogative word. The prepositional qualifications of *time* like **בְּרֵאשִׁית** (Gen. 1, 1), **בַּיּוֹם, הַהוּא, בַּיּוֹם** etc. (but not **בְּרֵאשִׁיתָהּ** and the mere **רֵאשִׁיתָהּ, בְּתַחֲלָה, לַעֲוֹלָם**) regularly precede the verb if the latter be not Perfect or Imperfect *consec.*; this is true also of certain adverbs like **אָז, עֵתָה**, while others like **עוֹד, תָּמִיד** regularly follow it.

§ 143.

THE COMPOUND SENTENCE.

A *compound sentence* (§ 140, 3) arises from placing together (always a preceding, vid. Rem. 1) subject¹ and

- a) an independent nominal sentence: (α) with a reference to the principal subject by means of a pronoun, e. g. Nah. 1, 3 **יְהוָה בְּסוּפָה יֵרָכֵן** *Jehovah — in the storm is his way*; Ps. 18, 31; 104, 17; 125, 2; Eccl. 2, 14; cf. also Gen. 34, 23, where the predicate is a question. Quite often a personal pronoun is thus used as the principal subject, e. g. Isa. 59, 21 **וְאֲנִי וְאַתָּה בְּרִיתִי אֶתָּם** *and I — this is my covenant with them*, etc.; Gen. 9, 9; Isa. 1, 7; 17, 4; 1 Chr. 28, 2²; with an interrogative nominal sentence, Gen. 37, 30; Job 21, 4; 38, 19; (β) without a reference suffix (when natur-

with a participial predicate, e. g. Gen. 37, 16; 41, 9, etc.; in questions, e. g. 2 K. 6, 22; Jer. 7, 19; everywhere the emphasized object precedes the natural order *subject — predicate*.

¹ In Gen. 31, 40 in place of the subject we find a verbal sentence (**הָיִיתִי** *I was*), which is explained by another verbal sentence.

² In 1 Chr. 28, 2 (cf. also 22, 7 **וְאֲנִי הָיִיתִי עִם-לִבִּי**) could be understood as a premised strengthening of the following pronominal suffix (= *I myself had in mind*), as in Ezek. 33, 17 (*while their own way is not right*); cf. also § 135, 2.

ally the connection between the subject and the predicate is much looser), e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 23 *and as touching the matter which*, etc. . . ., *behold, Jehovah is between me and thee*; Prov. 27, 2.

- b) an independent verbal sentence: (α) with a suffix¹ referring back, e. g. Gen. 9, 6 (cf. also § 116, 5, Rem. 5); 17, 15 *thy wife Sarai—thou shalt not call her name Sarai*; 26, 15; 28, 13; 34, 8; Ex. 30, 37; 32, 1; 2 K. 10, 29; Isa. 9, 1; 11, 10; Ezek. 33, 2; Hos. 9, 11; Ps. 11, 14; 46, 5; 65, 4; 74, 17; Dan. 1, 17; with a pronoun as principal subject, Gen. 24, 27; Zech. 9, 11; (β) without a suffix referring back, Isa. 19, 17 *whenever any one shall mention it* (Judah) *to it* (Egypt), *it* (the latter) *is terrified*.

Rem. 1. In all the preceding instances, the main subject (because of its isolation by means of the separating accents as *casus pendens*²) is emphasized in a manner that would be impossible by means of a simple nominal or verbal sentence (e. g. Nah. 1, 3 by וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁפָּךְ אֶת־הַמָּוֶה; cf. the French *c'est moi, qu'on a accusé*. The assertion or question in the predicate sentence has thus the greater importance. For the same purpose other members of the sentence are placed first and continued by the following suffix; so the object, Gen. 21, 13; 35, 12; 47, 21 (וְהָיָה לְךָ); a local reference, Gen. 2, 17; 2 K. 22, 18 al.; cf. on this point the examples in § 135, 1.

2. Within the sphere of the compound sentence belong also the numerous examples already mentioned under the Tense, where a consequent introduced by a *Waw apodosis* is used with a *casus pendens*. The isolation and the emphasis of the principal subject is there more marked than in the examples above; cf. for *casus pendens* with a following Imperfect *consec.* (e. g. Jer. 6, 19; 33, 24) § 111, 2, Rem. 2, a; with a following Perfect *consec.* (e. g. Num. 23, 3; 1 Sam. 25, 27) § 112, 3, c, ε, and No. 5, a, ζ; for a Participle as *casus pendens* *ibid.* letter c and § 116, 5, Rem. 5. In Job 15, 17 *Waw apodosis* follows with the cohortative; in Job 23, 12; Ps. 115, 7 the Imperfect is separated from *Waw apodosis* by וְ; in Job 4, 6 (as for *thy hope*, it is *the unrighteous-*

¹ Cf. Moabite Stone, line 31 and *Choronain—there lived therein*, etc.

² This designation, however, (like the earlier customary *absolute subject*), must not be misunderstood, as if the principal subject were suspended in the air, the whole hence due to an anacoluthon. It is probably more correct to admit that these sentences are formed consistently with the Semitic method of expression, like the customary nominal and verbal sentences.

ness of thy way) and in 36, 26 an incomplete nominal sentence is used with a *Waw apodosis*. For *Waw apodosis* after isolated time-relations cf. § 112, 5, c, and Gen. 40, 9 and 2 Sam. 15, 34 וְעַתָּה יָאֵנִי עַבְדְּךָ and now (as for the present)—*I am thy servant*.

3. Occasionally a *casus pendens* is introduced by ל (what concerns; cf. § 119, 3, c, 4); so Num. 18, 18 (unless ל, according to § 117, 1, Rem. 8, serves to introduce the object); Isa. 32, 1; Eccl. 9, 4; 1 Chr. 7, 1; 24, 20 sq.; 2 Chr. 7, 21. But Ps. 16, 3; 17, 4; 32, 6; 89, 19; 119, 91 are very doubtful.

§ 144.

PECULIARITIES IN REPRESENTING THE SUBJECT (IN VERBAL SENTENCES).

1. According to § 40 sq. (cf. also § 140, 3, Rem.), most forms of the finite verb designate a subject in the form of *personal affirmatives* (in the Imperfect also by preformatives). Occasionally, however, masc. forms are used in preference to feminines, e. g. וַיִּרְעָמֶם Ezek. 23, 49; וְעִשְׂתִּיחַם Ruth 1, 8; in the Imperfect, Joel 2, 22; Cant. 2, 7; in the Imperative, Amos 4, 1; Zech. 13, 7 (for other examples vid. § 110, 2, b, Rem.). For the express emphasis of a pronominal subject by the addition of a separate pronoun, vid. § 135, 1, with Rem. 1.

For the masculine as *genus potius*, cf. § 122, 2, Rem. 2; for similar anomalies in the use of the personal pronouns § 135, 5, Rem. 1; in connection with a substantive and adjective § 132, 1, Rem. 3; in connection with a subject and predicate § 145, 7, a, Rem. 1 and b, Rems. 2 and 3.

2. The third person sing. is often impersonal, especially in the masc., e. g. וַיְהִי and it came to pass; וְהָיָה and it will come to pass; חָרָה sq. לוֹ etc. it became hot to him (i. e. he became wroth Gen. 4, 6 al.); וַיֵּצַר לוֹ and it became narrow for him (he was distressed) Gen. 32, 8¹; also יָתַן, German *es giebt* (after

¹ In Arabic and Ethiopic the masc. predominates in such a case, in Syriac the fem. The forms located here by many and frequently united with לוֹ, לוֹי, etc. חָם warm, טוֹב good, well, בָּר bitter, צָר narrow, רָע bad, are doubtless not to be considered as forms of the 3d sing. Perfect, but with Hupfeld on Ps. 18, 7, as adjectives.

accusative) Prov. 10, 24; 13, 10; Job 37, 10; for Gen. 38, 28 vid. No. 3, below; also in the fem., e. g. 1 Sam. 30, 6 וְהָצַר; Ezek. 12, 25; cf. the impersonal passive Isa. 1, 6; 29, 6; Prov. 15, 6. Of another nature are the cases where the 3d sing. fem. is used as the predicate of an unmentioned fem. subject clear to the mind of the speaker, e. g. Isa. 7, 7; 14, 24; Jer. 10, 7; Job 4, 5; 18, 15 (in 2 K. 24, 7 we thus find כָּל־אִשָּׁר; in Jer. 19, 5 only אִשָּׁר with fem. predicate). This holds also of the cases where the 3d sing. masc. refers to even an already mentioned fact, e. g. Gen. 17, 11 וְהָיָה = *and this* (circumcision) *shall be the token of the covenant*, etc.

Rem. Expressions for natural phenomena may be indicated by the 3d sing. masc. as well as the fem.; e. g. אֵר it becomes light 1 Sam. 29, 10 (but with independent subj. Gen. 44, 3); וַיֵּאֹר and it became light; also יִהְיֶה it grows dark, Jer. 13, 16; but וְהִשְׁכָּה Mic. 3, 6; תִּאָּפֶה may it grow dark Job 11, 17; תִּקְטִיר it rains Amos 4, 7 (where, however, from the context we should read אֶמְקִיר); Ps. 50, 3 וְשִׁעָרָה it storms.

3. The indefinite personal subject (the German: *man*¹ *sagt*) is expressed:—

- a) by the 3d sing. masc., e. g. קָרָא one called (or calls) Gen. 11, 9; 16, 14; Ex. 15, 23; cf. Isa. 9, 5; וַיֹּאמֶר one said Gen. 48, 1²; other examples Gen. 38, 28 (*then one put forth his hand*); Isa. 6, 10 וְרָפָא לוֹ and one brings him salvation; 8, 4 (יִשָּׂא); 46, 7 (יִצְעַק); Mic. 2, 4; Job 27, 23.

Rem. The Jewish exegetes generally explain such singulars as due to the addition of the (regularly determinate) Participle from the same root, e. g. קָרָא הַקָּרָא. Such a supplement does now and then actually take place, e. g. Isa. 16, 10 יֵרֶךְ הַדֵּיֶךְ the treader treads, for one treads; 28, 4, 24 (*doth one plow continually?*); Deut. 22, 8; 2 Sam. 17, 9 (Ezek. 33, 4); with an indeterminate Participle (as in Arabic e. g. *qāla*

¹ Exactly corresponding to the German *man*, we find הָאִישׁ 1 Sam. 9, 9 (lit. *the man*).

² Since we usually find in such a case (different in the Perfect, 1 Sam. 23, 22) וַיֹּאמְרוּ, the question arises whether or not the present reading in Gen. 48, 1, should not be explained in accordance with Note 2 in § 7, 2, a, Rem.; also in 48, 2 we should read וַיִּזְכֹּר, for the unusual וַיִּזְכֵּר; in 50, 26 for וַיִּישָׂם (after a pl.) read the Hoph'al or the 3d pl. וַיִּקְרְבוּ 2 K. 21, 26.

qā'ilun: a speaker speaks = some one says), e. g. Num. 6, 9; Amos 9, 1.

- b) frequently by the 3d pl. masc., e. g. Gen. 29, 2 *out of this well* וַיִּשְׁקוּ *the flocks drank* (= one drank); 26, 18; 35, 5; 41, 14; 49, 31; 1 K. 1, 2; Isa. 38, 16; Hos. 12, 9; Job 18, 18; 34, 20; Esth. 2, 2; Neh. 2, 7.

Rem. Sometimes the 3d plu. also serves to express the indefinite subject where the context gives no hint as to any human agency. In such a case the 3d plu. is an accompaniment of a periphrasis of the passive, quite common in Aram. (vid. Gram. des Bibl.-Aram. § 96, 1, c); e. g. Job 7, 3 *wearisome nights* לַיְלֵי כְּנוּ לִי *they have appointed to me* (= have been appointed; only artificially can we here think of invisible powers as the subject): 4, 19; 6, 2; 19, 26; 34, 20; Ezek. 32, 25; Prov. 2, 22 (parallel with a passive); 9, 11.

- c) by the 2d sing. masc., e. g. Isa. 7, 25 *one will (or can) not come thither* (lit. *thou wilt*, etc.); Prov. 19, 25; 30, 28 (unless we should read וְתִתְּשֶׁה). Cf. also אֶרְבֶּכָּה or simply בֶּכָּה (Gen. 10, 19, 30; 13, 10 בִּבְכָּה) lit. *until thy arrival*, i. e. *until one arrives*.
- d) by the pl. of the Participle, e. g. Jer. 28, 23 *and all thy wives and sons* מְבִצְאִים (lit. *are they bringing out*) *does one bring out*, etc.; Gen. 39, 22; Isa. 32, 12; Ezek. 13, 7; Neh. 6, 10 (*for some are coming to kill thee*) and the passages¹ mentioned above in § 116, 5, Rem. 3.
- e) by the passive, e. g. Gen. 4, 26 אָז הָיָה לְקֹרֵא *then began they to call*, etc.

4. An unusual idiom, generally limited to poetic usage, is the frequent appearance of a verbal sentence² with a *double subject* of the person and of the thing; the latter, whether preceding or succeeding, serves to indicate the instrument, organ, or part by which the action in question is brought

¹ That this idiom too is due (vid. above, letter b, Rem.) to a periphrasis of the passive, is seen from comparison with Aramaic passages like Dan. 4, 22 where every thought is clearly separated from any human origin (cf. Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram. § 76, 2, e; in post-biblical Hebr., e. g. Pirke aboth 2, 16; 3, 5 al).

² In Ps. 83, 19 we find a double subject in a nominal sentence.

about; it is usually rendered by an adverb as defining more clearly the manner of the action. All examples belonging here have this in common, that to the neuter subject a suffix is added¹ in the same person with the personal subject. By this they are distinguished from the *accusative* mentioned in § 117, 3, with which they are often confounded.

a) Examples of a *preceding neuter subject* קוֹלִי אֶל-יְהוָה אֶקְרָא *my voice . . . I cried to Jehovah, i. e. loudly I cried to*, Ps. 3, 5; 27, 7; 142, 2; פִּי-קָרָאתִי *my mouth . . . I cried, i. e. loudly I cried*, Ps. 66, 17 (cf. 17, 10); Isa. 26, 9 (נַפְשִׁי *my soul, i. e. the inner*, hence parallel with אֶף-רוּחִי; but נַפְשִׁי in Ps. 57, 5 is rather a paraphrase of the 1st pers. I);

b) with a *following neuter subject* צַהֲלִי קוֹלְךָ *lift up . . . thy voice* (i. e. loudly) Isa. 10, 30; also after Imperfect Ps. 17, 13 (תִּרְבֶּה) and 14 (יִרָם); 60, 7; 108, 7 (יִמְיֶנֶה); after Perfect Hab. 3, 15 (סִינִיךָ); Imperfect consec. Ps. 69, 11 (נִפְשִׁי); after cohortative, Ps. 32, 8 (עֲנֵנִי); 108, 2 (אֶף-כְּבוֹדִי); in Ps. 44, 3 (אֲתָה יִרָם)² the neuter subject stands between the pers. subject and predicate.

Rem. 1. Occasionally (as in other languages) an action is ascribed to a subject that can take place only when the subject is acted upon by an external influence; cf. Gen. 40, 22 (41, 13); 41, 14; 43, 34 (*and he had cause to lay before them*); 46, 29; 2 Sam. 12, 9.

2. Supposed ellipses of a definite subject are due either to a false interpretation or to a corruption of the text. So with 1 Sam. 24, 11 after וַתִּחַס either (by an error=עָלֶיךָ) has been dropped or we should read with LXX וַאֲחִס; in 2 Sam. 13, 39 (וַתִּכַּל דָּוִד) the text is evidently corrupt.

3. In poetic (or prophetic) speech³ we find occasionally a more or less unhappy transition from one person to another. So from the 2d to the 3d pers. (from direct address to mere expression) Gen. 49, 4; Isa.

¹ In Ex. 6, 3 שְׁמִי is subordinated to the following passive נִדְרַעְתִּי; in 1 Sam. 25, 26, 33 יְדִי, יָדֶיךָ subject nom. follows the Infinitive absolute, הִישָׁע, according to § 113, 4, b, Rem. 1.

² In a number of the above mentioned examples it is easy to explain the neuter subject (especially when it follows the verb!) as an *instrumental case* (analogous to the adverbial accusatives referred to in § 118, 5, c) i. e. as an *accusative*. In spite of the fact, however, that the neuter subject actually more clearly defines the mode of the action in many cases, and that in the similar and yet different examples, Ps. 89, 2; 109, 30; Job 19, 16 פִּי used in connection with פִּי *instrument*, the explanation given above is adhered to.

³ In prose in Lev. 2, 8; but הִקְרִיבָה can scarcely be genuine. Of another nature (transition to direct discourse) is Gen. 26, 7.

22, 19; 31, 6 (?); 42, 20; Mal. 2, 15 (where for בְּגֵר we should doubtless read בְּתֵגֵר); Ps. 22, 9; in a relative clause Isa. 54, 1 (cf. also Isa. 22, 16; 52, 14 sq.; 61, 7). From the 3d to the 2d pers.; Deut. 32, 15; Isa. 1, 29; 5, 8; Jer. 29, 19; Job 16, 7 (cf. also Deut. 32, 17). From the 1st to the 3d pers. Lam. 3, 1 (in a relative clause) in Job 13, 28 the 3d pers. (לְהוֹיָא) $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ is used for the first.

§ 145.

RELATIONS OF SUBJECT AND PREDICATE IN GENDER AND NUMBER.

1. As in other languages, the gender and number of the predicate in Hebrew depend upon those of the subject. There are many exceptions, however, to this rule; these are due partly to a construction according to sense (*constructio ad sensum*)—the idea superior to the grammatical form; (vid. below Nos. 2–5)—and partly to placing the (differently viewed) predicate *before* the subject.

2. Singulars having a collective sense (§ 123, *a*) or occasionally taking a collective sense (§ 123, *b*) are readily, according to their meaning used with a plural predicate, whether the latter precedes or follows. This is true also when the collective is *feminine* in form (exclusively or predominantly) but masc. in sense.

Examples:

a) of actual collectives: (*a*) with a preceding predicate Gen. 30, 38 (וַתֵּבֵא, הַצֹּאן ; cf. vs. 39; 31, 8 and 33, 13); Judg. 1, 22 sq. (בְּנֵי = tribal-members); Mic. 4, 3 (גִּי'); 2 K. 25, 5 (חֵל); Prov. 11, 26 (לְאִים the people); Num. 10, 3 (עֵדָה assembly; cf. 1 K. 8, 5); 1 K. 1, 40; Isa. 9, 8; 25, 3; Amos 1, 5 (עַם); 1 Sam. 17, 47; Ezra 10, 12 (קְהָל congregation). Cf. also the construction of national appellations like אַרָּם (§ 122, 3, *a*, Rem), e. g. 1 K. 20, 20 וַיָּנָסוּ אַרָּם then the Aramaeans fled. (*β*) with a following predicate 1 K. 8, 5 וְצֹאן וּבָקָר sheep and cattle, construed with the plural in a following relative clause); Job 1, 14 $\text{הַבָּקָר הָיוּ חֹרְשִׁית}$ the cattle (cows) were plowing; 2 Sam. 3, 1 and 1 Chr. 10, 6 (בֵּית = family); Hos. 11, 7; Ezra 4, 4 (עַם); Ps. 68, 11 (חַיָּה living thing); Isa. 26, 19 (נַפְלֵה corpses); Isa. 27, 11 (קֶצֶיר branch); 1 Sam. 4, 1 (כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל).

b) of substantives occasionally used as collectives: (a) with a preceding predicate Gen. 34, 24 (זָכָר); Judg. 9, 55; 15, 10 (אִישׁ); Isa. 16, 4 (רֹכֵס spoiler). (β) with a following predicate Job 8, 19 (אֲחֵר = others); Ezek. 28, 3 (סְתוּם concealed).

c) of feminines collectively designating masculine individuals: (a) with a preceding predicate: 1 Sam. 17, 46 וְיָדְעוּ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ and all the earth will know (= all inhabitants thereof); Amos 1, 8 (שְׁאִרִית remnant). (β) with a following predicate: Gen. 41, 57; 2 Sam. 15, 23; 1 K. 10, 24; Ps. 33, 8 (כָּל־הָאָרֶץ); Gen. 48, 6 (מוֹלָדָה issue, consanguinity); 1 Sam. 2, 33 (מְרִבִּית later increase); Hag. 2, 7 (חֲסִידָה costliness); Job 30, 12 (פְּרוֹחַ brood).

Examples of predicates in the sing. in spite of the collective force of the subject are found in Gen. 35, 11; Ex. 10, 24 et al. For examples of a bolder enallage of number in nominal sentences with a substantive predicate, vid. above, § 141, 2, Rem. 1.

Rem. Sometimes the construction begins with the singular (especially so when the predicate precedes; vid. below No. 7), but after the collective subject has been stated, it is continued in the plural, e. g. Ex. 1, 20 וַיִּרְבּוּ הָעָם וַיִּעֲצְמוּ מְאֹד and the people multiplied and became very numerous; 33, 4.

3. On the other hand, plurals with a singular meaning (§ 124, 1) are frequently construed with the singular, particularly the plural of honor or of authority (cf. § 124, 1, c; cf. § 132, 1, Rem. 5, b, for their union with attributes); as אֱלֹהִים Gen. 1, 1, 3, etc. (but. vid. Rem.) אֲדֹנָי Lord (Ex. 21, 4); מַעֲלִים master, proprietor (Ex. 21, 29); also פְּנִים with the sing. Job 16, 16 *Keth.* We find, too, that the predicate in the masc. sometimes takes a feminine form with a masc. sense, e. g. Eccl. 12, 9 הָיְתָה הָאֵלֶּת חָכָם the preacher was wise.

Rem. The construction of אֱלֹהִים God with the plural of the predicate is explained (regardless, of course, of passages like 1 K. 19, 2; 20, 10 where the heathen are speaking, where אֱלֹהִים may be plural) as due partly to the easier polytheistic methods of speech (so too in forms like Ex. 22, 8; cf. Ps. 58, 2), partly to the peculiar idiom of one of the old original manuscripts of the Hexateuch (E according to Wellhausen etc., B according to Dillmann; cf. the latter's Kommentar zu Num. — Joshua p. 618; also above § 124, 1, c, Note 1); so Gen. 20, 13 (of course in conversation with a heathen); 31, 53; 35, 7; cf. also Josh. 24, 19. That this construction was subsequently intentionally avoided for fear of ambiguity is seen from passages like Neh. 9, 18 compared with Ex. 32, 4, 8; 1 Chr. 17, 21 with 2 Sam. 7, 23.

4. The plurals of the names of animals or designations of things, whether *masc.* or *fem.*, are readily construed with the *fem. sing.* of the verbal predicate¹ (for the collective sense of the *fem. form*, cf. § 122, 4, *c*); so Joel 1, 20 שָׂדֵה תִּעְרַג בְּהֵמוֹת the *beasts of the field pant for*; Jer. 12, 4 (with predicate preceding); cf. also Job 12, 7; designations of things with foregoing predicate, Isa. 34, 13; Jer. 4, 41; Ps. 18, 35; 37, 31; Job 14, 19; 27, 20; with predicate following, Gen. 49, 22 (כַּנּוֹת = *twigs*); Isa. 59, 12; Jer. 2, 15 *Keth*; 4, 14; 48, 41; 49, 24; Prov. 20, 18; Job 20, 11; 41, 10.²

5. The plural of persons (especially of Participles) is sometimes construed with the singular of the predicate, when attention seems to be called to every individual rather than to the totality. Undoubted examples of such *distributive singulars* are Gen. 27, 29; (Num. 24, 9) מְבַרְכֶיךָ בָּרוּךְ וְאֹרְרֶיךָ אָרוּר those that *bless thee, may* (each such an one) *be blessed, and those that curse thee, may* (each such an one) *be cursed*; Ex. 31, 14; Lev. 17, 14 and 19, 8; (*Samaritan* in both cases אֶכְלוּ); Isa. 3, 12 (unless נִנְשָׁיו according to § 124, *c*, is to be considered as a plural of authority); Prov. 3, 18, 35 (?); 21, 27 *b*; 27, 16; 28, 1, *b*; 28, 16 *Keth*.

Rem. Analogous to the foregoing examples is the frequent reference back to plurals by means of (distributively regarded) suffixes in the singular, cf. the *verbal* suffixes Deut. 21, 10; 28, 48; Amos 6, 10; *nominal* suffixes Isa. 2, 8; Jer. 31, 15; Hos. 4, 8; Zech. 14, 12; Ps. 5, 10; 62, 5; 141, 10 (?); Job 38, 32; Eccl. 10, 15; finally the suffixes with prepositions Isa. 2, 20 אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ-לוֹ which they each one for himself *made*; according to others the things made from the subject); 5, 26; 8, 20; Job 24, 5 (throughout לוֹ; in Gen. 2, 19 לוֹ refers to the collectives חַיָּה and עוֹף); cf. also Isa. 5, 23 מִמֶּנִּי after צִדִּיקִים.

¹ Cf. the Greek use of neuter plurals with the *sing.* predicates τὰ πρόβατα βαίνει (Attic Greek permits the use of the plural when the neuter actually refers to persons τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἔλαβον). In Arabic, too, the so-called *pl. inhumanus* (i. e. not referring to persons) is connected with the *sing. fem.* of the attribute or predicate; this is true also of all the so-called *plurales fracti* (collective forms).

² In Prov. 14, 1, the abstract plural הַכְמוֹת (so read with 9, 1 al. for חֵכֶם) is constructed with the *sing.*; cf. § 124, *b*.

6. Subjects in the *dual*, since verbs, adjectives and pronouns, § 88, 1, lack dual forms, are construed with the *plural* of the predicate; so עֵינָיו Gen. 29, 17 וְעֵינֵי לֵאָה רַכּוּת and *Leah's eyes were lusterless*; 2 Sam. 24, 3; Isa. 30, 20; Jer. 14, 6; Mic. 7, 10; Ps. 18, 28; 38, 11 (but in 1 Sam. 4, 15 the predicate in the sing. stands *after*, in Mic. 4, 11 *before* the subject; cf. for both, No. 4); also אָזְנוֹת 2 Chr. 6, 40; יָדַי Isa. 1, 15; Job 10, 8; 20, 10; שְׁפָתַי 1 Sam. 1, 13; Job 27, 4; שְׁרֵיבֵי Hos. 9, 14.

7. Frequently deviations from the general rule (vid. No. 1) are made, *when the predicate precedes the* (animate or inanimate¹) *subject*. The speaker or writer begins with the simplest form of the predicate, the inflexible 3d sing. masc., and apparently leaves it in doubt through which following subject, through which gender or which number, the predicate, for the time being left indefinite, is to be definitely qualified.² Thus we find uninflected:—

a) the verb with a following sing. fem., Isa. 2, 17 וְשָׁח גְּבֻהוֹת וְהֶאָדָם and *the loftiness of man shall be bowed down*; 9, 18; 14, 11; 28, 18; 47, 11; 1 Sam. 25, 27 (vid. Note 1 below); 1 K. 8, 31; 22, 36; 2 K. 3, 26; Jer. 51, 46; Eccl. 7, 7; with following pl. masc. Isa. 13, 22 וְעָנָה אֵיִם and *jackals howl*, etc.; Judg. 13, 17 *Keth*; Jer. 51, 48; Ps. 124, 5; Esth. 9, 23 (vid. Note 1 above); with following pl. fem., Gen. 1, 14 יְהִי מְאֹרֹת let *there be luminaries*; Deut. 32, 35; Isa. 8, 8; Jer. 13, 18; Mic. 2, 6; Ps. 57, 2; before collectives and confused subjects, e. g. Gen. 12, 16; 13, 5; 30, 43; 32, 6, etc.; before following dual Isa. 44, 18; Ps. 73, 7 (where with the LXX we should read (עֲוִימוֹ).

¹ Very rarely does an uninflected predicate precede a personal subject; so in 1 Sam. 25, 27 (but read here וְהִכָּיָאָה as in vs. 35); Esth. 9, 23 (before pl. masc.). Examples like Job 42, 15 are explained according to § 121, 1.

² In a certain sense the German is analogous in *es kommt ein Mann, eine Frau*, etc.

Rem. 1. The cases where a *plu. masc.* predicate precedes the *plu.* (or collective sing.) fem. of persons (Judg. 21, 21; 1 K. 11, 3), animals (Gen. 30, 39) or things (Jer. 13, 16; Hos. 14, 7; Ps. 16, 4; Job 3, 24) are not to be explained by analogy to No. 7, but by an aversion to the 3d plu. fem. Imperfect (for only this form is treated in the foregoing examples; but cf. also Nah. 3, 11 *תִּהְיֶה* for *תִּהְיֶינָה*; cf. on this point the examples of a following predicate in the 3d plu. masc. for the fem. under letter *b*, Rem. 2 and 3, and for an analogous appearance in the Imperfect § 110, 2, *b*, Rem.).

2. Like real verbs, the verb *הָיָה* used as a copula frequently remains uninflected before the subject, cf. Gen. 5, 23 sq.; 39, 5; Deut. 21, 3 (according to the accent); 22, 23; Isa. 18, 5 *the flower becometh הָיָה נֶצֶחַ a ripening grape.*

- b*) the adjective in a nominal sentence, e. g. Ps. 119, 137 *יֵשֶׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ thy judgments are righteous*, cf. vs. 155. In German, too, such an adjective remains uninflected.¹ But *רָעָה* *thy servants are shepherds* Gen. 47, 3 is either an unusual form or incorrect for *רָעִי*.

Rem. 1. Whenever a period, begun with an uninflected predicate, is continued after the subject has been stated, the following (coördinated) predicates must agree with the subject in gender and number; e. g. Gen. 1, 14 *וְהָיוּ . . . יְהִי קִמְאֵרֵת* (vid. above, letter *a*); Num. 9, 6; Ezek. 14, 1, cf. also Gen. 30, 39 (vid. above, letter *a*, Rem. 1).

2. The above-mentioned (letter *a*, Rem. 1) aversion to the use of the fem. form (cf. § 144, 1 and the cited sections of the Gram., as well as Rem. 3) is sometimes seen also in that of the several predicates, only the one nearest the fem. substantive is so inflected: Isa. 14, 9 *רָגְזָה* (then *עֲוִיר*); 33, 9 *אֲבֵל אֲמַלְלָה אֶרֶץ the earth mourns and languishes*. Cf. Jer. 4, 30 and the examples where of several successive forms of the 2d sing. fem. Imperfect only the first has the affirmative *י*; Isa. 57, 8; Jer. 3, 5; Ezek. 22, 4; 23, 32 *תִּהְיֶה* after *תִּשְׁתִּי*; for the inverted order of gender in Imperatives Nah. 3, 15, cf. § 110, 2, *b*, Rem.). Of another character are cases like Lev. 2, 1; 5, 1; 20, 6, where *נִפְשׁ* *person* (fem.) in the continuation of the discourse acquires the force of a masc. person in harmony with the context.

3. Cases where the gender or number of the *following* predicate does not agree with that of the subject are due partly to textual corruptions (in Gen. 32, 9 read with the Sam. *הָאֲחֹת* for *הָאֲחִי*; hence follows *וְהָיָה* 1 Sam. 2, 20 read with *Wellhausen* *שָׂאֵל* for *שָׂאֵל* according to 1, 28; 1 Sam. 16, 4 read *וַיֹּאכְלוּ*; 2 Sam. 14, 10 read *וַיִּבְרְאוּ*);

¹ Cases like Job 24, 7, 10, where *עָרוֹם* according to § 118, 5, *a*, is rather to be explained as a circumstantial accusative, do not belong here.

Ezek. 18, 29 read for יִתְּכֶן the plu. as in vs. 25; so also Ezek. 20, 38 for יִבְנוּ¹ and Job 6, 20 for קִטְּחָה; Lam. 5, 10 read נִכְבְּרָה and cf. § 7, 2, a, Note 2; 1 Chr. 2, 48 read יִלְדָה; in Jer. 48, 15 also the text is doubtless corrupt) or on other particular reasons. So are explained the deviations in Isa. 49, 11; Hos. 14, 1; Cant. 6, 9; Esth. 1, 20; perhaps also in Gen. 20, 17 (vid. letter a, Rem. 1) due to an aversion of the 3d plu. fem. Imperfect; furthermore in Jer. 44, 19 even the plu. masc. of a Participle is used in place of the plu. fem. In Gen. 31, 8, after a plural subject יְהִיָּה is explained as due to attraction to the following sing. predicate.² In Gen. 4, 7 רִבֵּץ is a substantive Participle (*an ambusher, encamper*). In 15, 17 הָיָה (*and it became dark*) is in the indefinite gender (the masc.), although for the sake of emphasis the noun precedes; so יְהִיָּה Gen. 47, 24; Ex. 12, 49; Jer. 50, 46; Eccl. 2, 7 הָיָה לִי as if beginning anew: *and house-slaves*—even this possession *was my lot* לֹא-נִפְחָה in Job 20, 26 (unless אֵשׁ is considered as masc. § 122, 3, d) may be regarded as impersonal (*fire, not blown*). The sing. of the predicate in Isa. 16, 8 and Hab. 3, 17 is explained by the character of שְׂרָמוֹת as collective (vid. No. 3); the masc. form of the predicate, however, in Ps. 87, 3 is anomalous.

§ 146.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPOUND SUBJECT.

1. When the subject of a sentence is a governing noun (in the construct state) joined to a following genitive, the predicate does not always agree in gender and number with said governing noun, but with the genitive, provided the latter contains the principal idea in the compound subject.³ So 1 Sam. 2, 4 קֶשֶׁת גִּבּוֹרִים חָתִים *the bow of the mighty is broken* (as it were, *the mighty with their bow are broken*); Ex. 15, 4 מִבְּחַר שְׁלִישִׁיו = *his chosen captains*, cf. Isa. 22, 7); Lev. 13, 9; 1 K. 1, 41; 17, 16; Isa. 2, 11; 21, 17; Job 15, 20; 21, 21; 29, 10; 32, 7 (רַב שָׁנִים = *the many years*); 38, 21; with pre-

¹ יִבְנוּ is doubtless incorrect for יִבְנוּ. The Massora on Lev. 11, 34 gives יִבְנוּ where the plural would be expected.

² So we find the pronoun הוּא supplanting the copula attracted to the predicate in regard to number, Josh. 13, 14 הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ . . . אֵשׁ יְהוָה *the sacrifice of Jehovah . . . that is their inheritance*, in num. and gen. Lev. 25, 33 Qeri; Jer. 10, 3.

³ Nevertheless the attraction of the predicate to the genitive may sometimes be effected entirely by placing them together.

ceding predicate 2 Sam. 10, 9 (unless explained according to § 145, 4).

Rem. 1. Of another nature are the cases where קוֹל (*voice, sound*) seems to be construed by analogy to the preceding with a following genitive at the beginning of a sentence. Actually, however, קוֹל should be considered as an exclamation, and the intended predicate as apposition to the genitive, e. g. Gen. 4, 10 *voice of the blood of thy brother which calls* (lit. of the calling one) . . . ! as readily as *listen! the blood of thy brother is crying* etc.; Isa. 13, 4; 66, 6 (in Isa. 52, 8 an independent verbal sentence follows the exclamation [*voice of thy watchmen*]; in Jer. 10, 22; Cant. 2, 8 an independent nominal sentence; Isa. 40, 3 קוֹל קָרָא *voice of the calling one*, i. e. *listen! some one is calling* is connected with the direct discourse; in Mic. 6, 9 קוֹל could stand alone and יְהוָה be regarded as the subject of יִקְרָא).

2. When the Substantive כֹּל (כָּל-) *totality*, is used in connection with a genitive as the subject of a sentence, the predicate customarily agrees in gender and number with the genitive, since כֹּל in sense is used as an attribute (= *whole, all*) of the genitive, hence e. g. with a foregoing predicate Gen. 5, 5 וַיְהִי כָל-יְמֵי אָדָם and *all the days that Adam lived*, etc. (but 9, 29 וַיְהִי; still the Samaritan even here, reads וַיְהִי); Ex. 15, 20; with following predicate Ps. 150, 6 al.; exceptions are e. g. Isa. 64, 10; Prov. 16, 2; Nah. 3, 7 (but in some passages like Ex. 12, 16, the connecting of the Predicate with כָּל- is explained by the emphasis of the latter, so far as כָּל-כִּי לֹא = *no work at all*).

2. If the subject of the sentence consists of several nouns united by *Waw copula*:

- a) the *following* predicate generally stands in the plural, e. g. Gen. 8, 22 *seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease* (לֹא יִשְׁבְּחוּ), after subjects of different genders, in the masculine (as *genus potius*) e. g. Gen. 18, 11 אַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה זָקְנִים *Abraham and Sarah were old*; Deut. 28, 32.

Rem. Very rare are exceptions like Prov. 27, 9 שֶׁמֶן וְקֹטֹרֶת יִשְׂמַח-לֵב *ointment and perfume rejoice the heart*; the gender of the predicate agrees with the masc. שֶׁמֶן, but in Ex. 21, 4 (Subject הָאִשָּׁה וְיִלְדֶיהָ after הָאִשָּׁה as the principal person; in the compound sentence Isa. 9, 4 after the next preceding fem. subject.

- b) the predicate *preceding* several subjects may also be in the plural (Gen. 40, 1; Job 3, 5 et al.); often, however, it agrees in gender and number with the first, as the nearest subject. So the sing. masc. predicate stands before

several following masc. singulars, Gen. 9, 23; 11, 29; 21, 32; 24, 50; 34, 20; Judg. 14, 5; before sing. masc. and fem. Gen. 3, 8; 24, 55 *then her brother said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *and her mother*; 33, 7; before sing. masc. and plural, Gen. 7, 7 וַיָּבֹאוּ נֹחַ וּבָנָיו *then went Noah and his sons*, etc.; Gen. 8, 18 (where also fem. plurals follow); 44, 14; Ex. 15, 1; 2 Sam. 5, 21. Also we find the sing. fem. before several fem. singulars, e. g. Gen. 31, 14 וַתֵּעַן רָחֵל וְלֵאָה *then answered Rachel and Leah*; before sing. fem. and pl. fem., e. g. Gen. 24, 61; before sing. fem. and sing. masc., Num. 12, 1 וַתִּדְבֹר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן *then Miriam and Aaron spake*; Judg. 5, 1; before sing. fem. and pl. masc., e. g. Gen. 33, 7 (but cf. Ps. 75, 4 הָאֲרֶץ וְכָל-יֹשְׁבֵיהָ *the earth and the inhabitants thereof are dissolved*). In Amos 8, 13 the pl. fem. stands before the pl. fem. and the pl. masc.

If other predicates follow the subject, they are necessarily plural; cf. Ex. 21, 32; 24, 61; 31, 4; 33, 7 etc., and § 145, b, Rem. 1.

§ 147.

INCOMPLETE SENTENCES.

1. Incomplete sentences are those whose subject or predicate or both must be supplied from the context.² Regardless of cases referred to in § 116, 5, Rem. 3 (omission of the personal pronoun as the subject of a participial clause) and of the periphrasis of negative attributive ideas (§ 152, 1, *h*, Rem.), there belong here certain (nominal) sentences introduced by הִנֵּה (vid. No. 2, below), as well as a number of exclamations of entirely different natures (vid. No. 3, below).

¹ Reversed, however, we find the second object to several confused objects, after the immediately preceding, e. g. Gen. 33, 2 *he placed . . . Leah and her children* אַחֲרֵיהֶם *following* (behind).

² We do not consider here cases like Gen. 33, 8, where only the Infinitive with ל, as the answer to a question, seems to be used, since the content of the question (as an assertion) is first expressed; cf. also 26, 7 where אֲשֶׁתִּי must again be supplied with הִיא.

2. The exclamatory particles הֵן, הִנֵּה *en, ecce*, may be used either absolutely (as a kind of interjection, cf. § 105, 2) before complete nominal or verbal sentences (e. g. Gen. 28, 15 וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי עִמָּךְ *and behold! I am with thee*; 37, 7; Ex. 34, 10); or may take the pronoun expected as the subject of a nominal sentence in the form of a suffix (vid. § 100, 5). The form of this suffix shows, (if analogous to the Arabic particle 'inna), that it must be regarded as an accusative suffix.¹ If הֵן with the suffix, and the following adjective or Participle (vid. examples § 116, 5, c, Rem. 1) forms a nominal sentence, then the real subject to which הֵן with its suffix refers, must be necessarily supplied before the predicate.² The pronominal reference to the subject is, however, sometimes wanting, and simply הֵן with the copula takes its place (so Gen. 18, 9 הִנֵּה בָּאֵהָל *here she is in the tent*; 42, 28), or every indication of a predicate is wanting, so that the sentence is limited to הֵן with the suffix (so in the frequent הֵנָּה, הֵנִי *here am I* as the answer to an exclamation). Elsewhere a substantive follows הֵן (or הֵן Gen. 11, 6; Job 31, 35) and הֵן then in sense includes a demonstrative pronoun with the copula, e. g. Gen. 22, 7 הֵנָּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים *there is the fire and the wood*, etc.; 12, 19 (there hast thou thy wife!); Ex. 24, 8; with a reference to the past, e. g. Amos 7, 1 וְהִנֵּה לְקֵשׁ וּג' *it was the after-growth*, etc. In a most extreme pregnant form הֵן is used as the equivalent of a sentence in Job 9, 19 = *here am I*.

3. Examples of (threatening, complaining, triumphing, of warlikeness or rebelliousness) exclamations in which, due to

¹ According to the same analogy every substantive following הֵן would be virtually considered as in the accusative. But since there are in Hebrew (as in Arab., where the accus. necessarily follows 'inna) no case-endings, it is very doubtful whether and to what extent substantives after הֵן are to be considered as accusatives.

² That we are dealing with actual nominal sentences and not some Participle (e. g. הֵן in מֵת in Gen. 20, 3) as a second accusative (perhaps = *ecce te moriturum*) is clearly seen by analogy to the Arabic, where the predicate expressed in the *nominative* follows 'inna with its accusative.

excitement of the speaker, a necessary member of the sentence is suppressed, occur: —

- a) with suppression of the predicate (which is usually to be supplied as a Jussive), e. g. Judg. 7, 20 *sword of Jehovah and Gideon* (vs. 18 without הַרְבּ); 2 Sam. 1, 20 and 2 Chr. 10, 16 (cf. also 1 K. 22, 36) *each one to his tent, O Israel!* sc. may return; the same cry without אִישׁ is found in 1 K. 12, 16; furthermore Isa. 1, 28; 13, 4; (cf. for the exclamation קוֹל = *listen* § 146, 1, Rem. 1); 28, 10; 29, 16 (הַפְּכָבִים *your perversity!* sc. how great is it); Jer. 49, 16 (if תִּפְלָצְתָּךְ be *shudderings upon thee*); Joel 4, 14; Mal. 1, 13 (הִנֵּה מַתְלָאָה *what a weariness!*); Job 22, 29; perhaps in Gen. 49, 4 פָּחוּ כַּמִּים *unstable as water* (sc. became) unless אָתָּה (= *wast thou!*) is to be supplied as the subject.
- b) with suppression of the subject, Job 15, 22 (אֵיָה *where?* sc. is bread);
- c) with suppression of the subject and predicate, Judg. 7, 18 (vid. above letter a); 1 K. 12, 16, (vid. letter a); 2 K. 9, 27 גַּם אִתּוֹ *also him* (also explained by הִכָּהוּ *strike him!*); Hos. 5, 8 (*behind thee, Benjamin*, sc. is the enemy; otherwise Judg. 5, 14); Ps. 6, 4; Hab. 2, 4 (עַרְמָתִי); Ps. 74, 9 (עַרְמָה).

Rem. 1. To the category of incomplete sentences belong of course also exclamations introduced by interjections (אָהָה, אִי, הֵי, הֵס cf. § 105). The object of *threats* and *cries of pain* usually follows with לְ (cf. *vae tibi*), אֶל- or לְ-, e. g. אִי לָנוּ *woe unto us* 1 Sam. 4, 8; Isa. 6, 5 (but cf. Isa. 5, 8, 11, 18, 20, 22, where the noun occurs everywhere without לְ), but the object of *complaints* is in the vocative or even rather the accusative (cf. *vae te* in *Plautus*); so in a lamentation הֵי אָחִי *Alas! my brother* 1 K. 13, 30; Jer. 22, 18 הֵי גֵי חַטָּא *O the sinful people!* Isa. 1, 4 (cf. however, also אָהָה לַיּוֹם *alas for the day!* Joel 1, 15). For הֵס cf. Hab. 2, 20; Zeph. 1, 7; Zech. 2, 17.

¹ If אִי and הֵי were originally substantives, they are, in the language as we know it, clearly not now such. We shall not consider cases where the above-mentioned interjections (e. g. הֵס Judg. 3, 19; Amos, 6, 10) are entirely alone (so always אָח and הָאָח).

2. Strangely abbreviated nominal sentences occur in יָדֵיהֶם and רַגְלֵיהֶם Ps. 115, 7 = יָדֵים לָהֶם *hands have they*, etc. (cf. vss. 5 and 6 וּפִלְגְּשׁוֹ etc.). In this manner we must explain Gen. 22, 24 וַפִּלְגְּשׁוֹ; Num. 12, 6 נִבְיָאֵכֶם and Eccl. 5, 16 וַחֲלִי'.

II. PARTICULAR KINDS OF SENTENCES.

§ 148.

EXCLAMATORY SENTENCES.

מָה (originally interrogative) = *O how!* sometimes strengthened by וְהָ or וְאֵחַ according to § 136, 1, Rem. 2, is used to introduce any exclamation of admiration, irritation or disdain. Admiration or irritation over an actual occurrence is introduced by an (also originally interrogative) אֵיךְ *how!* with the *Perfect*, a reluctant refusal of a demand by אֵיךְ (also מָה Job 31, 1) with the *Imperfect*, a complaining exclamation by אֵיכָה, more rarely אֵיךְ (Joel 1, 18 by מָה) *O how!*

Examples: מָה (or מָה־ with a following Daghesh, vid. § 37) admiration before verbal sentences, e. g. Gen. 27, 20 (מָה־יָהּ); 38, 29; Num. 24, 5 (*O, how beautiful are . . . !*); Cant. 7, 2; before the predicate of nominal sentences, e. g. Gen. 28, 17; Ps. 8, 2; with scorn, before the verb 2 Sam. 6, 20 (*O, how glorious was . . . !*); Jer. 22, 23; Job 26, 2 sq.; irritation in Gen. 3, 13 (מָה־זֹּאת); 4, 10; 20, 9; 31, 26 *what hast thou done!*

אֵיךְ with the *Perfect*, e. g. Gen. 26, 9; Ps. 73, 19; in scornful expression Isa. 14, 4, 12; complaining (where otherwise we should find אֵיכָה) 1 Sam. 1, 25, 27; with *Imperfect* Ps. 11, 1; 137, 4; in scornful mockery Mic. 2, 4.

אֵיכָה with the *Perfect* Isa. 1, 21; Lam. 1, 1; with an *Imperfect* Lam. 2, 1; 4, 1.

Rem. 1. The close relation between a question and an exclamation is seen also in the personal interrogative word מִי in cases like Mic. 7, 18 מִי־אֵל כְּמוֹךָ *who is a God like thee?* and so mainly in rhetorical questions, as in a vivid denial of the expression. This relative is often seen in the use of questions to indicate wishes, § 151, 1.

2. A weaker form of exclamation is sometimes indicated by the insertion of a strengthening כֵּן *yes, certainly*, before the predicate; Gen. 18, 20; cf. 33, 11 and the analogous cases in the consequent of conditional clauses § 159, 2, d, Rem. 3.

§ 149.

OATHS AND ASSEVERATIONS.

We find **אם** in the sense of *forsooth not*, and **אם-לא** (rarely **כי**) *forsooth*, to introduce an assertion or threat as an oath (after forms like **כִּי יִהְיֶה** etc., and after curses, vid. below) or even a simple asseveration (2 Sam. 20, 20; Job 27, 5 after **לִי** *far be it from me*, usually, however, without an introductory word).

Rem. No one has as yet succeeded in giving an unquestioned explanation of the foregoing particles. The supposition according to which oaths are said to be due to the suppression of a self-imprecation (e. g. *thus and thus may Jehovah do to me if I do this = I shall most certainly not do it*; then **אם-לא** = *if I do not do it = I shall most certainly do it*) falls because of the impossibility of putting a self-imprecation into the mouth of God, as required in Deut. 1, 34 sq.; Isa. 14, 24; 22, 14; Jer. 22, 6; Ezek. 3, 6; 35, 6; Ps. 95, 11; furthermore, instead of self-imprecations we find the imprecations of others (1 Sam. 25, 22). Strack (hebr. Gramm. p. 149) denies that **אם** is an interrogative particle; since after this a negative answer is regularly (?) expected. **אם** could easily have acquired a negative meaning, and so the use of **אם-לא** in a positive sense² would follow. The most plausible, however, is that the asseverative **אם** has nothing whatever to do with **אם** *if*, corresponding rather to the Arabic 'in (which according to Fleischer = Hebrew **אין**). Since now 'in (e. g. Koran 26, 109) means *forsooth not*, it is clear that **אם** introduces the negative oath, **אם-לא** the positive.

Examples:

a) **אם** and **אם-לא** as particles in oaths after the announcement of an oath and its form, e. g. 2 Sam. 11, 11 **אם-אֵינֶנְךָ חַי וְחַי נַפְשְׁךָ** **אֶת-הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה** *as thou livest and thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing*; 2 K. 5, 16 (after **וְהָיָה**, **חַי**), Cant. 2, 7; 3, 5 (after **הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי** *I caused you to swear*); cf. also Gen. 14, 23; 21, 23; 26, 29; in the mouth of Jehovah Isa. 14, 24 (here **אם-לא** first occurs with the *Perfect* in the sense of a so-called

¹ Also we find connected **וְחַי נַפְשְׁךָ וְחַי-יְהוָה** in 1 Sam. 20, 3; 25, 26 *as Jehovah liveth and as thy soul liveth (=thou)*. Cf. on **וְחַי** and **וְחַי** in these nominal sentences (lit. *living is Jehovah*, etc.) § 93, 1, Rem. 7, Note.

² There may be found passages, like 1 K. 20, 23 supporting this view, when in sense we could translate: *whether we could not there overcome them*. This, however, is entirely impossible with **אם** and **אם-לא** immediately following the form of the oath.

Perfect *propheticum*, § 106, 3, *b*; but in the parallel clause with the Imperfect); Jer. 22, 6; in Gen. 31, 52 the negative oath is introduced by אִם-אַתָּה, אִם-אֲנִי, also taken up by לֹא with the Imperfect. In Ezek. 34, 10 the threat introduced by אִם-לֹא in vs. 8 is again begun with הִנְנִי after a long intermediate sentence.

b) אִם and אִם-לֹא after imprecatory forms, e. g. 1 Sam. 3, 17 'עֲשֶׂה-לְךָ אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף אִם-תִּבְחָר כִּמְנִי דָבָר וג' *God shall do so to thee and more! thou shalt not hide anything from me*, etc.; cf. 1 Sam. 25, 22. But in 1 Sam. 14, 44; 1 K. 2, 23 (here with the Perfect) כִּי follows the imprecatory form; in 2 Sam. 3, 35 אִם כִּי; in 1 Sam. 20, 13 the content of the asseveration (after the insertion of a conditional clause) is resumed by the Perfect *consec.*

c) אִם and אִם-לֹא as simple asseverative particles, e. g. Judg. 5, 8 'קִנְן אִם-יִרְאָה וְיִמָּח וג' *actually, no shield nor spear was seen*, etc.; Isa. 22, 14; Job 6, 28 (in the middle of the sentence), after חָלִילָה *absit*; 1 Sam. 20, 20 אִם-לֹא with the Perfect Job 22, 20.

§ 150.

INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES.

1. An interrogation need not necessarily be indicated by a particular interrogative word (pronoun or adverb). Frequently the corresponding emphasis of words (especially when the most emphatic word stands first) is sufficient to designate an interrogation as such; cf. Gen. 27, 24 אַתָּה הִנְּךָ בְּנִי עֵשָׂו *thou art my son Esau?* 18, 12; 2 K. 9, 17; 1 Sam. 11, 22 שְׂאוּל *Saul shall reign over us?*; 22, 7; 2 Sam. 18, 29 וְיִמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ *Saul shall reign over us?*; 22, 7; 2 Sam. 18, 29 וְיִמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ *is it well with the young man?* 1 K. 1, 24; Zech. 8, 6 (will it therefore be too wonderful in my eyes?). This is particularly true when the interrogation is united to a preceding sentence by means of וְ (e. g. Jon. 4, 11 וְאֲנִי לֹא אֶחָיוּם *and I should not spare?*); Ex. 8, 22 (will they not then stone us?); Judg. 11, 23; 14, 16; 1 Sam. 25, 11; Isa. 37, 11; Job 2, 10; or when (as partly even in the foregoing examples) it is a negative (לֹא = הֲלֹא *nonne?*) e. g. 2 Sam. 23, 5 כִּי-לֹא יִי *yea, will he not let it spring forth?*; 2 K. 5, 26; Lam. 3, 38.¹

¹ But in 1 Sam. 27, 10 for אֶל- (which according to the usual interpretation expects a negative answer) we should read either אֶן (אֲנִי) *whither* or with the LXX אֶל-קִי (עֲלֵי-קִי).

Rem. The omission of the interrogative particle (ה, ה) occurs sometimes especially before a guttural in order to avoid hiatus (cf. § 126, 5, Rem. 1, b); so before א Gen. 18, 12; 27, 24; 1 K. 1, 24; 21, 7 (as in Dan. 5, 13 in Aramaic); before ה in 1 Sam. 22, 15; 2 Sam. 19, 23; Hab. 2, 19; Job 38, 18; before ח in 1 Sam. 21, 16; before ע in Ex. 9, 17; Job 2, 9; cf. also Job 37, 18 and 39, 2 (before ת); 40, 30 (before ').

2. As a rule the simple question begins with the *interrogative* ה (ה, cf. for form § 100, 4, Rem.) *ne? num.*; the *disjunctive* question with ה (num? utrum?) in the first clause, followed by אם (also ואם; rarely או) *an?* in the second,¹ e. g. 1 K. 22, 15 הֲנִהְיֶה אִם . . . הִנָּלֶךְ *shall we go . . . or forbear?*

To be more specific:

a) The particle ה is strictly a sign of the question pure and simple, when the inquirer is uncertain what answer to expect; it is also used before nominal sentences (e. g. Gen. 43, 7 הֲעוֹד אֲבִיכֶם חַי הִישׁ לָכֶם אָח *does your father still live? have ye still a brother?* cf. on הִישׁ 24, 23; 1 Sam. 9, 11; on הֲאֵין *is there not?* 1 K. 22, 7 al.), and verbal sentences, e. g. Job 2, 3 הֲשַׁמְתָּ לְבָן (הַשְׁמַתָּ לְבָן) *my servant Job?* Elsewhere ה (= num?) is used where by the tone of voice and character of the question a negative answer is expected, e. g. Job 14, 14 *if a man die, הֲיִחְיֶה shall he live again?* Such a question may be used rhetorically for a strict negation, or an astonishing and perhaps provoking refusal,³ e. g. 2 Sam. 7, 5 הֲאֶתָּה תִּבְנֶה-לִּי בַּיִת *shalt thou build a house for me?* (in the parallel passage 1 Chr. 19, 4 הֲאֶתָּה לֹא *thou shalt not, etc.*); Gen. 4, 9 הֲשֹׁמֵר אָנֹכִי אֶתִּי *am I the keeper of my brother?* cf. 2 K. 5, 7 and the two passages where ה is used before the Infinitive (*construct* Job 34, 18; *absolute* 40, 2; cf. for both § 113, 4, b, d, with Note 2).

¹ In 1 Sam. 21, 9 (in הֲאֵין יֵשׁ פֶּה *num est hic?*) the particle הֲאֵין *num* customary in Aramaic, is used entirely alone; the text, however, is without doubt corrupt; the LXX with Wellhausen, Text der Bücher Samuelis, read הֲיֵשׁ אֵינָהּ. We do not here consider the introduction of a question by interrogative pronouns (§ 37) or the interrogative words compounded with מַה *what?* כַּמָּח *how much?* לָמָּה *why* (vid. § 102, 2, d) מַדּוּעַ *why?* (§ 99, 3), as well as by אֵינָהּ *where?* אֵיךְ *how?* (§ 148), etc.; (cf. for the transposition of pronouns or adverbs in interrogative words by means of the preceding אֵי, the Lexicon under אֵי no. 2).

² For the use of the Imperfect in deliberate questions, vid. § 107, 4, b, 2; for the so-called Perfect confidentiæ in questions, vid. § 106, 3, b.

³ Analogous to this is the use of an interrogative מַה in the sense of a reproach in place of a prohibition, as in Cant. 8, 4 מַה-תִּעְרֶוּ *what do you awake?* cf. also Job 31, 1 (vid. above, § 148).

Rem. 1. Especially noteworthy are some passages where the interrogative form entirely differs from our method of interrogation, in that they serve only to express the conviction that the content of the assertion is well known to the other and is clearly perceived by him. So in Gen. 27, 36 הֲכִי קָרָא *is it not that one calls*, etc. = yea, *rightly does one call him Jacob!* 29, 15 (but thou art my relative!); 1 Sam. 2, 27 (certainly I have, etc.; also הֲלוֹא Amos 9, 7: *in truth I have*, etc.); 1 K. 22, 3 (ye well know . . .); Job 20, 4 הֲוֹאֶת יָדְעָתָּה ironically, *you of course know that!* in 1 Sam. 23, 19 (cf. Ps. 54, 2) a startling announcement is so stated (by הֲלֹא) as to render it entirely credible. Finally here belong likewise the form of citation הֲלֹא הִיא כְּתוּבָה (Josh. 10, 13) or הֲלֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים *is not this written*, etc. (latter form in 1 K. 11, 41; 14, 29 frequently elsewhere in the books of the Kings and Chron.), its meaning is identical with the simple asseverating הֲנִיא כְּתוּבָה (2 Sam. 1, 18) and הֲנִים כְּתוּבִים (1 K. 14, 19; 2 K. 15, 11; 2 Chr. 27, 7; 32, 32).

2. The rare instances where a *simple* question seems to be indicated by אֵם (as sometimes in Latin by *an?*) are in reality due to the suppression of the first clause of a double question; thus 1 K. 1, 27; Isa. 29, 16; Job 6, 12; 39, 13.

b) Disjunctive questions are usually expressed by אֵם-הֲ (*whether—or?*) sometimes also by אֵם-הֲ¹ e. g. Joel 1, 2; Job 21, 4 (with another הֲ after אֵם in incredible questions Gen. 17, 17). A special emphasis is laid upon the first question by means of הֲאִי (lit. *is it also?*) in Job 34, 17; 40, 8 sq. The second clause is introduced by אִו or Job 16, 3; 38, 28, 31, 36 (everywhere before כִּי, hence doubtless to avoid the cacophony, אֵם כִּי).

The use of this combination אֵם-הֲ (אֵם) does not, however, always require opposition between the clauses, but often stands in poetic *parallelisms* and in other sentences (Gen. 37, 8) where the same question is merely repeated in different words in the second clause, and thus made more emphatic, as in Job 4, 17 *is a man more just than God, or (אֵם) is a man more pure than his Maker?* 6, 5 sq.; 8, 3; 10, 4 sq.; 11, 2, 7; 22, 3; Isa. 10, 15; Jer. 5, 29. The second clause may then be annexed by simple ! (Job 13, 7; 15, 7 sq.; 38, 16 sq., 22, 32, 39; cf. also Ps. 8, 5 after כִּי; Job 21, 17 sq. after כִּי) or even *asyndetically* (Job 8, 11; 22, 4; after כִּי Ps. 144, 3).

c) In the so-called *indirect* questions,² after verbs of inquiring,

¹ In Prov. 27, 24 אֵם occurs after a negative expression; but with *Dyserinck* we should read אִו. Equally abnormal is הֲלֹא for אֵם-לֹא in the second clause, Judg. 14, 15; but the text is here scarcely reliable (cf. *Bertheau* on this passage); in 1 Sam. 23, 11 the second הֲ introduces a new question, the first only a loosely connected one. In Job 6, 13 we find אֵם-הֲ in the third clause apparently to strengthen the simple הֲ or אֵם.

² It should be remarked that the difference between the direct and the indirect question could not have been so clear to the Hebrews as it is, for instance,

doubting, examining,¹ etc., the simple question takes either הֲ *whether* (Gen. 8, 8),² or אִם (Gen. 15, 5; 2 K. 1, 2; Cant. 7, 13; before nominal sentence Jer. 5, 1); in disjunctive questions (*whether—or*) אִם—הֲ Num. 13, 18 (or לֹא—הֲ in Gen. 24, 21; 27, 21; 37, 22; Ex. 16, 4); also הֲ—הֲ in Num. 13, 18, upon which again אִם—הֲ follows, as אִם—הֲ in Eccl. 2, 19. The form אִם יָדַע אִם (*who knows if*, i. e. *whether or not*) is used affirmatively like the Latin *nescio an*, Esth. 4, 14.

In Jon. 1, 7, 8, the relative pronouns מִי and מִי־שָׁם are also interrogatives (= *for the sake of whom?*) due to the following לְמִי .

d) The words הֵן and הוּא (cf. § 136, 1, Rem. 2) serve to give animation or intensity to a question; so we find $\text{אֲפֹאֵהוּ (אֵפֶה) for, now}$ Gen. 27, 33 ($\text{מִי־אֲפֹאֵהוּ הוּא}$ *who in the world was he?*) Judg. 9, 38; Isa. 19, 12; Job 17, 15 (אֵי־הָאֲפֹאֵהוּ *where then?*) But $\text{אֵ$ can be used only after a complete question (Ex. 33, 16; Isa. 22, 1; also Hos. 13, 10, since אֵהִי is either dialectic *for*, or should be read אֵי־הִי) or placed at the beginning only after a strongly emphasized word in the real question (Gen. 27, 37).³

e) Occasionally two coördinated sentences are governed by one interrogative word, the first of which should be subordinated to the second, thus actually applying the interrogative word to the second; so we find in Isa. 5, 4 after מָה־יָבִיֵּא *why did I expect . . . ?* and it brought = *why did it bring when I expected*, etc.; 50, 2; after הֲ Jer. 8, 4 and Num. 16, 22 (read הֲאֵשׁ).⁴ But in Job 4, 2 הֲ and 4, 21 לֹא־הֲ are separated from their respective verbs by the insertion of a conditional clause.

3. The affirmative answer is given, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word of the interrogative sentence (or by changing the 2d person into the 1st, Gen. 24, 58; 27, 24; 29, 5; Judg. 13, 11); Gen. 29, 6; 37, 32 sq.; 1 Sam. 23, 11; Jer. 37, 17 (cf. 2 K. 10, 15 $\text{וַיֹּשֶׁבֶט וַיֹּשֶׁבֶט}$ *yes, yes* in an answer to הֲיִשָּׁבֵט). The negative answer is given merely by לֹא (Gen. 19,

to the Latins or Germans. In Hebrew this discrimination was not made either by a change of mood (as in Latin) or by the position of the words (as in German); cf. also § 137, Rem.

¹ In Gen. 43, 6 הֲלֹהֵיגִיר which from the context means *to give information upon a question*.

² In Eccl. 3, 21 for the article accepted by the Massora, read הֲעֵלָה and הֲיִרְדָּתָה (= *whether—whether*).

³ But in Job 9, 24 and 24, 25 אֲפֹאֵהוּ does not precede מִי , but depends upon the conditional clause.

⁴ Cf. the analogous sentences after לְעַן *because* Isa. 65, 12; the same after אֲלֵךְ § 153.

2 al.; cf. § 152 1, *a*, Rem. 1) as in Judg. 4, 20 by אֵין = *no!* or *no one!*

§ 151.

OPTATIVE SENTENCES.

Besides the expression of the optative by the simple Imperfect (§ 107, 4, *a*), Cohortative (§ 108, especially with אָז ibid. 1, *b*), Jussive (§ 109, with אָז ibid., 1, *a*), Imperative (§ 110, 1, *a*), the Perfect *consec.* (§ 112, 4, *b*), or even by the simple nominal sentence (§ 116, 5, Rem. 2, Note 1, and § 141, 3). It is also indicated:—

1. By *questions*¹ expressive of wish, e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 4 מִי־יַשְׁמֵנִי שֹׁפֵט *who will make me judge?* i. e. *would that I were made judge*; 2 Sam. 23, 15. Especially frequent is the use of מִי־יִתֵּן (lit. *who will give?*) to introduce wishes of all kinds (vid. Rem.). In Mal. 1, 10 the actual wish is coördinated with a question מִי נָם־בְּכֶם וַיִּסְגֹּר דְּלָתֵיכֶם *O that there were some one among you to shut the doors!*

Rem. Occasionally the original meaning of מִי־יִתֵּן becomes evident, Judg. 9, 29 אֶת־הָעָם הָיָה בְּיָדִי מִי־יִתֵּן *who gives this people into my hand?* = *O that some one would give this people into my hand!* cf. Ps. 55, 7. In these examples in the phrase מִי־יִתֵּן the idea *O that I had* is excluded, no more notice being taken of the meaning *give*; it is used rather as a mere optative particle (*utinam*). This construction may be indicated:

a) by the *accusative* (in harmony with the original meaning) of a substantive Deut. 23, 67 (would it were evening . . . morning!) Judg. 9, 29; Ps. 14, 7 (53, 7); 55, 7; with accusative and following Infinitive Job 11, 5; with double accusative Num. 11, 29; Jer. 8, 23; with the accusative of an Infinitive Ex. 16, 3; 2 Sam. 19, 1 מִי־יָתֵן אֲנִי תַחַתֶּיךָ *would that I had died for thee!* (cf. for אֲנִי § 135, 2, *b*); of a Participle Job 31, 35; of a personal pronoun (as suffix) Job 29, 2 (with following בִּי; but in Isa. 27, 4; Jer. 9, 1 מִי־יִתֵּנִי with following accusative is not = לִי־יִתֵּן, but lit. *who endowed me with*, etc.; cf. § 117, 5, *b*, *β*). With a still greater weakening of its original meaning מִי־יִתֵּן is used with an

¹ The transition from a question to a wish is seen in Num. 11, 4 *who will give us meat to eat?* = *O that we had meat to eat!* cf. Ps. 60, 4.

adjective Job 14, 4 (*could a clean thing come from an unclean! i. e. how can, etc.*; likewise Job 31, 31 *how could there be an unsatisfied one!*).

b) with a following Perfect Job 23, 3 (cf. § 120, 2, a, Rem. 1); with a Perfect consec. Deut. 5, 26 (*O that they had such a heart!*).

c) with a following Imperfect Job 6, 8; 13, 5; 14, 13; in Job 19, 23 the Imperfect is twice used with Waw (cf. Note 1, above, on Mal. 1, 10).

For the Cohortative in the consequent of such an optative, cf. § 108, 2, c.

2. By the particles אֵם (Ex. 32, 32; Ps. 81, 9; 95, 7; 139, 19; Prov. 24, 11; 1 Chr. 4, 10; throughout with a following Imperfect) and לוֹ (hence Ps. 119, 5 אֶחָלִי, 2 K. 5, 3 אֶחָלִי [from אָח Oh! and לִי = לוֹ]; both with a following Imperfect) *si, o si! utinam*.¹ לוֹ also is followed by the Imperfect Gen. 17, 18; Job 6, 2; the Jussive Gen. 30, 34 (rather concessive = *may it so happen*; also in Ps. 81, 14 is יִהְיֶה or יִהְיֶה to be supplied with the Participle; the Perfect as an expression of the wish that something may happen (cf. § 106, 4) Num. 14, 2 לוֹ מָתוּנוּ *O that we had died!* 20, 3 and Josh. 7, 7 (each time לוֹל); but Isa. 48, 18 and 63, 19 (each time לוֹא) referring to the future. For לוֹ with an Imperative (by virtue of an anacoluthon) Gen. 23, 13, cf. § 110, 1, c, Rem. 2; for the Perfect after אֵם כִּי Gen. 40, 14; 2 K. 5, 20; cf. § 106, 3, b, Note.

§ 152.

NEGATIVE SENTENCES.

1. Negation in independent clauses is expressed by the adverbs לֹא (Job 6, 21 *Keth.* perhaps retained as a substantive) = *oṽ not*, לֹא־ = *μη* (substantive in Job 24, 25); אֵין (*there is not*; אֵין *not yet*, אֵפֶס *no more*, אֵפֶסִי (cf. § 90, 3, a), *not*;

¹ Cf. the same transition of conditional into optative particles (by virtue of the suppression of the consequent) in German: *o wenn ich (doch) hätte!* and the like; e. g. Num. 22, 29 *hätte ich (-שִׁי לוֹ) nur ein Schwert . . . ich hätte dich sicher getötet!*

almost exclusively poetic are בְּלִי, בְּלִי, בְּלִי *not*. The principal difference between לֹא and אֵין is that by לֹא, (regardless of its use in negating *individual* words)¹ verbal sentences (rarely nominal sentences, vid. Rem. 3) are regularly negated, but by אֵין nominal sentences exclusively (vid. examples). The conjunctions כִּי and לְבִלְתִּי *that not* are used in negations of dependent clauses. We subjoin a more complete view of the use of these words:—

a) לֹא (more rarely לֹאִי), like *ou, ouk*, is regularly used for *objective, unconditional* negation, and hence is commonly connected with the *Perfect* or the *Imperfect* (as *Indicative*); (for its connection with the *Imperfect* to express unconditional prohibition, vid. § 107, 4, a, 2; for לֹא with a *Jussive*, § 109, 1, b, Rem. 1); for לֹא = לֹא־נֶהְיָה *nonne* in questions, cf. § 150, 1. In connection with כֹּל, כֹּל־ (without a following article = *any one, anything*), לֹא expresses an *absolute* negation; *nullus, no one* (cf. French *ne . . . personne, ne . . . rien*) usually in the order כֹּל . . . לֹא, e. g. Gen. 3, 1 לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכָּל עֵץ הָגֶן ye may eat from no tree of the garden, Ex. 10, 15; 20, 4; Deut. 8, 9; Jer. 13, 7; 32, 17 כֹּל־דֶּבֶר . . . לֹא = *nothing at all*; cf. the same assertion in a rhetorical question 32, 27; Prov. 12, 21; 30, 30 (כִּפְגֵּי־כֹל . . . לֹא before nothing); 2 Chr. 32, 15; but cf. the inverted position Ex. 12, 16 כֹּל־הַמְּלָאכָה לֹא־יַעֲשֶׂה no work at all shall be done; Job 33, 13; Dan. 11, 37 (otherwise, however, when כֹּל in consequence of the determination is used in the sense of *whole*, e. g. Num. 23, 13 לֹא תִרְאֶה כָּלוּ thou shalt not see the whole, but only a part).

¹ Here especially belong composites like לֹא־אֵל a *not-god*, that is called a god, but is nothing less than one in Deut. 32, 21; לֹא־אֵלֶּה vs. 17, cf. Jer. 5, 7; לֹא־גֵם a *no-people* vs. 21; לֹא־דָבָר nothing Amos 6, 13; לֹא־עֵץ *not-wood* Isa. 10, 15; לֹא־אִישׁ, לֹא־אָדָם *not-man, not-human* (of God) Isa. 31, 8; לֹא־צַדִּיק *unrighteousness* Jer. 22, 13, cf. Ezek. 22, 29; Job 26, 2 sq. לֹא־כֹחַ, לֹא־עֹז *not-power*, לֹא־חָכְמָה *unwisdom*; cf. also Isa. 55, 2 כִּלְוֵא קִשְׁבָּעָה with no-satisfaction; Job 15, 32; 1 Chr. 12, 33. In Num. 20, 5 a construct state with several genitives is negated by לֹא. Furthermore לֹא with an *Infinitive* is found in Num. 35, 23; לֹא with an adjective לֹא חָכָם *unwise* Hos. 13, 13; לֹא חֲסִיד *impious* Ps. 43, 1; לֹא־יָצִיז and לֹא־יָעֲזֹב *not strong* Prov. 30, 25; לֹא־יָצִיז *not-right* 2 K. 7, 9; לֹא with a *Participle* Jer. 2, 2 *unsown*; Ezek. 4, 14; 22, 24; Zeph. 2, 1; 3, 5 (but the *Massora* requires נִחְמָה Isa. 54, 11; נִחְמָה 62, 12; נִחְמָה Jer. 6, 8; רַחֲמָה Hos. 1, 6, hence everywhere 3d sing. fem. *Perfect* in pause = *would not be comforted, etc.*; therefore not composites, but partly relative clauses, partly [Isa. 54, 11; Hos. 1, 6; and especially 2, 25;] principal clauses for proper names). Cf. for the foregoing composites, chiefly § 81, Rem. 2, No. 2; for the use of the same in circumstantial clauses as a periphrasis of ideas of quality, vid. below, letter *h*, Rem.

Analogous to כֹּל . . . לֹא we find לֹא . . . אִישׁ in Gen. 23, 6 al. in a verbal sentence with the sense of *no one at all, not a single one*.

Rem. 1. The examples where לֹא stands absolutely as a negative answer = *not, no*, are to be considered as extreme abbreviations of complete verbal sentences, e. g. Gen. 19, 2 (לֹא according to the context for לֹא נָסִיךְ etc.); 23, 11; 42, 10; Hag. 2, 12; Job 23, 6, sometimes with a following כִּי but Gen. 19, 2 (vid. above); Josh. 5, 14; 1 K. 3, 22.

2. The negation of a *nominal* sentence by לֹא always expresses (in contrast with the regular negative particle אֵין) a certain emphasis, provided the force of the negation falls rather upon a definite word (cf. e. g. Ezek. 36, 32) than upon the whole sentence; this emphasized word is usually a Participle, e. g. 2 Sam. 3, 34 לֹא-אֲסוּרוֹת יָדֶיךָ *thy hands were not bound*; Num. 35, 23 (Deut. 4, 42; 19, 4); Deut. 28, 1 (in a relative clause in Ps. 38, 15); 1 Sam. 20, 26 (where with לֹא we also find בְּלִתִּי before a nominal sentence); Jer. 4, 22; Amos 5, 18; Hag. 1, 2 (where, however, we should read אֵין); Ps. 22, 7; 74, 9; Prov. 18, 5; Job 12, 3; 22, 16. But nominal sentences with pronominal (Gen. 20, 12; 2 Sam. 21, 2; Job 28, 14 parallel with אֵין) or substantive subject may also be negated by לֹא, e. g. Ex. 4, 10 לֹא אִישׁ דְּבָרִים אֲנֹכִי *not a man of words* (i. e. no eloquent man) am I; Gen. 29, 7; Num. 23, 19; Isa. 22, 2; 44, 19; Ps. 22, 3; Job 9, 32; 18, 17; 21, 9; 36, 26 (with *Waw apodosis*); 41, 2; in Job 9, 33 we find even שׁ לֹא *non est* for אֵין. (For לֹא = אֵין in circumstantial clauses as a paraphrase of attributive ideas, vid. below, letter *h*, Rem.).

3. Regularly לֹא immediately precedes the verb, but sometimes it is separated from it (especially to emphasize a following word); so in Job 22, 7; Eccl. 10, 10 before object and verb; Num. 16, 29; 2 K. 5, 26 before subject and verb; Deut. 8, 9; 2 Sam. 3, 34; Ps. 6, 2; 49, 18; Job 13, 16; 34, 23 before a more definite qualification. In Deut. 32, 5 we find לֹא, according to the accents, even at the end of the sentence (*they offend him not*); of course, however, לֹא בָנִים is to be connected. For the position of לֹא with the Infinitive absolute vid. § 113, 3, *b*, Rem. 3.

b) -לֹא, like μή and *ne*, serves to express *subjective* and *dependent* negation, especially in connection with a Jussive (§ 109, 1, *b*, and Rem. 2) to introduce prohibitions, warnings, negative wishes and commands (for -לֹא with an Imperfect vid. § 107, 4, *a*, 2, Rem.; for 2 K. 6, 27 vid. § 109, 2, *b*).

Rem. 1. To form a composite word -לֹא is used (like לֹא vid. above, No. 1, Note 1) in Prov. 12, 38 in לֹא-מָוֶת *not-death* (immortality). The cases where לֹא (like μή = μή γένηται) means *no, not so*, Ruth 1, 13 לֹא בְּנֹתִי *not so, my daughter*; Gen. 19, 18 and 33, 10 (לֹא-נָ), are also (vid. letter *a*, Rem. 1) due to extreme abbreviations of a complete sentence (such an one being repeated in 2 Sam. 13, 25); so in 2 Sam. 1, 21;

Isa. 62, 2; Ps. 83, 2 יְהִי is clearly to be supplied, and in Joel 2, 13; Amos 5, 14 the corresponding Jussive from the preceding Imperatives (Prov. 17, 12 from the preceding Infinitive absolute).

2. Like לֹא we also regularly find אֵל immediately preceding the verb; in Jer. 15, 15, however, it precedes another strongly emphasized clause.¹

c) אֵין, lit. *construct state* of אֵין *non-entity*, is (like the absolute state, vid. below) the negative of שׁוֹ to be (cf. e. g. Gen. 31, 29 with Neh. 5, 5). As שׁוֹ (= *he, she, it is, was*, etc., contains the idea of *being* in all its tenses, so does אֵין, אֵין the idea of *not-being*. We thus find that:

1) the *absolute state* אֵין (with an evident transition in meaning of a verbal predicate = *is not at hand*) is always used *after* the negated object, e. g. Isa. 37, 3 (2 K. 19, 3) וְכַח אֵין לְבַרְרָה and *there is not strength to bring forth*; Gen. 2, 5 (אֵין *was not there*); Ex. 17, 7 (אֵין-אִם or *is he not?* after שׁוֹ הִוא *is he . . . ?*); Lev. 26, 37; Num. 20, 5; Judg. 4, 20 (אֵין = *no*); 1 Sam. 9, 4 and 10, 14 (אֵין in reference to the plu.); Isa. 41, 17; 45, 21; Mic. 7, 2; Prov. 13, 4; 25, 14; Job 3, 9 (אֵין = *and may there be none there*, cf. Prov. 5, 17); Eccl. 3, 19. Cf. also אֵין-אִם *unless it be the case* Gen. 30, 1; Ex. 32, 32; Judg. 9, 15; 2 K. 2, 10. In Job 35, 15 אֵין is used irregularly before a *Perfect* as an emphatic negation; but the text is here scarcely reliable.

2) the *construct state* אֵין had originally its natural position directly before the substantive, thus expressing its *absence*, or before the subject of the verbal sentence which was to be negated. To the first category belong the numerous cases where אֵין is united with a Participle (e. g. 1 Sam. 26, 12 וְאֵין יָרָא וְאֵין יָדַע וְאֵין מִקִּיץ *there was no one seeing, etc. = there was none who saw, and none who noticed, and none who was awake*); so especially וְאֵין with a Participle in subordinated *circumstantial* clauses, like Isa. 5, 29 וְיִפְלִיט וְאֵין מַצִּיל *and he will escape while there is no rescuing one = without any one saving*; Ps. 7, 3 al.; Lev. 26, 6 al. (וְאֵין מִחַרֵּד *without any one fearing*); cf. § 141, 2, Rem. 2. אֵין is used as the negation of a whole nominal sentence in Num. 14, 42 וְהָיָה בְּקִרְבְּכֶם אֵין יְהוָה *Jehovah is not in your midst*; Gen. 37, 29 אֵין-יוֹסֵף בְּבֹר *and Joseph was not in the pit*.

3) If the negated subject is a personal pronoun, it appears, according to § 100, 5, as a suffix united with אֵין: אֵין-אֲנִי *I am not, was not, shall not be*; אֵין-אַתָּה, fem. אֵין-אַתְּ *thou art not*, etc., אֵין-הִוא, fem. אֵין-הִיא *he, she is not*, etc. (also absolute in Gen. 42, 13 *he is [he was 5, 24] not [no more] at hand*); אֵין-הֵם *they are not*, etc. If its predicate is a verb, since אֵין always introduces a nominal sentence, it follows as a Participle, e. g. Ex. 5, 10 נֹרָן אֵין-אֲנִי *I am not giving*; 8, 17; Deut. 1, 32.

¹ In Jer. 51, 3 אֵל-אֵל is twice used for אֵל-אֵל, sc. in accordance with the interpretation of the Massorites = *against him that bendeth*; but here we should doubtless read אֵל-אֵל.

Rem. The use of אֵין for אֵינִי in Neh. 4, 17 is due to the coördination of three other (substantive) subjects, which are emphatically united by אֵין-אֵנְחִנוּ. Since the suffixes of the 1st and 3d pers. sing. connected with אֵין are according to § 100, 5 actual verbal suffixes, it is clear that in Hag. 2, 17 (אֵין אֶתְכֶם) the pronominal complement to אֵין is once connected with the nota accus.¹

4) The fact that, אֵין (like אֵין) always contained a verbal idea (*is not, was not, etc.*) brought about such a change in this word that its original character as a construct state was forgotten; in harmony therewith אֵין was frequently separated from its governing word (substantive or Participle). This occurred especially by the interpolation of small (apparently enclitic) words like בּוֹ (Isa. 1, 6), לוֹ (Lev. 11, 10, 12), לָהּ (Gen. 11, 30), נָם (Ps. 14, 3), שָׁם (Judg. 18, 10; Ex. 12, 30); but cf. also Ps. 5, 10; 6, 6; 32, 2 and the absolute use Ex. 22, 2; 1 K. 8, 9; Ruth 4, 4. The change of position of אֵין and the noun thus became finally possible, as in Gen. 40, 8 and 41, 15 (וּפֹתֵר אֵין אֵתוֹ) *no one is present who can interpret it*; Gen. 47, 13; Judg. 14, 6; 1 Sam. 21, 2; Isa. 1, 30; Jer. 30, 13; Hab. 2, 19; Prov. 5, 17 (אֵין = *neve sint*; cf. letter c, 1; Job 3, 9); 30, 27. In Ex. 5, 16 אֵין is used between the subject and predicate.

Rem. 1. Like לֹא . . . כֹּל or כֹּל . . . לֹא (vid. above, letter a) אֵין כֹּל (e. g. Eccl. 1, 9 כֹּל-חֲדָשׁ אֵין *there is nothing new, etc.*; Dan. 1, 4; cf. אֵין מְאוּמָה *there is nothing there* 1 K. 18, 43; Eccl. 5, 13) and כֹּל . . . אֵין (Hab. 2, 19; cf. אֵין מְאוּמָה Judg. 14, 6) also express an absolute negation.

2. The negative syllable אֵ in the two composites אֵי כְבוֹד (as proper noun 1 Sam. 4, 21) and אֵי-נֶקִי *not guiltless* (Job 22, 30) is no doubt due to an abbreviation of אֵין = אֵין. In Ethiopic this abbreviation is very common, as also the negation prefixed to verbs.

d) אֵתֵר *not yet* is used according to § 107, 1, a, Rem. 1, in reference to the past regularly with the Imperfect Gen. 2, 5 (אֵתֵר . . . כֹּל *still no one*; vid. above, letters a and c, Rem. 1); 19, 4; 24, 45; Josh. 2, 8; 1 Sam. 3, 3 (but cf. 3, 7); with the Imperfect in the sense of the present Ex. 10, 7 (הֵתֵר אַתָּה *knowest thou not yet?*); Ex. 9, 30.

e) אֵפֶס (properly substantive = *cessation*) *no more* (containing the verbal idea *be present*, cf. Deut. 32, 36; Isa. 45, 6, 14; 46, 9; used absolutely in Amos 6, 10; in questions הֲאֵפֶס עוֹד אֵישׁ *is there not one more?* etc.; 2 Sam. 9, 3; often also in the sense of *non nisi*); with paragogic אֵ- (§ 90, 3, a) אֵפֶס Isa. 47, 8, 10; Zeph. 2, 15 (אֵנִי וְאֵפֶס עוֹד *it is I and no one else*).

f) בֹּל,² poetic and prophetic; also with a certain emphasis = לֹא

¹ According to *de Lagarde novae psalterii graeci editionis specimen*, p. 26 an accusative after אֵ is also found before אֵינְתָהּ, Ps. 3, 3.

² Clearly from בָּלָה *fail, fall away*, from which root the original substantives בָּל and בָּלָת (whence בָּלָת § 90, 3, a) are also formed.

with the Imperfect e. g. Isa. 26, 14; 33, 20, 23 (with the Perfect immediately afterwards); Hos. 7, 2; Ps. 49, 13; Prov. 10, 30 (but in Isa. 14, 21 before the Jussive = לֹא־לֵךְ); before an adjective Prov. 24, 23; before an Infinitive (where otherwise we would find לִבְלֹתִי, vid. below) Ps. 32, 9.

g) בְּלִי with the Perfect Gen. 31, 20; Isa. 14, 6; with the Imperfect Job 41, 18; as the negation of a Participle, Hos. 7, 8; Ps. 19, 4; of an adjective 2 Sam. 1, 21.

h) בְּלֹתִי as the negation of an adjective 1 Sam. 20, 26; for בְּלֹתִי Ezek. 13, 3, vid. letter *k*; for לִבְלֹתִי as a regular negation of the Infinitive construct vid. § 114, 3, Rem. 2; for לִבְלֹתִי as a conjunction vid. below, letter *k*.

Rem. On לֹא, אֵין, בְּלִי. To the category of negative sentences belong also periphrases of attributive ideas by means of לֹא, בְּלִי not (both used almost exclusively in poetry) or אֵין with a following substantive, chiefly in the form of simple circumstantial clauses, as in 2 Sam. 23, 4 עֲבוֹת לֹא בֹקֶר morning when no clouds are present, i. e. a cloudless morning; cf. Job 12, 24; 26, 2 b; 38, 26 (שֶׁאֵין־לָאֵל uninhabited); 1 Chr. 2, 30, 32 (לֹא בָנִים childless); also בְּלִי (e. g. Job 24, 10) and אֵין e. g. Ps. 88, 5 as a man אֵין־אֵין־לִי־אֵין־לִי־אֵין־לִי who has no strength, i. e. as a weak man; Isa. 47, 1; Hos. 7, 11; אֵין־מִסְפָּר numberless Cant. 6, 8 al.; generally, however (Ps. 104, 25 al.), like actual circumstantial clauses (cf. § 141, 2, Rem. 2) connected with Waw = וְאֵין־מִסְפָּר. Such circumlocutions more rarely appear as relative clauses (cf. § 155, 2, a), e. g. Job 30, 13 לֹא עֹזֵר לָמוֹ (they) who have no helper = the helpless ones, cf. 29, 12; Hab. 1, 14; with אֵין Zech. 9, 11 (from a waterless [empty] pit).¹

At what stage of the language such combinations came to be regarded as simply negative adjectives, is seen partly from the frequent coördination (even of relative clauses analogous to the foregoing) with actual adjectives (Joel 1, 6; Ps. 72, 12; Job 29, 12; cf. also Isa. 59, 10 where בָּאֵין־עֵינִים is parallel with בָּעֵינִים), partly from the introduction by means of the nota dativi לִי Isa. 40, 29 (= and to the fainting one); Job 26, 2 a, 3; Neh. 8, 10.

i) פָּן־ (lit. turn, removal; root פָּנָה) that not, lest, at the beginning of sentences that express a fear or care; fear in Gen. 32, 12 al. (cf. *deidō mē*, vereor ne); beware (so often after הִשָּׁמְרִי, הִשָּׁמְרָה Gen. 24, 6; 31, 24 al.), take care that (2 K. 10, 23), etc. Sometimes the idea upon which פָּן־ depends is virtually contained in the subordinate clause, e. g. Gen. 19, 19 and I could not escape to the mountain (since I feared), פָּן־יִהְיֶה־רָעָה the evil could overtake me; (26, 7, 9; 31, 31; 38, 11; in Gen. 44, 34 from the rhetorical question how could I . . . ? the sentence I cannot

² In Prov. 9, 13 (perhaps also 14, 7, but vid. *Delitzsch* on this passage) a verbal sentence is thus coördinated as a periphrasis of an adjective.

governing לֹא has been removed). - This is especially true in statements of any action or its omission by which something is concealed (in which case final לֹא becomes *ne*); cf. Gen. 11, 4; 19, 15; Num. 20, 18 (where לֹא *lest* is separated from its verb by a strongly emphasised substantive; Judg. 15, 12 (after *swear unto me!*); Prov. 24, 18. In Gen. 3, 22 (and now *lest* he put forth his hand! etc.) a cohortative is considered as virtually governing לֹא; in vs. 23 it is changed into an historical tense.

Rem. According to § 107, 4, a, 3, לֹא is naturally followed by the Imperfect; for the exceptions 2 Sam. 20, 6; 2 K. 2, 16, vid. *ibid.*, Note 4; cf. also 2 K. 10, 23 רָאוּ לֹא-יֵשׁ-כֹּה *see to it that there be not*, etc.

k) לֹא with the Imperfect Ex. 20, 20; 2 Sam. 14, 14 (in Jer. 23, 14 read the Infinitive שָׁבוּ for שָׁבוּ; 27, 8 בָּאוּ for בָּאוּ; in Ezek. 13, 3 רָאוּ לֹא is a relative clause governed by לֹא = *according to that which they have not seen*.

2. Two negations in the same sentence do not contradict each other (as *nonnulli, nonnemo*), but rather increase the force of the negative (like οὐκ οὐδεὶς, οὐκ οὐδαμῶς *nulli—non, nemo non*); 1 K. 10, 21 לְמִאֲמָה . . . לֹא נִחָשֵׁב *silver was accounted nothing at all*; 2 Chr. 9, 20 לֹא without (לֹא); Zeph. 2, 2 בָּתָּרָם לֹא- *בָּתָּרָם before (not) comes*. Here especially belong the union of לֹא and לֹא *not* with מִן- *without* (§ 119, 3, d, 1); e. g. Isa. 5, 9 (6, 11) מֵאִין יֹשֵׁב (for which Jer. 2, 15 has מִבְּלִי יֹשֵׁב) lit. *without no inhabitant = so that no inhabitant is there any more* (but Isa. 50, 2 מֵאִין מֵיִם with causative מִן- *on account of the lack of water*; also in מִבְּלִי אֵין *did it happen, because of the lack of . . . ?* Ex. 14, 11; in 2 K. 1, 3, 6, 16 מִן- is causative); Eccl. 3, 11 לֹא אֲשֶׁר מִבְּלִי *besides that* (that no one can, etc.).

3. In poetry a negation may sometimes extend its influence to a second parallel negative clause (annexed with or without Waw); e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 3 *talk no more so proudly, let (not) arrogance come out of your mouth*; Num. 23, 19; Isa. 23, 4; 28, 27; 38, 18; Ezek. 16, 47; Ps. 9, 19; 35, 19; 38, 2; 44, 19; 75, 6; Job 28, 17 (in 3, 11 לָמָּה לֹא *why not?* thus influences a foregoing parallel clause).

§ 153.

LIMITED AND EXPANSIVE SENTENCES.

The particles אַךְ, רַק *only* serve to indicate a sentence limited in application, and the particles אֲנִי, אָף *also, thereto, even* to introduce a sentence with a wider scope. It is to be noticed here that the influence of these particles does not necessarily extend only to the word directly following (so אַךְ Gen. 7, 23; 34, 15; רַק Gen. 6, 5; Amos 3, 2 and אָף הָרַק אֶף Num. 12, 2 = *only alone?* אֲנִי Gen. 27, 34; Job 7, 11; אָף Deut. 15, 17), but frequently also to the entire following sentence. So אָף Ex. 12, 15; 1 K. 17, 13; Job 16, 7; 23, 6; רַק Gen. 20, 11; 24, 8; Ps. 32, 6; Prov. 13, 10; אֲנִי Gen. 27, 33; 32, 21 (אֲנִי הָיָה); 1 Sam. 22, 7; 28, 20; Zech. 9, 11; אָף Job 14, 3; 15, 4. In Mal. 1, 10 and Job 2, 10 אֲנִי precedes two coördinated clauses, although strictly speaking it belongs only to the second; cf. the analogous examples § 150, 2, e.

§ 154.

SENTENCES CONNECTED BY WAW.

Two or more sentences, as well as individual words, are connected by *Waw copulative*¹ וְ; (cf. for the different vocalization of the same § 104, 2). Its use, however, is not limited

¹ For a detailed statement of the use of *Waw copulative* vid. Gesenius, Thesaurus I, p. 393 sq. For the coördination of identical (e. g. of five Imperfect consec. in Gen. 25, 34 of five Perfects by means of וְ) as well as different tenses and modes through *Waw copulative* enough has been said, under the Tenses. In regard to the placing together of individual nouns by וְ (which strictly interpreted is due to a union of several individual clauses) it may be noticed that:

a) contrary to our idiom, which in an enumeration employs the conjunction *and* only before the last member enumerated, the Hebrew has usually the polysyndetic construction (so in Gen. 12, 16 *Waw copulative* is used six times, 24, 35 seven, 15, 19 sq. nine, Josh. 7, 24 ten). Sometimes, however, only the last two words are so connected (cf. three members in Gen. 5, 32; 10, 1; 11, 26; 13, 2; 14, 1; 30, 39, etc.); more rarely the first two (Ps. 45, 9). Asyndeton is permanent in the form תָּכֹז שֶׁל־שִׁימ *yesterday (and) the day before* Ex. 5, 8 al.

merely to connecting actually coördinated sentences, for it frequently serves even when an antithesis is to be introduced, (Gen. 17, 21; 19, 19 and in nominal circumstantial clauses) or when one of the two connected sentences is subordinate to the other. For the use of ׀ to introduce circumstantial clauses, cf. especially §§ 141, 2, Rem. 2 and 142, 1, Rem. 1; object clauses § 157; causal clauses § 158; comparative clauses § 161; final clauses § 165; consequential clauses § 166; for the so-called *Waw apodosis* cf. § 143, b, Rem. 2 and the sections therein cited; for the use of Waw in numerical statements, § 134, 6, Rem.

Rem. Occasionally Waw annexes a clause only apparently to the preceding, but actually to one understood, and supplied from the context. So we find ׀ with Imperatives to express results, 1 K. 2, 22 וְשֹׁאֵל ask also rather; Ezek. 18, 32 I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth . . . wherefore וְהִשְׁׁבִּי turn yourselves; so also at the beginning of the discourse when loosely connected with a fact or the

(but this *asyndetic construction* is used with verbs as a rhetorical means of enlivening the statements, thereby rendering them more forcible, e. g. Judg. 5, 27 at her feet he bowed, fell, lay down; Ex. 15, 19; 1 Sam. 15, 6; Job 20, 19; Cant. 2, 11; 5, 6).

b) Occasionally Waw copulative is explicative (like *isque, et — quidem*) = certainly, to be sure (*Waw explicativum*), e. g. Gen. 4, 4 (and indeed of the fat thereof); Ex. 24, 12; 1 Sam. 17, 34 (with the bears certainly); 2 Sam. 13, 20; Isa. 57, 11; Amos 3, 11; 4, 10; Zech. 9, 9; Prov. 3, 12; Neh. 8, 13; 2 Chr. 23, 10 (but ׀ before קִיעִיר in 1 Sam. 28, 3 should with the LXX be omitted); also in connections like וְעַד — מִן from . . . to and till . . . Gen. 13, 3; 14, 23; 19, 4, 11, etc.

In an emphatic sense (= and especially) we find ׀, e. g. in Gen. 3, 16 (וְהָרַגְנָךְ); Isa. 2, 1; Ps. 18, 1; perhaps also Job 10, 17 (yea, a whole host); 2 Chr. 16, 14. An undoubted example of the so-called *Waw concomitantiæ* is found in Job 41, 12 a boiling pot וְאֶמְוִן with rush (fire). In Arabic this Waw of presence takes an accusative.

׀—׀ in Ps. 76, 7; Dan. 1, 3; 8, 13 is used in the sense of *as well . . . as also* (for ׀—׀ = *sive — sive*, cf. § 162).

c) For the adverbs used also as copulatives, אֲדָּ also, thereto (connecting several things, e. g. אֲדָּ—אֲדָּ the two Gen. 27, 45; Prov. 17, 15; אֲדָּ—אֲדָּ all together; as a progressive and, e. g. Gen. 30, 8; 37, 7; 1 Sam. 30, 8; cf. also examples like 1 Sam. 24, 10 behold, O behold! אֲדָּ—אֲדָּ or אֲדָּ—אֲדָּ Gen. 24, 44 = *as well — as*; אֲדָּ occurs three times in Gen. 24, 25; 32, 20) and the even more expressive אֲדָּ also, thereto, even (partly poetic, partly belonging to later usage; often only a simple and but occasionally adversative, nevertheless Ps. 44, 10 al.; אֲדָּ—אֲדָּ, also thrice repeated, = *indeed — as also*; cf. also אֲדָּ—אֲדָּ and even also Lev. 26, 44; אֲדָּ—אֲדָּ lit. it comes also that = *be quiet then*, according to the context either *quanto magis* or *quanto minus*), vid. Lexicon.

speech of another, e. g. 2 Sam. **18**, 11; **24**, 3; 2 K. **4**, 14, 41; **7**, 13; cf. also Josh. **7**, 7 (וְלִי); Ps. **2**, 10; **4**, 4; Isa. **8**, 7. The suppression of the antecedent is sometimes due to angry excitement or haste, which apparently begrudges the time necessary to a complete expression; especially instructive therefore are Num. **12**, 14; **16**, 11; **20**, 3 (וְלִי); 1 Sam. **10**, 12; **15**, 14; **28**, 12; 2 Sam. **18**, 12; 2 K. **1**, 10; **7**, 19 (cf. vs. 2); Isa. **3**, 14; Ps. **2**, 6 (also a circumstantial clause: *while I = and yet have I myself*, etc.; cf. also the later addition with the optative formula וַיְמִי Num. **11**, 29; Judg. **9**, 29.

§ 155.

RELATIVE CLAUSES.

1. Relative clauses (in prose at least) are generally indicated by the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר (for its construction, cf. § 139, 1, 2), more seldom by the demonstratives הַזֶּה, הַהוּא or the prefixed הַ (on this cf. § 138, 3).

Rem. 1. Occasionally אֲשֶׁר appears as the subject of a nominal clause, whose predicate is formed by an active Participle (Deut. **1**, 4; **4**, 46; Jer. **38**, 16; Neh. **5**, 2; Ps. **115**, 8) or a passive (Ezek. **9**, 2); cf. *Kahan*, die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur der hebr. Partic. u. Infin., Leipzig, 1889, p. 22.

2. To express a local relation (= *where*) אֲשֶׁר is used e. g. in Num. **20**, 13; **22**, 26; Deut. **8**, 15 (in a nominal clause); Ps. **84**, 4; **95**, 9 (in a verbal clause).

2. The relative condition is very frequently, especially in poetic discourse, expressed by the simple addition (subordination) of the relative clause.¹ This can take place:

- a) as a nominal clause, e. g. 2 Sam. **20**, 21 *a man from mount Ephraim* שְׂבַע שְׂמוֹ *whose name was Sheba*; 1 K. **13**, 2; Zech. **6**, 12; Job **1**, 6. Cf. also clauses like Gen. **39**, 4 כָּל-יֹשֵׁ לֹ *all (that) he had* (vs. 5, the same usage with אֲשֶׁר); Isa. **30**, 6; Job **3**, 15 *with princes* לְהֵם זָהָב *who had gold*; Ps. **11**, 4; Prov. **22**, 11; with a reference back to a nominal

¹ The earlier supposition that all these cases depended upon the omission of אֲשֶׁר is erroneous; rather is it to be supposed that these relative dependent or subordinated clauses form only one of the many kinds of circumstantial clauses connected with a governing word and hence subordinate. Cf. the English: *the friend I met*; *the book I told you of*.

suffix Ps. 49, 14 *לְמֹי הַרְפָּם כִּסֵּל לָמוֹ* *this is the lot of those whose trust (is)*. In 2 Chr. 16, 9 *עִלְיָהּ לֵב* *with such, whose heart is undivided*, etc., it is governed by a preposition. For the periphrasis of attributive ideas also belonging here, as in Job 38, 36 *עַל-אֶרֶץ לֹא-אִישׁ* *on land where no man is*; vid. § 152, 1, *h*, Rem., and for this shortened form of relative clauses cf. also Gen. 15, 13 *בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם* *in a land (which) belongs not to them*; Hab. 1, 6; Prov. 26, 17 (*לֹא-לֵי*)

b) as a verbal clause :

These cases may be subdivided into classes where a relative pronoun would eventually be used :

- 1) as the subject of the clause, e. g. Job 31, 12 *הִיא אֵשׁ* *it is a fire (which) consumeth unto the lower world*; Deut. 32, 17, *b*; Isa. 55, 13; 56, 2; 65, 1; Ps. 34, 9; 68, 31; 71, 18; 78, 6; Prov. 30, 17; Job 3, 3; Lam. 1, 10, 21; Neh. 13, 25; referring back to the suffix in *וְהִנֵּנִי* in Isa. 28, 16 (*lit. behold me, who has founded, etc.*); 29, 14; 38, 5; Ezek. 25, 7; dependent upon a vocative in Isa. 54, 1; on a nominal suffix (vid. letter *a*) Ps. 16, 4. Here particularly belong periphrases of adjectives, as in Gen. 49, 27 *זֶה יִטְרֹף* *a wolf which robs = a thievish wolf*; Isa. 51, 12; to express a negative state, e. g. Isa. 40, 20; Hos. 4, 14 (*עַם לֹא-יָבִין* *the senseless people*).

Rem. Such relative clauses are very often united to substantives by the comparative particle *כִּי* Job 7, 2 *כִּי-עֶבֶד יִשְׁאֹף-צֶלַל* *like a slave who panteth for the shadow*, etc.; Deut. 32, 11; Isa. 62, 1; Jer. 23, 29; Hos. 6, 3; Ps. 42, 2; 83, 15; 125, 1; Job 9, 26; 11, 16; also after *כִּי* Ps. 58, 5; after definite substantives Isa. 53, 7; 61, 10 sq.; Hab. 2, 14; Ps. 49, 13, 21; vid. also examples under No. 2. Sometimes it seems more reasonable in such cases to use the verb in question as the predicate of the foregoing substantive and explain *כִּי* (for *כִּי-אֲשֶׁר*, vid. comparative clauses, § 161, 2) as a conjunction — a supposition that even *Hupfeld* allowed, at least for Ps. 90, 5; 125, 1; Isa. 53, 7; 61, 11. In such cases, however, the Massora has supplied the correct interpretation by means of greater or lesser distinctive accents (where the rule given in § 15, Rem. 5 on the use of certain distinctives in conjunctions is not to be discarded).

- 2) as the object, e. g. Ps. 7, 16 וַיִּפֹּל בַּשֶּׁחַת יִפְעֵל *and he falls into the ditch (which) he makes*; Judg. 8, 1; 1 K. 13, 12; 2 K. 3, 8; Isa. 6, 6; 15, 7 (in Jer. 48, 36 the same use with a substantive in the construct state depending upon the relative clause; cf. § 130, 4); Isa. 41, 3; 42, 6, 16; 48, 17 (but Ps. 32, 8 בְּרִדְדֵי תִלָּךְ); Isa. 64, 2; Ezek. 13, 3 (*according to what they have not seen*); Ps. 25, 12; 33, 12; 51, 10; Prov. 23, 8; Job 23, 17; 28, 1; Eccl. 10, 5 (6, 1 the same use of אָשֶׁר); 1 Chr. 29, 3; 2 Chr. 18, 23.
- 3) so as to include a demonstrative (= *he who*, etc.; for this use of אָשֶׁר cf. § 139, 2), e. g. Isa. 41, 24 תוֹעֵבָה יִבְחַר בָּכֶם *an abomination (is he) who chooses you*; Mal. 2, 16 (וְכִסָּה *and him who has covered*); Job 24, 19 חָטְאוּ הַטָּאֵל *the under-world (consumes those who) have sinned*; Isa. 41, 2.
- 4) where אָשֶׁר would be used as *nota relationis*, which from a following suffix, § 139, 1 (usually connected with a preposition) or an adverb (e. g. Jer. 2, 6) contains a closer qualification; e. g. Jer. 5, 15 אֶלְמָדָע לֹא-תֵדַע *whose language thou dost not understand*; Ps. 32, 2 בֵּרֶכֶת ה' הָאִישׁ לֹא עָוֹן *unto whom Jehovah doth not impute iniquity*; Ex. 18, 20; Isa. 42, 1 (where בּוֹ is to be supplied in the second half); Jer. 2, 6; Job 3, 3 *a*.¹ Examples of verbal suffix Deut. 32, 17 אֱלֹהִים לֹא יָדְעוּ *gods whom they knew not* (vid. also end of verse); after substantive with כִּי in (vid. above, No. 1, Rem.) Jer. 23, 9; Job 13, 28.

Rem. 1. The simple addition of relative qualifications is especially frequent:

¹ In Isa. 51, 1 we find without this qualification by means of a preposition with a suffix, the brief and bold *look unto the rocks* הַצִּבְתָּם (whence) *ye are hewn and to the hole of the well* נִקְרְתָם (whence) *ye are dug*; similarly Job 21, 27 *the devices (with which) ye overpower me*.

a) after time relations (almost invariably indeterminate, hence considered as in the construct state¹; vid. Rem. 2), e. g. Ex. 6, 28 *בְּיוֹם דִּבֶּר יְהוָה* on the day (when) *Jehovah spoke*; cf. Ps. 56, 10; also after *בְּיוֹם* Jer. 36, 2, after simple *יוֹם* Ps. 56, 4 (*יוֹם אִירָא* on the day [when] *I fear*); furthermore 2 Chr. 29, 27 *בְּעֵת הַחֵל הָעוֹלָה* at the time (when) *the burnt offering began*; also after *לְעֵת* Deut. 32, 35; Job 6, 17; after *עַרְעַר* Mic. 5, 2; also after *מִעַר* Ps. 4, 8: *greater than* (the joy) at the time (when) *their corn and wine abounded*. Cf. also cases like Job 8, 12 *while it is yet in its greenness* (when) *not customarily cut down*, etc.

b) more rarely after local references, partly with a peculiar pregnant force, e. g. Job 38, 19: *where is the way* (where) *light dwelleth*; cf. 38, 24. Here too belong the examples where relative clauses are governed by prepositions, as in Jer. 2, 8 *וְאֶחָרֵי לֹא-יוֹעִלוּ הֵלָכִי* and walked after (those things that) *profit not*; 1 Chr. 15, 12 *אֶל-הַכִּינּוֹתֵי לוֹ* in (the place which) *I have prepared for him* (cf. the complete usage Ex. 23, 20); 2 Chr. 1, 4; after *לְ* Isa. 65, 1 (*to those who did not ask*, etc.).

2. For the examples of relative clauses governed by the construct state, hence virtually in the genitive, cf. § 130, 3, 4.

3. In Arabic the relative pronoun regularly follows a definite, but not an indefinite noun. Likewise in Hebrew, *אֲשֶׁר*, in prose at least, is generally wanting after an indefinite noun (cf. the foregoing example, Gen. 15, 13; Jer. 23, 4, etc.); on the other hand, *אֲשֶׁר* not so unfrequently is also wanting after a definite substantive, e. g. Ex. 18, 20; 2 Chr. 18, 23; especially in poetry Deut. 32, 17; Ps. 18, 3; 49, 13, 21; Job 3, 3; 23, 17, etc.

§ 156.

CIRCUMSTANTIAL CLAUSES.

1. To express the circumstances under which a subject appears or an action (or event) is accomplished, regardless of the relative clauses (with or without *אֲשֶׁר*, vid. § 155, 2, a), the nominal clauses connected by *Waw* with the following subject (vid. such cases in detail, § 141, 2, Rem. 2) and verbal clauses (vid. § 142, 1, Rem. 1) are primarily used. Frequently, however, such statements are subordinated to the principal idea by means of a simple addition without *Waw*; this is effected

¹ In Ps. 49, 6 a relative temporal clause follows a time relation with the genitive.

quite as well in the form of (occasionally short) nominal clauses (vid. No. 2) as in that of verbal clauses (vid. No. 3).

Rem. Of the relative clauses, here belong numerous nominal clauses entirely subordinated to the substantive without *אשר*, as in Gen. 16, 12; so also in statements of weight (Gen. 24, 22), of name (Job 1, 1; also introduced by *ושמו* Gen. 24, 29; 1 Sam. 1, 1 al. or *ושמה* Gen. 16, 1; 22, 24 al.), bodily condition (Judg. 1, 7), etc. Nominal clauses beginning with *Waw* and the predicate have a certain independent character, like those introduced by *Waw* and the subject¹ (Gen. 19, 1, etc.); but the former, provided they ascribe a simultaneous state to the principal action, are classed among circumstantial clauses; so Isa. 3, 7 *I may not be a healer* *אין להם* *for in my house there is no bread*; 6, 6 (Amos 7, 7); 2 Sam. 13, 18; 16, 1.

2. Characteristic examples of *nominal circumstantial clauses* are Gen. 12, 8 *and he pitched his tent* *בית-אל מים וְהָעֵי* *while (or so that) Bethel lay on the west and Ai on the east*; Num. 22, 24; 2 Sam. 18, 14 (*in the heart of Absalom* *עוֹרְנוּ חַי* *while he was yet alive*); Jer. 30, 6; Ezek. 9, 2 (cf. Cant. 3, 8); Nah. 3, 8; Zech. 14, 5; 2 Chr. 23, 10; with a preceding predicate e. g. 1 Sam. 26, 13; Ps. 32, 8. The nominal clause in Gen. 41, 29 serves to express a future condition. Here also belong certain permanent formulas, like *פָּנִים אֶל-פָּנִים* *from face to face* (lit. *while face was to face*) Gen. 32, 31; Ex. 33, 11; Deut. 34, 10 al.;² also *throw themselves down* *אָרְצָה* *in that the face is turned toward the earth*, Gen. 19, 1 al. (for *אָרְצָה* we find *אָרָץ* in 1 K. 1, 31; Isa. 49, 23).³ Cf. finally the formula *אִם עַל-פָּנִים* *mother with children* Gen. 32, 12 (cf. Hos. 10, 14 and § 119, 3, e, Note 3).

Rem. On the periphrases of negative attributive ideas belonging here by (complete and incomplete) nominal clauses, cf. § 152, 1, h, Rem.

¹ In Deut. 32, 31 this connecting form seems to have been chosen for other purposes, sc. *and indeed are our enemies* (whose) *judges* (with the so-called emphatic *Waw*; the interpretation as a circumstantial clause is purely artificial).

² Also the use *פָּנִים הִתְרָאָה* *to look each other in the face* (i. e. to be opposed in battle) 2 K. 14, 8, 11; 2 Chr. 25, 17, 21 is no doubt an abbreviated form of *הִתְרָאָה אֶל-פָּנֵי*.

³ That *אָרְצָה* (*אָרָץ*) is indeed to be considered as the virtual predicate of *אָרְצָה* and not *אִם* as a remaining *casus instrum.*, is seen from Isa. 49, 23, where *אָרְצָה* precedes the verb.

3. Positive sentences (vid.-letter *a*), and much more frequently negative sentences (vid. letter *b*), are sometimes used as *verbal* circumstantial clauses,¹ among which are many usages that may be considered as simply paraphrases of negative adverbial ideas (vid. letter *c*).

Examples for *a*) Isa. 5, 11 *b* (woe unto them that continue at night *וְיִלְקִים* while the wine inflames them). As a specification of an already mentioned summary, we find the verbal circumstantial clause in Gen. 44, 12; 48, 14 (therefore crossed his hands); Judg. 6, 19; in an opposite sense 1 K. 13, 18 (*כִּחַשׁ לוֹ* with which he, however, lied to him). A motive seems to be expressed by the verbal clause in Ps. 7, 7 (*כִּשְׁפָּט צִוִּיתָ* since thou hast ordained judgment), and in Ps. 103, 5 a result.

Rem. Especially deserving of mention are the cases where an Imperfect in the sense of a final clause is subordinated to a verb of motion (usually *קִים*). Besides the examples (Ps. 88, 11, etc.) mentioned in § 120, 1, *b*, cf. also Isa. 5, 11 *a* (to follow strong drink); Hab. 3, 16 (*וְגִדְנִי* that he may press it); Job 16, 8; 30, 28.

For *b*) subordinated verbal clauses with *לֹא* (usually rendered into English by *without* and the pres. Participle when the subject is the same as in the subordinated clause), e. g. Lev. 1, 17 *לֹא יִבְדִּיל* without dividing it; Job 31, 34; cf. also Ps. 21, 12 (*בְּלִי-יִכְרֹז* without effecting anything); *לֹא* with the Perfect is thus used in Gen. 44, 4; Ex. 34, 28. With an interchangeable subject Isa. 27, 9, corresponds to a consequential clause (*לֹא-יִקְמוּ* so that they did not raise, etc.). Occasionally verbal clauses in the same sense (*without doing*) are connected with *וְלֹא* cf. 1 Sam. 20, 2; Job 24, 22; 42, 3; in a concessive sense Isa. 33, 1; Ps. 44, 18.

For *c*) cf. *לֹא יָדַע* (lit. he knows it not) = *unawares* Ps. 35, 8; Prov. 5, 6; *לֹא יַחְמֹל* unsparing Isa. 30, 14 (after Infinitive *absolute*); Hab. 1, 17; Job 6, 10 (but Job 16, 13; 27, 22 *וְלֹא יַחְמֹל*; vid. letter *b*); *בְּלִי חֶשֶׁן* (lit. contains not) endless Isa. 14, 6; *בְּלִי-מִוֶּט* Job 41, 15 (Ps. 93, 1 *בְּלִי-מִוֶּט*) and *לֹא מִוֶּט* Isa. 40, 20 = *without trembling, immovable*; cf. also *לֹא אֶמְעָר* without trembling, Ps. 26, 1.

¹ Some of the examples belonging here have already been discussed in another connection, vid. above, § 120, 1.

§ 157.

OBJECT CLAUSES.

Clauses depending on a transitive verb (especially the so-called *verba cordis*, i. e. verbs expressing any mental perception such as *see, hear, know, recognize, believe, remember, forget, say, think*, etc.) may be subordinated to the governing verb simply by annexing it without the aid of a conjunction (§ 120, 1) or coördinating it with or without Waw copulative, (§ 120, 2). Regularly, however, the object clause is introduced by כִּי *that*, more rarely by אֲשֶׁר *that*.

Examples: a). Object clauses without a conjunction.

Besides the passages mentioned in § 120 (especially letter *a*, Rem. 1), numerous other examples are classified here, examples where the clause, dependent upon a verb of saying or perceiving, is either nominal or verbal (the so-called *oratio obliqua* in Latin and German); e. g. Gen. 12, 13 אֶתְּ אֲחֹתִי נָא אֶמְרִי-נָא *say then, thou art my sister*; Zech. 8, 23 (after שָׁמַע); Ps. 9, 21 (after יָדַע); verbal clauses e. g. Gen. 43, 7 (vid. § 107, 3, b); Ps. 50, 21 *thou hast mentioned* הָיִיתָ-אֹהֲיָהּ כְּמוֹן *I am just as thou (art)*; Gen. 41, 15; Judg. 9, 48 (= *what ye have seen me do*); Isa. 48, 8; Hos. 7, 2.

b) Object clauses introduced by כִּי, e. g. Gen. 6, 5 וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה כִּי רָבָה *and Jehovah saw that the iniquity of man was great*, etc. Even direct discourse is frequently introduced by כִּי (analogous to the so-called *ὁδὴ recitativum*; sometimes with the force of an asseverative particle, e. g. Gen. 26, 9; 27, 20), e. g. Gen. 21, 30; 22, 16 sq.; 26, 22; 29, 32; 37, 35, etc., also when the direct discourse is not expressly indicated, as in Gen. 32, 31. For the attraction of the subject of such sentences to a governing verb¹ (as object of the latter) vid. above, § 117, 1, Rem. 6.

c) Object clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Esth. 3, 4 כִּי-הִגִּיד לָהֶם *for he had informed them that he was a Jew*; 1 Sam. 18,

¹ In this way arises occasionally a kind of *acc. — cum Infin.* construction, especially after נָתַן (lit. *give away*) in the sense of *allow*, e. g. Num. 21, 23 וּלֹא-נָתַן סִיחֹן אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבַר בְּגָבְלוֹ *and Sihon did not let Israel pass through his borders*; 20, 21; Infinitive with ל follows in Gen. 20, 6; 31, 7; Ex. 3, 19; cf also the analogous examples Deut. 28, 56 (after נִסָּה *try*, vid. § 113, 1, c, with note); Judg. 11, 20 (after הֶאֱמִין *trust*); 1 K. 19, 4 (after שָׁאַל *wish*).

15; Ezek. 20, 26; Eccl. 8, 12,¹ before direct discourse 1 Sam. 15, 20; 2 Sam. 1, 4. Quite often the *nota accus.* אֲשֶׁר precedes אֲשֶׁר (= *the case, the event that*) e. g. Josh. 2, 10; 1 Sam. 24, 11, 19; 2 Sam. 11, 20; 2 K. 8, 12; Isa. 38, 3 (but Gen. 30, 29; Deut. 29, 15 = *the case, like*).

§ 158.

CAUSAL CLAUSES.

The cause or reason of assertions, demands, threats, etc., expressed by a complete clause is often connected either by simple Waw copulative (e. g. Ps. 60, 13 *supply us help for the trial and [for] in vain is man's help*; Gen. 22, 12; Ex. 23, 9; Job 22, 12; perhaps also Ps. 7, 10) or without a conjunction (Gen. 17, 14). Regularly, however, certain conjunctions are used in many connections to indicate causal clauses.

Most commonly we find as causal conjunctions אֲשֶׁר (Isa. 3 16 al.) and אֲשֶׁר because, lit. *on account of, that*; both, however, are also abbreviated to אֲשֶׁר (Num. 20, 12 al.), or simply to כִּי because (Gen. 3, 14, 17 al.), as well as to אֲשֶׁר (Gen. 30, 18; 31, 49; 34, 13; 34, 27; 1 K. 3, 19; 8, 33; Hos. 14, 4; also אֲשֶׁר Gen. 39, 9, 23); on the other hand, אֲשֶׁר is sometimes repeated for the sake of emphasis = אֲשֶׁר וְאֲשֶׁר (analogous to the German *sintemal u. alldieweil*) Lev. 26, 43; Ezek. 13, 10 (without וְ 36, 3); furthermore אֲשֶׁר (2 Sam. 3, 30) and אֲשֶׁר (Deut. 31, 17; Judg. 3, 12; Mal. 2, 14) *on the ground, that*; אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר by reason of the circumstance, that (Deut. 23, 5); אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר (Jer. 3, 8) *even on that account, because*. Like אֲשֶׁר for אֲשֶׁר, we also find אֲשֶׁר with the Perfect (Ps. 119, 136; Ezra 3, 11; cf. Gen. 31, 20 אֲשֶׁר and Deut. 28, 55 אֲשֶׁר each with a Perfect = *because not*) for אֲשֶׁר. Cf. also אֲשֶׁר (Gen. 22, 18; 26, 5; 2 Sam. 12, 6, throughout with a Perfect) and אֲשֶׁר (2 Sam. 12, 10 with a Perfect; Amos 4, 12 with an Imperfect), lit. *forasmuch as*; again we find אֲשֶׁר Num. 14, 24 with a Perfect; Deut. 7, 12; 8, 20 with an Imperfect); finally אֲשֶׁר (Isa. 43, 4) *from this that = because*, אֲשֶׁר (1 Sam. 26, 21 al.) and אֲשֶׁר (Deut. 4, 37; Prov. 1, 29) *therefore, that*.

Rem. 1. The preposition אֲשֶׁר with the Infinitive (§ 114, 2) is often used as the equivalent of a complete causal clause (= *on the ground*

¹ In Jer. 28, 9 a *subject* clause is thus introduced by אֲשֶׁר for the expected כִּי. (Elsewhere אֲשֶׁר is used as a conjunction with a meaning parallel with all senses of כִּי).

² But אֲשֶׁר (Gen. 18, 5; 19, 8; 33, 10; 38, 26; Num. 10, 31; 14, 43; 2 Sam. 18, 20 *Qeri*) and אֲשֶׁר (Job 34, 27) everywhere *for an account of*.

that, on account of); cf. e. g. Amos 1, 3, 6, 13; 2, 1, 6. Such an Infinitive construction, according to § 114, 3, Rem. 1, may be continued by a finite verb; עַל- has then the force of a conjunction; e. g. Amos 1, 9 זָכְרוּ וְלֹא יִסְמְרוּ עַל-יְהוֹשֻׁפָּט . . . because they delivered up . . . and remembered not; 1, 11; 2, 4.

2. The choice of tenses follows in the main the general principles laid down in § 106 sq.: the Perfect (cf. § 106, 1, c) is used with completed events, the Imperfect with incomplete ones; cf. e. g. Deut. 7, 12; 8, 20; 1 K. 8, 33 where the Imperfect always admits the possible rendering that those addressed escape punishment by shunning disobedience. Cf. also § 111, 2, Rem. 2, a for the Imperfect consec., § 112, 5, b for the Perfect consec. in the consequent of causal sentences.

§ 159.

CONDITIONAL CLAUSES.¹

1. The great diversity in the construction of conditional sentences is due to the fact that it really depends upon the point of view of the speaker, whether he regards the condition as (possibly) *to be fulfilled*, already fulfilled, or *unfulfilled*. On this distinction depends in part the choice of conditional particles (vid. below), but chiefly (as also in Greek and Latin) the choice of tense; the use of the latter is, of course, in accordance with the principles² given in § 106 sq. For the sake of a better understanding of the subject we shall in the following matter (No. 2) discuss conditional clauses *without* the conditional particles and then in No. 3 with such particles.

2. The relation of condition and result may in Hebrew, as in German, be indicated by simply placing together two clauses. The main principle should ever be born in mind (corresponding to the general character of both tenses) that

¹ Cf. *H. Ferguson*, The Use of the Tenses in Conditional Sentences in Hebrew (Journ. of Soc. of Bibl. Lit. and Exeg., Middletown, Conn., June and Sept., 1882); *P. Friedrich*, die hebr. Conditionalsätze, Königsb. 1884 (Inaug. Diss.); *Driver*, Tenses, etc., p. 202 sq.

² This does not exclude the use of a different construction in the consequent from that in the antecedent—a new source of diverse variations!

the Imperfect with its equivalents (Jussive, Cohortative, Imperative, Perfect *consec.*, Participle) is used to express present or future conditions and results regarded as yet to be fulfilled, while the Perfect represents such conditions as actually fulfilled, and the event hence accomplished (the other function of the Perfect — representing unfulfilled conditions — can be considered in its connection with particles).

Examples: a) *Imperfect* (cf. § 107, 4, b, 5) in antecedent and consequent, Josh. 22, 18; Ps. 104, 28 sq. וְלָקְטוּן לָהֶם תִּתֵּן *thou givest them, they gather*, etc., Ps. 139, 18; Job 20, 24; Neh. 1, 8, with interrogative Imperfect in the consequent Judg. 13, 12, with a Jussive Job 10, 16; Cohortative Prov. 1, 23; Perfect Isa. 26, 10 (*yet he would not learn righteousness*; the consequent sharply excludes what the Imperfect in the antecedent expresses as in mind; cf. Hos. 8, 12); Perfect *consec.* Ex. 33, 5, with the suppression of the antecedent Job 5, 8 (vid. § 107, 4, b, 5).

b) *Jussive* in both antecedent (cf. § 109, 2, b with Rem.) and consequent Ps. 104, 20 וְיָהִי לֵיְלָה תַּשְׁתְּ-חֹשֶׁךְ *if thou make darkness, it is night*; Imperfect in the consequent Ps. 104, 29 b.

c) *Cohortative* (vid. § 108, 2, b) in the antecedent, Perfect in the consequent Ps. 40, 6; Imperfect *consec.* Job 19, 18 וְיִדְבְּרוּ-בִי אֲקוּמָה *if I arise, they speak against me*; for a Cohortative in the consequent, cf. § 108, 2, c.

d) *Imperfect consec.* in the antecedent (§ 111, 4, b, 3, Rem.) Ps. 139, 11 וְאָמַרְתִּי *if I spoke*, etc. (a nominal clause serves as the consequent); with frequentative Perfect *consec.* in the consequent 1 Sam. 2, 16.

e) *Perfect consec.* in both antecedent and consequent (vid. examples § 112, 5, a, ε, with Rem.) Gen. 44, 22 וְעָזַב אָבִיו וְאִמּוֹ *and if he forsook his father, the latter would die*; 44, 29; Ex. 4, 14; 12, 13; 1 Sam. 16, 2; 2 Sam. 13, 28; 1 K. 8, 30; with frequentative Perfects, Ex. 16, 21; Imperfect in the consequent (being separated from Waw by לֹא) Num. 23, 30; Job 5, 24; a question Lev. 10, 19; a nominal sentence Ps. 37, 10; Job 7, 21.

f) *pure Perfect* (representing actions considered as completed) in both antecedent and consequent Prov. 18, 23 מָצָא אִשָּׁה מָצָא טוֹב *when one has found a wife, one has found a good thing*; 24, 10; Imperfect in

¹ For the ending וְ cf. § 47, 3, Rem. 4. וְשָׁבְעוּן vs. 28 is explained from its position directly before a pause; all these endings vss. 28-30 and Ps. 139, 18 have hardly anything to do with conditional sentences, though the appearance of וְ Num. 32, 23 after לֹא-אִם in the antecedents is unusual (in Num. 16, 29 וְ before ■ is explained as due to a dislike of hiatus).

the consequent Job **19**, 4; **23**, 10; Imperfect *consec.* Prov. **11**, 2; Job **3**, 25; **23**, 13 b; **29**, 11; a question Num. **12**, 14; Job **7**, 20; *if I have sinned* (properly, well then, I have sinned!), *what could I do for thee?* **21**, 31; **35**, 6; Amos **3**, 8; a nominal sentence Job **27**, 19.

g) *Participle as casus pendens* (cf. § 143, b, Rem. 2 and the quoted references from the Aramaic) or a complete nominal clause in the antecedent; the consequent is usually introduced by *Waw apodosis*, e. g. Prov. **23**, 24 *Keth.* וְיִשְׂמַח בּוֹ יוֹלֵד הָחָם *if any one beget a wise (child) he shall have joy in him*; with a frequentative Perfect in the consequent 1 Sam. **2**, 13 al.; also with a simple Imperfect, e. g. Ex. **21**, 12 (cf. § 112, 3 b, β); with an interrogative Imperfect 2 K. **7**, 2, 19; with an interrogative Perfect Judg. **6**, 13.

h) *Infinitive with a preposition* (also equivalent of a conditional clause) in the antecedent, Perfect *consec.* in the consequent (cf. § 112, 5, a, ζ), e. g. 2 Sam. **7**, 14 sq. בְּהַעֲוֹתוֹ וְהִכְחִתּוֹ וְג' *if he commit iniquity, I will chastise him with the rods of men*; Ex. **34**, 34 sq. (with an Imperfect, then frequentative Perfect in the consequent).

Rem. For the periphrasis of conditions and results by means of two coördinated Imperatives, vid. § 110, 2, a.

3. As particles introducing conditional clauses we find אִם (late Hebr. sometimes is הֵן) and לִי¹ (1 Sam. **14**, 30; Isa. **63**, 19 לִי; Eccl. **6**, 6; Esth. **7**, 4 אִלּוּ from לִי אִם) *if*, negatives לֹא אִם and לֹא לִי (לֹאִי) *if not, unless*; כִּי *in case that* (Lat. *ut*), sometimes almost identical in meaning with אִם. In general the difference between אִם (לֹא אִם) and לִי (לֹאִי) is that אִם is used when the condition is regarded as already fulfilled, or when with its result it is thought to be possibly (or apparently) incoming at the present or future. In the first case, אִם is followed by the the Perfect; in the second case (corresponding to the Greek εἰ with Subj. Pres.) the Imperfect or its equivalent (frequently also in the consequent). לִי (לֹאִי) however, is used when the condition is represented as *unfulfilled* in the past or *not to be fulfilled* in the present or future; the consequent hence never having taken place. In the first case לִי and לֹאִי (usually also in the consequent) are necessarily followed by the Perfect (corresponding to the Greek εἰ with conjunction of corresponding time; Latin, Subj. Imperfect or Pluperfect); in the

¹ Cf. for לִי Kohler in Geiger's Zeitschr. f. Wiss. u. Leben, VI (1868), p. 21 sq.

other (very rare) case the Perfect may be used; also the participle and even the Imperfect.

Rem. Since it depends (vid. above, No. 1) upon the speaker whether a condition is to be considered as fulfilled or unfulfilled, it is not strange that the distinction between **אם** and **וְ** is not always consistently made. Even though (according to their nature) **וְ** and **אם** may not be used for **אם**, **לֹא אִם** (for the strange **וְ** Gen. 50, 15, vid. below), nevertheless **אם** is sometimes used when only **וְ** would be expected; cf. e. g. Ps. 50, 12; 137, 5; 139, 8; Hos. 9, 12 (cf. vs. 11). These examples (**אם** with an Imperfect), from the circumstance that the union of **וְ** with the Imperfect was plainly avoided, are readily explained as far as the latter represented an incompleted action, hence (in contrast to **וְ**) still indicated as an open possibility. But **אם** is used for **וְ** with the Perfect, especially when to the condition introduced by **אם** an imprecation is added in the consequent, e. g. Ps. 7, 4 sq. **אִם-עָשִׂיתִי זֹאת - יִרְדֶּף גִּי' -** if I have done this — the enemy will persecute my soul, etc., cf. Job 31, 9 sq. The speaker at one moment represents as possible and even actual that which he really wishes to indicate as impossible in order to subject himself to the severest punishment, if such were really the case.

Examples: A. **אם** 1. With a *Perfect* in the antecedent to represent conditions, etc. indicated as accomplished in the past or to be accomplished in the future (Perfect = Fut. exactum, § 106, 3, c); in the consequent¹ we find:

- a) the *Perfect*, e. g. Prov. 9, 12 **אִם חֲכָמָה תִּחְכַּמְתָּ לָךְ** if thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself; Ps. 73, 15 (vid. on **וְ**).
- b) the *Imperfect*, e. g. Deut. 32, 41 **אִם-שִׁנִּיתִי** when I have whetted . . . I will render vengeance (**וְשִׁנִּיתִי**), etc.; Job 9, 15 sq. and 30 (in each **וְ** for **אִם** would be expected, so too in Ps. 44, 21 sq. where an interrogative Imperfect is used in the consequent); Job 11, 13 (consequent vs. 15).
- c) the *Jussive* (or *Optative*), e. g. Job 31, 9 sq. (vid. No. 2, Rem.); Gen. 18, 3.
- d) the *Perfect consec.* (vid. examples § 112, 5, a, β), e. g. Gen. 43, 9 **אִם-לֹא אֶבְרִיחֵנִי** if I bring him not unto thee . . . I will take the blame forever, etc., 2 Sam. 15, 33; 2 K. 7, 4; but in Gen. 47, 6; Mic. 5, 7; Job 7, 4 reference is made to an accomplished action; in Gen. 38, 9; Num. 21, 9 the Perfect with **וְ** as Perfect frequentative refers to the past.
- e) the *Imperfect consec.* (vid. § 111, 4, b, 1, Rem.), e. g. Job 8, 4: if thy children have sinned (**וְחָטְאוּ**) . . . **וְיִשְׁלַחֵם** he has cast them away, etc.

¹ We do not here consider the fact that the logical consequent (the result of the condition) is sometimes stated before the condition.

- f) the *Imperative*, e. g. Gen. 50, 4 (וְגַם-נָא דַּבְּרוּ-נָא וְאֵין-נָא if I have found favor in thine eyes speak, etc.), the Imperative precedes in Gen. 47, 16; Job 38, 4, 18.
- g) a (complete or incomplete) nominal clause, e. g. Jer. 14, 18 (with graphic transposition in the future): if I am gone forth into the field (= if I go, etc.), then are those slain with the sword, etc., Prov. 24, 14 (consequent with Waw apodosis);

2. אִם with an Imperfect in the antecedent to express both what is possible in the present and future and (according § 107, 1) what is continued or repeated in the past; in the consequent we find:

- a) the *Perfect*, e. g. Num. 32, 32 הֵנָּה חָטְאתֶם כֵּן הִנֵּה תַעֲשׂוּן וְאִם-לֹא תַעֲשׂוּן if ye will not do so, ye have sinned (the consequent is so transposed as to indicate an action as already begun; so Job 20, 12-14). But Num. 16, 29 (also 1 Sam. 6, 9; 1 K. 22, 28) is due to a pregnant use = when these, as all men, will die (as will happen), Jehovah has not sent me.
- b) the *Imperfect*, e. g. 2 K. 7, 4 אִם-יְחִינִי נַחֲיָה if they let us live, we shall continue to live, etc.; Gen. 13, 16; 18, 28, 30; 28, 20 sq.; Ex. 20, 25 (the 2d Imperfect=Jussive); Isa. 1, 18; 10, 22; Amos 9, 2-4; Ps. 50, 12 (where אִם ironically represents something impossible as possible); Job 8, 5 sq. (with insertion of a second condition in the form of a nominal sentence); 9, 3, 20; Job 14, 7. In Gen. 42, 37 the result (cf. on תָּקִיט § 107, 4, b, 1) precedes the condition.
- c) the *Jussive* (or *Optative*), e. g. Ps. 137, 5; cf. on this § 109, 2, b;
- d) the *Cohortative*, e. g. Gen. 13, 9; Job 31, 7; cf. § 108, 2, c;
- e) the *Perfect consec.* (vid. examples § 112, 5, a), e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 6 אִם-פָּקַד יִפְקְדֵנִי אָבִי וְאִמִּי if thy father at all miss me, thou shalt say, etc.; Gen. 24, 41; Judg. 4, 20; with a frequentative Perfect consec. Gen. 31, 8 if he (as often happened) said . . . then, etc.
- f) the *Imperfect consec.*; so perhaps Ps. 59, 16, if וְלִינִי is to be explained according to § 111, 4, b, 2, γ.
- g) the *Imperative*, e. g. Gen. 31, 50; 1 Sam. 20, 21; 21, 10; Job 35, 5.
- h) a nominal sentence, e. g. Gen. 4, 7; Ps. 139, 8; Job 8, 6; 31, 26 sq.

3. אִם with a *Cohortative*, e. g. Gen. 30, 31; cf. the passages mentioned in § 108, 2, b.

4. אִם with an *Infinitive* Job 9, 27 אִם-אֶמְרִי lit. if my say is (but אֶמְרִי should be the reading here).

5. אִם with a nominal clause, e. g. Gen. 27, 46; Judg. 9, 15 (Imperative in the consequent); 11, 9 (Imperfect in the consequent);

2 Sam. 12, 8 (Cohortative in the consequent); Hos. 12, 12, so especially when the subject of the conditional clause is a personal pronoun. The latter is then used in a positive sentence with וְ , in a negative with אִין (cf. for both § 100, 5), while the predicate is indicated by a Participle, generally as a bold expression (cf. § 116, 5, Rem. 1), e. g. Judg. 6, 36 sq. $\text{אִם-יִשְׁעֶךָ כֹּה־שֵׁנִי}$ *if thou wilt help*, etc.; Gen. 24, 49 ($\text{אִם-יִשְׁכַּחְם עֲשִׂים}$) *if ye will do*, etc.); 1 Sam. 23, 23. In Gen. 24, 42 sq. the conditional expression is humbly indicated by means of an annexed נָא ; with אִין Gen. 43, 5 $\text{וְאִם-אֵינְךָ מְשַׁלַּח}$ *and if thou dost not let him go*, etc.; 20, 7; 1 Sam. 19, 11. Furthermore וְ and אִין may even without a suffix follow אִם ; so also יֵשׁ Gen. 23, 8; 1 Sam. 20, 8; 2 K. 9, 15 al. אִם-אֵין (*if that be not the case*) Gen. 30, 1; Judg. 9, 15; 2 K. 2, 10; cf. also אִם-כֵּן *if it be so* Gen. 25, 22.

B. הֵן *if* (usually considered as originally identical with הֵן *behold*. More truthfully, however, הֵן *if* is a pure Aramaic expression, and since in Aramaic the meaning *behold* is unknown, any original connection with הֵן, הִנֵּה is, to say the least, improbable); cf. Ex. 8, 22; Isa. 54, 15; Jer. 3, 1; 2 Chr. 7, 13; but in Job 12, 14; 23, 8 the meaning *behold* is preferable.

C. לֹא *if, unless* (לֹא-יֵלֵךְ *if not, unless*).

1. With a *Perfect* both in the antecedent and the consequent (cf. § 106, 4), e. g. 1 Sam. 14, 30 $\text{וְגַם הַיּוֹם אָכַל הָעָם וְגַם הַיּוֹם אָכַל הָעָם וְגַם הַיּוֹם אָכַל הָעָם}$ *if the people had eaten to-day . . . would not the slaughter have been greater*, etc.; Judg. 8, 19 לֹא is thus used with similar meaning to אִלּוּ Esth. 7, 4; cf. Eccl. 6, 6 (where a question is in the consequent). Perfect in the antecedent and consequent after לֹא-יֵלֵךְ Gen. 31, 42; 43, 10; Judg. 14, 18; 1 Sam. 25, 34; 2 Sam. 2, 27; Isa. 1, 9; but in Deut. 32, 29 the Imperfect follows לֹא with a Perfect in the consequent (*if they were wise, they would know this*); Mic. 2, 11 Perfect consec.

2. With an *Imperfect* after לֹא-יֵלֵךְ Deut. 32, 26 (אִלּוּ doubtless *modus rei repetitae*: *if I did not always fear*); also an Imperfect after לֹא with suppression of the consequent Gen. 50, 15 *if Joseph were hostile to us* (since the fear is, as seen from the context, a sincere one, hence לֹא is rather unusual; elsewhere, e. g. Ps. 73, 15; Job 9, 15 sq. 30 לֹא for אִם would be expected).

3. Nominal clause after לֹא 2 Sam. 18, 12; 2 K. 3, 14 (in both, Imperfect in the consequent); Job 16, 4 (לֹא-יֵשׁ); Cohortative in the consequent).

D. כִּי *provided that, if*.

1. כִּי with a *Perfect* in the antecedent, e. g. Ex. 21, 2 $\text{כִּי-תִקְנֶה עֶבֶד}$ *in case that thou acquirest a Hebrew slave, he shall serve thee six years* (but in vss. 3–5 a number of definite conditions with definite results are introduced by אִם ; the disjunctive statements in vss. 8–11 with אִם

beyond the consequent to a second conditional clause; so the particle **אם** Prov. 9, 12; Job 10, 15; 16, 6; 22, 23; 'פ Isa. 43, 2.

5. In Ex. 33, 20 in place of a condition with a negative result we find a negative assertion: *for no man sees me and lives* in place of: *for if any man sees me, he will not live*; cf. similar example in Deut. 22, 14 *thou shalt not see . . . and hide thyself*, *for: if thou see, . . . thou shalt not hide thyself*.

§ 160.

CONCESSIVE CLAUSES.

Regardless of the use of the Imperative in the sense of a sincere (§ 110, 1 *a*) or mocking (§ 110, 2 *a*) concession, and of concessive circumstantial clauses (§§ 141, 2, Rem. 2; 142, 1, *b*, Rem. 1, and 156, 3, *b*), concessive clauses may be introduced:

a) by simple **אם** *if*; so Job 9, 15 with a Perfect (= *had I been right*); Isa. 1, 18 and 10, 22 with an Imperfect in reference to something eventually incoming.

b) by 'פ **אם** *even if* Isa. 1, 15 with an Imperfect; simple **אם** is used therefore in Isa. 49, 15 with an Imperfect = *may these also forget*; but with a Perfect Jer. 36, 25; Ps. 95, 9; Neh. 6, 1; finally **אם** 'פ *even if, although*, Eccl. 4, 14.

c) by the preposition **לֹא** governing an independent nominal sentence (Job 16, 17 **לֹא** חָסַד בְּיָדַי *in spite of [the fact] that no mischief is in my hands*) or a verbal sentence Isa. 53, 9; for **לֹא** with the Infinitive in a similar sense (*—despite the fact that*) cf. § 119, 3, *e*, Note 3.

§ 161.

COMPARATIVE CLAUSES.

The comparison of two things is affected sometimes by merely connecting the two parts by Waw copulative; this is the case especially in poetry when things spiritual are compared with things temporal, e. g. Job 5, 7 *man is born to trouble and the sons of the flame fly high*, i. e. just as the sparks naturally fly upwards, so is, etc.; Job 12, 11 (with an interrogative form; 34, 3 the same comparison as an asser-

tion); 14, 11 sq.; Prov. 17, 3; 25, 3; 26, 9, etc.¹ The connecting ׀ is omitted in Job 24, 19 *drought and heat consume the snow water*, שָׁאֹל הַטָּהוֹר (so consumes) *the under-world* those that have sinned (cf. § 155, 2, b, 3); cf. Jer. 17, 11; in Ps. 14, 4 the comparisons are put into one sentence with the aid of a participle אֲכָלִי עַמִּי אֲכָלוּ לֶחֶם *consuming my people they ate bread*, i. e. they consumed my people as if they ate bread; the actual meaning of the verse is, however, uncertain.

2. בְּאִשָּׁר (cf. § 138, 2; in Ex. 14, 13 simply אִשָּׁר) *how, quemadmodum* (Obad. 15) is used as a comparative conjunction, to which then corresponds the word כֵּן *so* in the consequent (Isa. 31, 4; 52, 14 sq.). Sometimes, however, כֵּן (= *just so*) is used, even after independent assertions, Isa. 55, 9; Jer. 3, 20. The closer correspondence of the two things is expressed by כֵּל-עֲמִתָּ שֵׁ *entirely so, as* in Eccl. 5, 15.

Rem. For the comparative introduction of individual nouns or pronouns by means of כֵּן *as*, cf. § 118, 6; for the apparent use of כֵּן as a conjunction (= בְּאִשָּׁר) § 155, 2, b, Rem. It is to be noticed that the corresponding כֵּן — כֵּן *as — as* (e. g. Gen. 18, 25; Isa. 24, 2; also *so — as* Gen. 44, 18; but in 1 Sam. 30, 25 וְכֵן — כֵּן, Ps. 127, 4 כֵּן — כֵּן, cf. Joel 2, 4) are not to be considered as conjunctions, but as virtual substantives with a following genitive.

§ 162.

DISJUNCTIVE CLAUSES.

The introduction of some other possibility by which the preceding statement is eventually canceled, is effected by means of אִם *or* (e. g. Ex. 21, 36 doubtless *free will, choice*, = hence Lat. *vel*; also = *aut* in an exclusive antithesis 2 K. 2, 16); so Isa. 27, 5 (אִם = *it must then be that*, where elsewhere we find כִּי).

¹ Cf. on this so-called *Waw adæquationis* and these compared *parabolic* sayings, principally Delitzsch, *das Salomon. Spruchbuch*, p. 9 sq. Occasionally, nouns alone (or predicate) are used for entire clauses, e. g. Prov. 25, 12, 25 sq. (designated by Delitzsch as emblematic of Maschal). Upon the idea of comparative juxtaposition depend also the usages נִחְשַׁב עִם (lit. *counted in with some one*), Ps. 88, 5 and נִחְשַׁל עִם *make equal with some one*, Ps. 28, 1; 143, 7; cf. on this עַם also Job 9, 26 where *with* is used as much as *how*.

In the sense of *sive* — *sive* we find וְאִם — וְאִם and אִם — אִם or אִם — אִם (vid. the proofs in Lexicon); also וְ — וְ Lev. 5, 3; Deut. 24, 7; Job 34, 29; perhaps also Ex. 21, 16 (but not Prov. 29, 9; cf. *Delitzsch* on this passage). For disjunctive questions, vid. § 150, 2, *b*.

§ 163.

ADVERSATIVE AND EXCEPTIVE CLAUSES.

1. After negative clauses (especially after prohibitions) the antithesis (= *but*) is introduced by אֲמָרְךָ, e. g. 1 Sam. 8, 19 *they said: no, but a king shall be over us*; Ps. 1, 2 al.; sometimes also by simple כִּי, e. g. Gen. 18, 15; 19, 2 and even by connecting merely by וְ Gen. 17, 5 (וְהָיָה as Perfect *consec.*); 42, 10.

Rem. Occasionally the negation is virtually contained in the preceding clause, e. g. in the form of a rhetorical question (Mic. 6, 3 sq.) or of conditions regarded as not fulfilled (Job 31, 18); כִּי or אֲמָרְךָ then acquires the force of *no! rather*.

2. To introduce the so-called exceptive clauses, dependent upon another clause we find כִּי אֲמָרְךָ *only that* and (after negative sentences, vid. above No. 1) אֲמָרְךָ¹ *except when*; so especially אֲמָרְךָ with a Perfect (= *except until*) after Imperfects containing a statement, e. g. Gen. 32, 27 *I will not let thee go except until thou hast blessed me*; Lev. 22, 6; Isa. 55, 10; 65, 6; Amos 3, 7; Ruth 3, 18; finally אֲמָרְךָ בְּלֹאִי *except when* Amos 3, 4 (with a Perfect after a rhetorical question) or simple בְּלֹאִי Gen. 43, 3 (with a nominal sentence *except when*

¹ This use of אֲמָרְךָ is very evidently due to the original meaning *for when, well* (כִּי in an affirmative sense) *when* (clearly so in Ex. 22, 22 as a lively continuation of the foregoing אֲמָרְךָ); so Judg. 15, 7 is explained simply: *well, when I shall have been avenged, I will cease* = *I will not cease (except) until I have been avenged*. In the following exception an ellipse must be supposed, e. g. Ruth 3, 18 *well (or for) when he has finished it (then will he be at rest)*. The supposition of such an ellipse with אֲמָרְךָ *but* is much more artificial (before complete sentences as well as before individual nouns); vid. above No. 1.

your brother be with you); Isa. 10, 4 (after a rhetorical question with a verbal sentence).

Rem. The statements to which אַם כִּי makes an exception must sometimes be supplied from the context; so in Gen. 40, 14 (otherwise I will demand nothing) *except that thou think of me* = thou mayest only, etc. (cf. on this point § 106, 3, b Note 2); cf. Mic. 6, 8, where אַם כִּי *nothing, except* stands before an Infinitive, and Job 42, 8 where it = *only* before a noun.

§ 164.

TEMPORAL CLAUSES.

1. The prevailing temporal relations between two different actions or events is expressed merely by juxtaposition of the members of the sentence without the aid of a conjunction:

a) the relation of *co-existence* or of the continuation of one action or event at the entrance of another is indicated by placing together a nominal or verbal sentence introduced by וְ (וְהָיָה), e. g. Gen. 7, 6 *and Noah was 600 years old* (lit. *a son of 600 years*), וְהַמָּבּוּל הָיָה *then the flood occurred*. Here especially belong the cases where the predicate of the nominal sentence (frequently introduced by עוֹר *still, yet*) consists of an active Participle, e. g. Job 1, 16 sq. עוֹר יְהִי מְדַבֵּר וְהָיָה כֵּן *this one (was) still speaking, when another came and said*, etc.; vid. the numerous examples §§ 111, 2, Rem. 1 and 116, 5, Rem. 4. In place of a complete nominal sentence, we frequently find a so-called *casus pendens* after אֲזַל־ with the principal attribute in the sense of *as often as any one . . .*; e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 13 אֲזַל־אִישׁ וְזָבַח וְזָבַח וְזָבַח *as often as (when-ever) any one brought a sacrifice, then came*, etc.; 2 Sam. 2, 23 al.; vid. the examples (in which the second number is usually introduced by *Waw apodosis*) § 116, 5, Rem. 5.

b) the relation of succession by means of juxtaposition

1) of two Imperfects *consec.*, e. g. Gen. 24, 19 וְתָבֵל לְהַשְׁקֵתוֹ וְתֹאמַר *and when she had done giving him drink, she said*, etc.; 28, 8 sq.; 29, 31; 30, 9; 32, 26, etc.; cf. § 111, 1, 3;

2) of a nominal sentence with a passive Participle as predicate and a verbal sentence connected by וְ, e. g. Gen. 38, 25; on this cf. § 116, 5, Rem. 4; in Gen. 49, 29 an Imperfect without וְ follows;

3) of two Perfects (often with the idea of rapid succession¹ of both actions or events in the past), e. g. Gen. 19, 23 וְלֹא־בָא וְג' *the two men came and . . .*

¹ This co-signification occurs in the coördination of two independent verbal sentences, as according to § 116, 5, Rem. 4, Note 2, the idea of co-existence in the coördination of a nominal sentence with another sentence. In Gen. 27, 30,

the sun had just risen when Lot came to Zoar, cf. 2 Sam. 2, 24; Gen. 44, 3 sq.; Judg. 3, 24; 20, 39 sq. In all these examples the subject first follows the connecting *Waw*, then a (pure) Perfect; but

4) the attaching of a *Perfect consec.* to another Perfect *consec.* serves to express the eventual succession of future actions, e. g. Gen. 44, 4 וְהִשָּׁנְתָם וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם *and when (as soon as) thou hast (wilt have) overtaken, thou shalt say unto them.* Naturally such examples are most closely related to conditional clauses; hence vid. examples § 112, 5, *a, ε* and § 159, 2, *e*. For the connection of a Perfect *consec.* with isolated time relations (as equivalents of a complete sentence), as in Ex. 16, 6, cf. § 112, 5, *c*. In 1 Sam. 29, 10 an Imperfect with ו follows the Perfect *consec.*

5) By means of טָרָם (as an adverb, not conjunction) with the Imperfect (according to § 107, 1, *a*, Rem. 1) is expressed the idea of an action or event as not yet having taken place at the incoming of another, upon which the consequent then, as in the examples under No. 3 with וְ (וְהִנֵּה), subject and Perfect or also in the form of a nominal sentence annexes itself (Gen. 24, 15¹), e. g. Gen. 19, 4 (cf. Josh. 2, 8) וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ וְאִנְשֵׁי הָעִיר . . . נִכְּפוּ וְנָאֵם *they had not lain down, when the men surrounded the city, etc.*, Gen. 24, 25.

2. As conjunctions serving to introduce temporal clauses we find: כִּי (lit. at the time *that*), and אֲשֶׁר² (lit. at the time *where*) *as when*; rarely אֲזַם³ (in connection with the Perfect), e. g. Gen. 38, 9; Num. 21, 9; Judg. 6, 3; Ps. 41, 7; 94, 18; cf. also Isa. 24, 13 = *quotiescunque*; in a similar sense, however, also with the Imperfect Num. 36, 4; with a Perfect = *futurum exactum* Isa. 4, 4; furthermore, the compound conjunctions כִּמּוֹ *as* (Gen. 19, 15); כַּאֲשֶׁר *as, after that*; עַד-כִּי, *until that* (also simply עַד, e. g. Gen. 38, 11; Josh. 2, 22; 1 Sam. 1, 22; 2, 5 al.; so especially in the formula לֹא בָלְתִי הַשָּׂאִיר לּוֹ עַד *until there was none left to him alive* Num. 21, 35; Deut. 3, 3; Josh. 8, 22; 11, 8; but 1 Sam. 14, 19 = *while, so long as*); עַד-אֲזַם, עַד-אֲשֶׁר אֲזַם *until the time when*; אַחֲרֵי-אֲשֶׁר (for

furthermore, the immediate succession is especially indicated by אַךְ and the Infinitive absolute: Jacob was just gone out when his brother Esau came; in Ps. 48, 6 by כֵּן and the asyndetic addition of two other Perfects.

¹ For the critically suspicious Perfect in the antecedent, cf. § 107, 1, *a*, Rem. 1.

² For the parallel use of כִּי and אֲשֶׁר cf. § 157, *c*, Note.

³ Analogous to the frequent German use of *wenn* for *wann*.

which in Ezek. 40, 1 we find אַחֲר־אֲשֶׁר Job 42, 7 only אַחֲר (after that; מֵאֲזַי (for מֵאֲשֶׁר) since Gen. 39, 5; בְּתֵרֶם (and also only טֵרֶם Ex. 12, 34 al.) before; קִדְמָת (for אֲשֶׁר) before (Ps. 129, 6).

Rem. 1. In regard to the tenses that are used with the above-mentioned conjunctions, the remarks on causal clauses in § 158, Rem. 2 are true even here; the Perfect refers to actions, considered as completed in the past or future (in the former case, corresponding to the Lat. pluperfect § 106, 1, c; in the latter case to the *futurum exactum*, § 106, 3, c); the Imperfect to those represented as eventually incoming. For טֵרֶם, בְּתֵרֶם, עֵר, with an Imperfect as an historical tense, cf. § 107, 1, Rem. 1.

2. Clauses introduced by עֵר, עֵר־כִּי or עֵר־אֲשֶׁר sometimes indicate not an absolute (ending the preceding action) but a relative conclusion, which the action or event continues in the principal clause to influence; thus עֵר with the Imperfect Ps. 110, 1; עֵר־כִּי with a Perfect Gen. 26, 13; עֵר־אֲשֶׁר with Perfect Gen. 28, 15; with an Imperfect Ps. 112, 8.

3. The Infinitive *construct* is frequently used as the equivalent of a temporal clause when governed by a preposition (§ 114, 2); the Infinitive with בְּ is then usually rendered by *when*, *as* or *while* (as also the Infinitive after בְּ), the Infinitive after כִּי by *since*. For the continuation of such Infinitive constructions by means of the Perfect *consec.*, cf. § 112, 3, c, η, and especially § 114, 3, Rem. 1. With the Participle בְּ seems to be construed as the equivalent of a conjunction in כִּי־שָׁבַע as he returned Gen. 38, 29 (unless we are to read קִהְשָׁב) and in כִּפְרִיחַת as it budded 40, 10.

§ 165.

FINAL CLAUSES.¹

1. Like most of the dependent clauses already discussed, final clauses too may be annexed to the governing clause merely by *Waw copulative*, unless the final clause is directly subordinated to the governing verb.

Examples of the annexing of a final Imperfect (or Jussive ?) with וְ to a Perfect Lam. 1, 19 (vid. § 107, 4, a, 3); to a question 2 Sam. 9, 1, 3; Job 38, 24; of a Cohortative with וְ to an Imperative (1 Sam. 15, 16) or Jussive (Neh. 2, 5) § 108, 2, a; of a Jussive with וְ to an Imperative

¹ Cf. H. G. T. Mitchell, *Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew*, Leipz., 1879.

(2 Sam. 16, 11; Ps. 59, 14; 86, 17), Jussive (Job 21, 19) or Cohortative § 109, 2, *a*, with Rem. (cf. also 2 Sam. 24, 21, where we find the Infinitive with ל; Jonah 1, 11, כִּי־יִמָּד with 1st plu. Imperfect, and 2 Chr. 29, 10 where עֲשֵׂה־לָכֶם is the equivalent of a Cohortative); of an Imperfect with ו to a Jussive, Cohortative or question § 110, 2, *b*; of a Perfect consec. after an Imperfect § 112, 3, *b*, *a* and 3, *c*, *d*; the same after a Jussive ibid. 3, *c*, *β*; after an Imperative ibid. 3, *c*, *γ*. For the union of negative final clauses by means of וְלֹא with an Imperfect (so 2 Sam. 13, 25 after וְלֹא־נָא with a Jussive in a governing clause), vid. Rem. to § 109, 2, *a*.

For the transposition of an expected final clause (after verbs of commanding) in an historical sphere (e. g. Neh. 13, 9 *then I commanded and they cleansed* = *that they should cleanse and they cleansed*; in Job 9, 7 a negative question is thus connected with וְלֹא) cf. § 120, 2, *a*, Rem. 2.

For examples of the direct subordination of a final Imperfect (without ו) vid. § 120, 1, *b*.

2. These are used as final conjunctions: לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *with the intention that*; also merely לְמַעַן (Gen. 12, 13; 27, 25; Ex. 4, 5; Ps. 51, 6 al.); אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵבוֹר lit. *so that* (Gen. 27, 10) and merely בְּעֵבוֹר (Gen. 27, 4; Ex. 9, 14; 20, 20); finally also the simple אֲשֶׁר¹ (Deut. 4, 40; Josh. 3, 7; Neh. 8, 14 sq.; negative לֹא־אֲשֶׁר Gen. 11, 7; 24, 3; 1 K. 22, 16) or וְשֵׁי (Eccl. 3, 14); negative also עַל־דִּבְרָתָאֵל *to the end that* Eccl. 7, 14. In Deut. 33, 11 מִן־ is used entirely alone with the Imperfect = *that not*.

Rem. All the above-mentioned conjunctions are naturally united with the Imperfect, vid. § 107, 4, *a*, 3 (for Josh. 4, 24, vid. § 74, Rem. 1). For the negative conjunctions וְלֹא and וְלֹא־נָא *that not* vid. § 152, 1, *b* and *i*; for the Infinitive with ל² (also לְמַעַן Gen. 18, 19; 37, 22 al.) as the equivalent of a final clause (Gen. 11, 5; 28, 4, etc.) vid. § 114, 2, with Rem. 1 and 5; for the continuation of similar Infinitive constructions by means of a finite verb, vid. § 114, 3, Rem. 1; for the negation of a final Infinitive through לֹא־לְבַלְתִּי ibid. Rem. 2; finally for the preposition מִן with a substantive or Infinitive as the equivalent of a negative final clause (Gen. 31, 29; 1 Sam. 15, 23, etc.) vid. § 119, 3, *d*, 1.

¹ In Ezek. 36, 27 a final clause is introduced by אֲשֶׁר־נָא, hence also an object clause.

² For ל as supposed conjunction (= Arab. *li*) 1 K. 6, 19 vid. § 66, Rem. 3.

§ 166.

RESULT CLAUSES.

1. The annexing of result clauses merely by *Waw copulative* with a Jussive¹ takes place especially after negative clauses and questions, e. g. Num. 23, 19 *לֹא אִישׁ אֵל וְיִכְזֹב וּבֶן-אָדָם וַיִּתְנַחֵם* *God is not a man that he should lie and (nor) the son of man that he should repent*; Isa. 53, 2 (*וַיִּתְמַרְהוּ*); Hos. 14, 10 *מִי יֵדָע וַיִּרְעֵם* *who is wise that he may understand these, judicious that he shall know?* In Gen. 16, 10 a negative result follows the Cohortative. But in Job 9, 32, 33 the Jussive in the sense of a result is asyndetically joined to the preceding negative clause (in vs. 32 a second Jussive follows, also asyndetically: for *he is not a man, as I, that I should answer him and that we should come together in judgment*). For the Imperfect *consec.* expressing a logical result, vid. § 111, 3, *b*; for the Perfect *consec.* as the result after a Participle, vid. § 112, 3, *b*, *β*.

2. As conjunctions to introduce result clauses we again find (vid. § 157, *c*, Note) *כִּי* and *אֲשֶׁר* = *so that*; so again especially after questions, § 107, 4, *b*, 3; cf. Num. 16, 11 (*כִּי* with an Imperfect *that ye murmur*; but Gen. 20, 10 with a Perfect in reference to an already completed action). For *אֲשֶׁר* with an Imperfect (or Jussive) = *so that* cf. Gen. 13, 16; 22, 14; 1 Sam. 3, 11; for *לֹא אֲשֶׁר* *ut non* Deut. 28, 35; 1 K. 3, 8; 2 K. 9, 37.

For *כִּן* with a substantive or Infinitive as the equivalent of a result clause, vid. § 119, 3, *d*, 1.

¹ That even examples like *וְיִכְזֹב* are to be considered as Jussive is explained by analogy from Hos. 14, 10; Job 9, 33.

§ 167.

APOSIOPESIS, ANACOLUTHON, AND INVOLVED SENTENCES.

1. *Aposiopesis* is the suppression of complete clauses or parts thereof necessary to the understanding of the sentence,¹ hence to be supplied from the context; this occurs especially after conditional clauses; cf. besides the already mentioned examples in § 159, 3, *D*, Rem. 2, also Ex. 32, 32 (LXX and Samaritan supply נִפְּשׁוּ); Judg. 9, 16 (in vs. 19 after several long intervening clauses, an Imperative follows the condition as a consequent); 2 Sam. 5, 8 (where without doubt the text is corrupt; cf. the supplement given in 1 Chr. 11, 6); Ps. 27, 13. For all other examples, vid. § 117, 1, Rem. 7, second division, at the end, and especially § 147. For Gen. 3, 22, cf. § 152, 1, *i*.

2. *Anacoluthon* is a deviation in the construction of one part of a sentence from that of the other, and takes place especially after long intervening clauses, since the speaker either has forgotten his original construction or for the sake of perspicuity adopts another; so in Gen. 31, 52 and Ezek. 34, 10 (cf. § 149); Judg. 10, 11 (where after long intervening clauses the predicate *I have saved you* has been suppressed); cf. also Isa. 66, 18 (but cf. *Delitzsch* on the undoubtedly corrupt text).² For Gen. 23, 13 (לֵךְ with an Imperative), vid. § 110, 1, *c*, Rem. 2.

3. As instructive examples of *involved sentences* may be mentioned at least Gen. 24, 14 and 42 sq., and also 28, 6 sq.

¹ But cases where an answer is given in the Infinitive with ל immediately at the close of a question are not to be regarded as aposiopesis; cf. on this point § 147, 1, Note.

² But according to the Semitic idiom, the numerous instances of compound clauses, like Gen. 17, 14, 17 and even 31, 40 (cf. on this § 143) are *not* to be considered as *anacoluthon*.

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